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August, 1985

ONE AMERICA

*The History, Contributions, and
Present Problems of Our Racial
and National Minorities*

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REVISED EDITION

OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

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DEDICATION

TO DR. E. GEORGE PAYNE, DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, WHOSE VITAL INTEREST BOTH IN STUDENTS AND IN PEOPLE OF EVERY RACE AND NATIONALITY HAS POINTED THE WAY TO A CULTURAL DEMOCRACY BASED ON MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION; AND DR. HENRY E. MARESH OF HOUSTON, TEXAS, AN OUTSTANDING AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK, PHYSICIAN, AND AUTHOR.

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Preface to the Revised Edition

SINCE *Our Racial and National Minorities* appeared in 1937 the world has been plunged into total war. Through more than five years, men and nations have been pitted against one another in a life and death struggle. Even those few nations that remained neutral have not escaped the repercussions of the struggle. There is not a home that has not felt its impact, from a limitation of food to a gold star in the window.

Two concomitants of war are inescapable: a deepening of the sense of loyalty to the nation of one's allegiance, and a corresponding antagonism, rising to tense emotion, toward the nation that thwarts the self-interest of "my country."

Yet America, made up of peoples from every nation of the world, has attained and maintained an internal unity that was the bitterest disappointment to those abroad who believed that first- or even second-generation "native sons" would remain true to the "homeland." True, Bundist organizations sprang up, seditious material was published, and a resultant mass trial of those who sought to undermine the loyalty of men in the armed forces became necessary. The number of persons engaged in such activities is insignificant, however, in comparison with the millions of their countrymen who have kept the faith with America. Our allies have been their allies, and our enemies, their enemies, though tied by bonds of language, of culture, and of blood to a nation with which we were at war. In the changing alignments of war, this loyalty has meant for many of foreign birth or foreign stock an abrupt shift and the acceptance of attitudes contrary to old-world patterns. In a very real sense, they have demonstrated in the acid test of war that they are Americans.

Recognizing the dualism of this internal unity and the intensification of conflict resulting from the changed status of certain minority groups, especially the Negro, the authors gave serious consideration to many questions in planning this revision. Should one still refer to "minority groups" in a nation unified by war; or is such unity for the meeting of a common foe only temporary and thus super-

ficial? In other words, will the inevitable adjustments made among groups during the war enhance rather than diminish a sense of diversification in the postwar period? Should one-third of the population of America continue to be labeled "hyphenated Americans"? Will "cultural pluralism" be replaced by a common cultural pattern?

A careful analysis indicates clearly that while the war has brought gains that would otherwise have taken decades, it has not and cannot wholly eliminate the irrational attitudes and practices characteristic of a heterogeneous society. Some of the gains will probably be lost after the war, especially if the nation is faced with anything less than full employment. Although the war has resulted in an even deeper sense of loyalty to America, it has brought also an intensification of concern for the welfare and future of the "homeland." One need only point out the rapid expansion of relief agencies soliciting for individual nations and the organizations promoting the independence of the European nations in the postwar reconstruction. So, too, culture patterns persist and cultural pluralism has been abetted even by government in its endorsement of the continuance of the foreign language press and foreign language broadcasts. Cultural pluralism will continue long after the war, and the flow of immigration and emigration which will then be resumed will perpetuate and reintensify the existence of many cultures within the larger pattern of America.

Why, then, a revision rather than another reprint? As previously stated, the war has telescoped the gains and losses of decades of social change into a few years. It is necessary to describe these changes and to appraise them in the light of their potential continuance in the postwar period. Even more, the change of title is an expression of the editors' deep conviction that in the period between the two editions and in the crucible of war we are moving toward a cultural democracy. We have become and will remain One America!

The editors and the individual contributors have brought the material of their chapters up to date and in several instances have entirely rewritten them. Some chapters have been eliminated or combined with others. Several of the chapters have been written by contributors other than those to the original edition and are entirely new. These include all the chapters dealing with the Negro, a number of the discussions of the other minority groups, "The Foreign-Language Negro Press" (Chapter XII), "The American Indian and Government" (Chapter XVIII), and "Religion and Minority Peoples" (Chapter XXIV).

New chapters have been added both in the general presentation and for specific groups including "Backgrounds of America's Heterogeneity" (Chapter II), "Foreign-Language Broadcasts" (Chapter XIII), "Fraternal Organizations of National Minority Groups" (Chapter XIV), "National Minorities in Domestic Politics" (Chapter XV), "America's Minorities and Foreign Politics" (Chapter XVI), "Culture Patterns of Minority Groups" (Chapter XX), "Second- and Third-Generation Americans" (Chapter XXI), "Our Vanishing Minorities" (Chapter XXVII), "New Attitudes in Community Relations" (Chapter XXVIII), "Intercultural Education" (Chapter XXIX), "Changing Attitudes Through Classroom Instruction" (Chapter XXX), and "Intercultural Education and International Relations" (Chapter XXXI).

Despite these additions, the entire volume has been substantially shortened. Every effort has been made to avoid "dating" the book or viewing the material from the temporary and artificial viewpoint of war. The problems of minorities are as old as tribal conquests; they will persist in the future.

The editors are deeply appreciative of the reception accorded the first edition. It is their earnest hope that this revised edition, written from the vantage point of accelerated social change, will have even greater influence in achieving the purpose of the original volume: "the development of the sympathetic understanding and wholehearted appreciation which must characterize the higher plane of our civilization and culture, where intolerance, oppression, and prejudice, unjustified and unfounded, will have no place."

Sincere acknowledgment is given to the many individuals who have in various ways assisted in the preparation of this revision, and especially to Helen G. Brown, wife of Francis J. Brown, whose many helpful suggestions in the editing of the entire manuscript are very deeply appreciated. Mrs. Bozena S. Roucek has clarified for her husband numerous points pertaining particularly to the problems of Slav immigrants.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Co-Authors and Editors

Part III differs from previous studies of minority groups in that, as far as possible, the specific sociological problems are drawn inductively from the data of Part II. Although it was impracticable to submit the previous chapters to each of the contributors, all were given a detailed outline of the entire volume; and, as far as possible, each has developed his material in the light of this inductive approach.

In Part IV the way is pointed out to what the authors believe is the only possible solution: the acceptance of the best from all of our minority groups through the development of the idea of "cultural pluralism." To overlook the contribution of these groups to American life, both in its historical development and in the present, is to ignore the most obvious facts. Sympathetic understanding and candid appreciation must supplant the formerly much overemphasized idea of the "melting pot." The final chapter gives at least a glimpse of the way in which central Europe is seeking to solve the same problem, providing an interesting comparison and contrast.

The approach to the problem is primarily from the standpoint of educational sociology. Conceiving education as the sum total of the experience that molds the attitudes and determines the conduct of both the child and the adult, this volume seeks to analyze this experience in each specific group and in the general analysis of the sociological factors that lead to social control. The importance of such specific educational agencies as the press, the church, and the many group organizations is clearly shown. Likewise, the relationship of the school to the larger aspects of the problem is continually emphasized. To the ever-increasing number who believe that the school must assume responsibility for seeking, honestly and earnestly, to decrease racial and social tensions and build mutual respect and understanding, this book will be a welcome source of material through its summary and systematic evaluation of the contributions of each minority group to our total cultural life.

It will also be a source of information for the teacher, the social worker, the clergyman, and all others interested in better understanding their fellow men. To the minorities themselves it will provide a summary of the present status and contributions of their own and related groups.

This book has been conceived jointly by both editors. Both acknowledge their obligations to numerous individuals for suggestions, and both are well aware of the limitations of the present volume. If the treatment is not always complete and at times seems even superficial, the critic should recognize the broad scope of the material

and the necessity of maintaining definite limits to hold the book to a reasonable length. The studies are actually summaries of widely scattered information. In some cases they are concerned with minority groups on whom information in English is not easily accessible or does not exist. In no case could the treatment be exhaustive; it is rather the foundation upon which further studies can be made. In fairness to the authors of the various chapters, it should be said that all of them have been aware of this limitation and, upon the insistence of the editors, they have had to keep within certain limits even at the expense of eliminating important and relevant material. For those who wish to make more exhaustive studies, a comprehensive bibliography is appended, limited again by space to works in English.

It has been necessary to make certain arbitrary changes in some of the material. All diacritical marks are omitted, and foreign names are frequently anglicized. Statistical data that are but a reproduction of United States census figures have been intentionally omitted unless essential to the text. The terms "old" and "new" immigration have been retained as a convenient means of denoting the comparative times of greatest influx. It is recognized, of course, that immigrants continue to arrive from the countries included under "old" immigration and that most of the so-called "new" immigrant groups date their first arrivals from pre-Revolutionary days. Only one territory, Hawaii, has been included. All the South American countries have been treated as a unit. There is no relationship between the numerical importance of a minority group and the number of pages devoted to it, as the editors felt that such an allotment would but repeat the all too common error of excluding or minimizing the minorities from the smaller countries, for whom the problem is thereby often made all the more acute.

Finally, the individuals mentioned as contributors to American life have been chosen by the various authors on the basis of their contributions to the common welfare. For the most part they have been classified according to their native lands, although several individuals are "claimed" by more than one national group, owing to changes of residence or to shifting boundaries. This is also true of those who have no political "homeland," such as the Ukrainians and the Jews. This is inevitable; and to the extent that it demonstrates ethnocentrism, it is both interesting and significant.

The editors and authors express their sincere appreciation to Dean E. George Payne of New York University, editor of the Prentice-Hall educational series, whose classes in "Racial Contributions to

American Culture" inspired the idea of the book, and whose support and encouragement have acted as a continual incentive.

The task of compilation has not been easy. Endless correspondence and many conferences have been necessary. But no amount of effort will be begrudged if this book even partly achieves its purpose—the development of the sympathetic understanding and whole-hearted appreciation which must characterize the higher plane of our civilization and culture, where intolerance, oppression, and prejudice, unjustified and unfounded, will have no place.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Editors

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Part I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

The Meaning and Status of Minorities

FRANCIS J. BROWN

THROUGH all of recorded history, men have dreamed of a world in which there would be both complete equality of opportunity for all and perfect fraternity of all. Yet such a world is still a Utopia—a world that exists only in the minds of those who close their eyes to facts and refuse to face reality.

The one universal characteristic of mankind is variability. Social organization crystallizes such differences as those of race, religion, and nationality, and the awareness of differences is lifted from an individual to a group concept. Each group tends to develop a “we” or “in-group” feeling with a definite attitude of superiority as to its own cultural pattern and a feeling of antagonism toward that of the “they” or “out-group.” It perpetuates its own folkways, exalts its own culture, fosters its own self-glorification, and seeks to transmit this same attitude, undiminished and even enhanced, to its children. Likewise, each group tends to disparage the accomplishments of those of the out-group, ridicules its culture, and often, as in Germany during the rise and the death struggle of nazism, seeks to exterminate it by rigid censorship and by persecution. Thus in ethnocentrism—the superiority of the in-group and the evaluation of all other groups by reference only to the culture pattern of one’s own group—is found the basis of differentiation between dominant and minority groups.

The problem of minorities is as old as civilization and as universal as the social organization of mankind. It is neither new nor is it peculiarly American. It exists in every nation to the extent that any group is consciously aware of a feeling of difference between itself

and the majority or dominant group. In a nation with a fairly homogeneous origin, minorities are based largely on political or religious differences. In the United States, with approximately 14 per cent of its population of a different race and with more than 30 per cent of its people foreign born or first generation, differences of race and nationality are added to those of politics and religion. The melting pot is only a myth; America will continue to be a nation of heterogeneous peoples, but a nation richer in its heritage by the very fact of its variability. The problem is not that of seeking to establish a common mold for all, even if this were possible, but rather that of finding ever more effective ways in which each variant may be increasingly aware of its integral relationship to the composite pattern of American life.

Although "minorities" is primarily a group term, it poses, in reality, a problem of individual behavior. That problem exists to the degree that each individual identifies himself with the culture pattern of a group, accepts its values as his own, and seeks to retain and to perpetuate them. This fact of individual behavior provides both the greatest hope and the most serious difficulty in seeking to meet the problem. The hope lies in the educability of the individual, who is the product, limited only by biological and psychological factors, of his environment. The difficulty lies in the individual's unconscious acceptance of group values before he recognizes their social significance. The cultural heritage of the individual and the conscious processes of education thus are often in conflict. The conflict in fact goes even deeper, since the individual is subjected to educational forces in themselves inconsistent. On the one hand are the activities of those individuals within a minority group who seek to perpetuate the consciousness of differences in race and nationality; on the other, are those who seek to minimize or even to utilize such differences as a basis for the inculcation of a sense of national unity, based on knowledge and appreciation of all, without reference to race or nationality.

The task of meeting the problem will be long. Only by continuous, thoughtful, coöperative planning and by the earnest and consistent effort of all agencies, will mutual appreciation and human understanding characterize the attitude of all Americans and truly create—One America.

The Meaning of Minorities

The basis for classification of groups into majorities and minorities is social differentiation; but such classification is extremely difficult.

According to literal use of the terms, such differentiation is based upon a numerical ratio; but history is replete with illustrations in which the numerically larger group is dominated by the smaller. We must go beyond statistics to formulate our definition.

A second possible differentiation is on a purely legalistic basis—the lawful right of one group to dominate another. While such a distinction is at times valid, in many instances actual minorities recognized as such do not exist at all in the legal sense. Our Negro population is guaranteed by constitutional amendment all of the rights of full citizenship, yet large numbers of Negroes are excluded through social pressure from the exercise of those rights and in several states even from the use of the ballot. To a greater or lesser degree, the same illegal discrimination is shown against many other minority groups.¹

Another aspect of a common legal distinction is on the basis of the country of birth, with the tacit assumption that only the foreign born comprise our minorities. Obviously, this is not true. The American Indian—the only true American, who does not trace his ancestry to those of foreign birth—is today a minority group, as is also the American-born Negro or Oriental.

The definition of minorities, then, must be drawn primarily from a sociological analysis. Our attitudes are determined less by numerical ratios or legalistic conceptions than by the constellation of social processes and their expression in terms of subtle discrimination or of overt behavior. We are thus dealing with intangibles impossible of exact definition. However, we shall use the term in the sociological sense: Minorities are the individuals and groups that differ or are assumed to differ from their dominant social groups and that have developed, in varying degree, an attitude of mind which gives them a feeling of greater social security within their own groups than they have in their relation to the dominant group. The differences, although varying in degree, are distinguishing characteristics not only in terms of race, religion, nationality, and state allegiance but also in the composite cultural pattern. However, such differences in and of themselves are not sufficient to make a group a minority without the accompanying attitude of dominance and subservience, consciously accepted or tacitly assumed.

Both aspects of the problem are constantly in a state of flux. As will be emphasized again and again in this volume, both integrat-

¹ For specific illustrations, see Herman Feldman, *Racial Factors in American Industry*; G. T. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law*; and W. D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, *Race Relations*.

ing and disintegrating forces are continually playing upon the cultural patterns of minority groups. Likewise, significant changes in social attitudes may aggravate or eliminate a minorities problem. An illustration of the latter is that in times of economic stress a definite tendency arises to accentuate differences between groups and resentment against particular minorities. Frequently economic competition, as well as other factors, is transplanted into other more virtuous arguments against the resented minority. How complicated the problem is can be demonstrated by the fact that not all members of the group consciously or definitely promote such attitudes purely out of self-interest. They are often duped with such slogans as "America for Americans" and "Nordic Superiority," which they accept as the explanation of social problems or social goals. The attitudes arising from such slogans are then transferred to the minority group.

Finally, it must be emphasized that we are dealing with irrational factors, since attitudes are as much if not more the product of incidental association and unreasoned generalization than the result of consciously planned educational procedures and reasoned judgment. As Young states,² in his excellent analysis of this problem:

Racial attitudes, friendly or antagonistic, may be the product of objective and accurate observations, but they are more likely to be based on limited and faulty knowledge, distorted by the minds through which they have been relayed, and by the subjective interpretations of their possessor. Human experience is limited but personal opinions may be posited on limited and false information.

The Changing Status of Minorities

Thus far we have dealt with the larger differentiation between minority and majority groups. The general principles would be equally applicable were we discussing such groups on any basis of differentiation, religious, economic, or social. Actually, however, we shall be concerned only with such classification as is based primarily upon race and nationality. This does not minimize the importance of secondary characteristics such as language, dress, mannerisms, and all of the multifarious expressions of the cultural pattern, for, as will be continually shown, granting all of the exceptions, these differences tend to run parallel with those of race and nation. The common bonds create a sense of autonomy that is further strengthened

²Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples*, p. 11. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932. Quoted by permission.

for many minority groups by the attitudes of the majority and the resulting social and economic isolation.

Specific data are presented in the separate chapters dealing with each minority group. It is necessary here only to summarize briefly the more basic trends in the changing status of minority groups.³

The historical account of the arrival of the first minority group—the early colonists—has been told too frequently to need repetition. No statistics were kept until 1820. During the next eleven years approximately 152,000 immigrants came to the United States. As shown in Table I (page 632) and Figure 1, the curve by decades reveals a consistent increase to 1860, remains comparatively constant for forty years, and then reaches its peak for the decile period 1901–1910. Actually, the great wave of immigration reached its highest point during the ten years 1905–1914, during which time the average annual influx was 1,011,994. From 1920 to 1924, inclusive, the number averaged more than half a million a year. The restrictive immigration law and the depression, together with the changed attitude toward emigration in the countries from which we had received our largest numbers, has brought a rapid decline in immigration, and the five years prior to the outbreak of World War II witnessed an emigration of 240,000 in excess of immigration.

It is not the purpose of this volume to analyze these annual fluctuations.⁴ The specific factors affecting emigration are discussed in connection with each minority group. It is necessary to emphasize only two further factors in the changing status of minority groups: the varying character of the immigration, and the present attitude toward it. Dr. Edward J. Corsi⁵ described the former as two successive waves: the first, to approximately 1880, coming largely from northern and eastern Europe and usually referred to as “old” immigration; and the second, beginning approximately in 1880 and with varying intensity reaching its maximum height in 1914, arriving largely from eastern and southern Europe, and referred to as “new” immigration. Figure 2 bears out this general statement. Dr. Corsi told the story of the American who visited a little town in Italy. The mayor received him with the statement, “I greet you in the name

³ For detailed statistics on immigration and emigration, see publications of the United States Department of Labor.

⁴ For a detailed analysis of annual fluctuation, see L. G. Brown, *Immigration*; H. G. Duncan, *Immigration and Assimilation*; M. R. Davie, *World Immigration*; Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration*; Donald R. Taft, *Human Migration*; and others.

⁵ Address delivered before the Educational Sociology Club, New York University, December 2, 1936.

GRAPH SHOWING TOTAL IMMIGRATION BY DECADES,
1820-1943, AND TOTAL EMIGRATION, 1911-1943

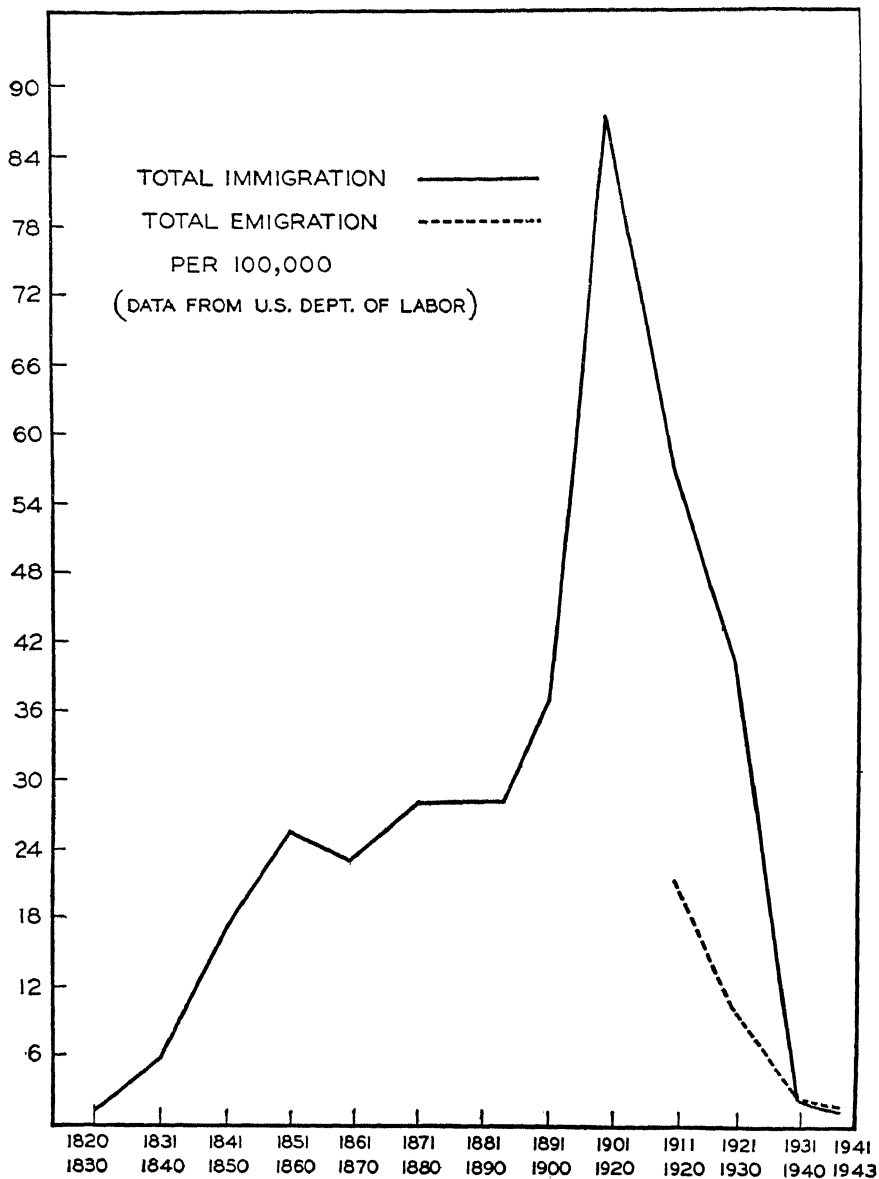


FIGURE 1

GRAPH SHOWING THE RELATIVE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS BY DECADES, FROM GEOGRAPHIC AREAS OF ORIGIN, 1820-1943

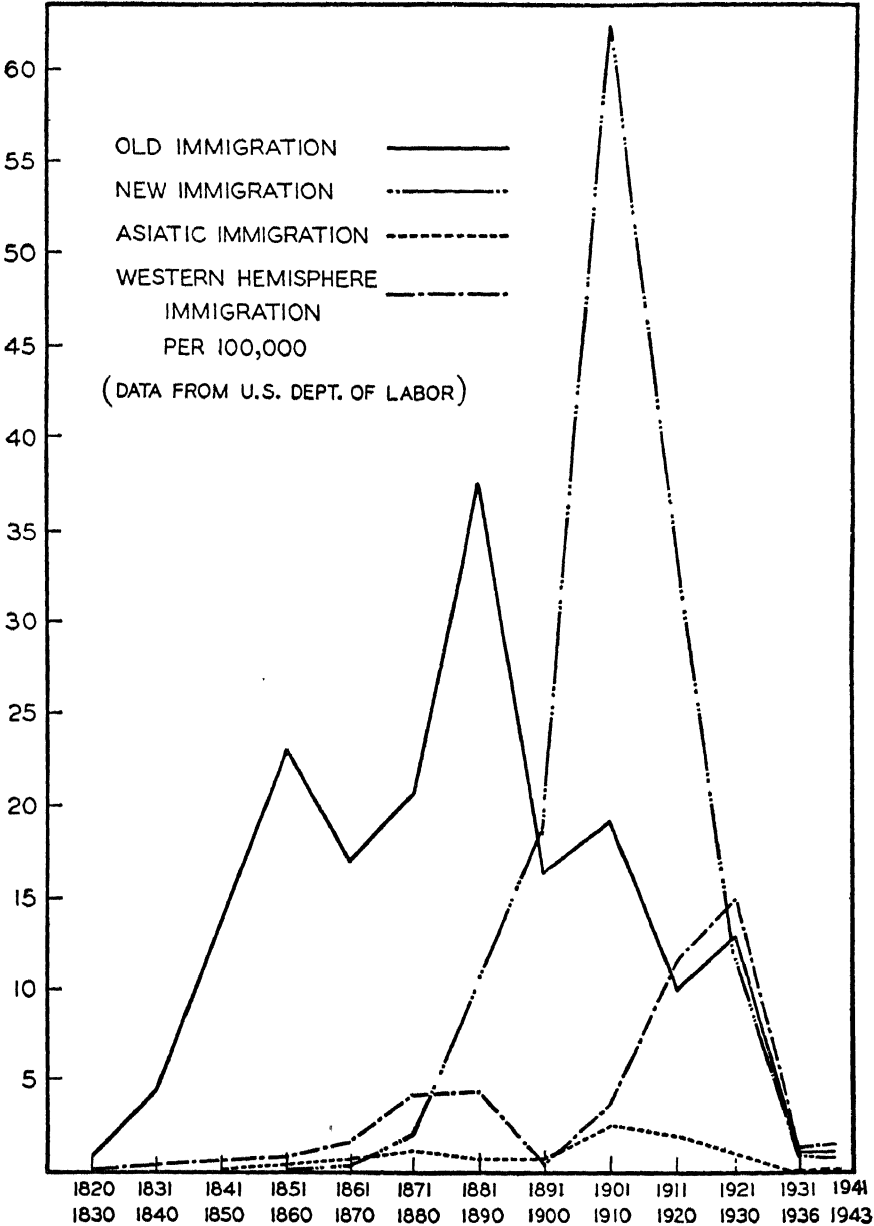


FIGURE 2

of the five thousand inhabitants of my village, four thousand of whom are now in your country." Figure 3 presents this shift in origin of foreign stock by countries.

The second general factor in the changing status of minority groups is the changed attitude toward minorities. With the rapid industrial expansion which came with the recovery from the panic of 1873, it was apparent that a horde of cheap labor was necessary to hew our forests, mine our coal and minerals, lay the ribbons of steel across our far-flung continent, and tend the tireless wheels of industry. America then became the great melting pot, the haven of the oppressed, and the escape from war-torn Europe. Agents traveled through village and country spreading the gospel of freedom and plenty. Industrialists coöperated with railroad and steamship companies by paying passage in exchange for the contract labor of the foreigner—the famous (and infamous) *padrone* system which made him a virtual peon of his American employer. Even the mayors of some of the villages and cities received a fee for each inhabitant they persuaded to leave for America. Southern Negroes were welcomed in the large industrial centers, and the cleverly rationalized theory was advanced that they were especially immune to the excessive heat of blast furnaces and the stokers hold. Only the Indian escaped the ravaging hand of our reputedly benevolent industrialization.

For nearly half a century this need for cheap labor continued, and America remained the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. However, a distinct change had already begun. The great forests had been laid waste. Through the installation of lifts and cranes and automatic crushers, the number of miners needed to keep raw materials abreast of consumption reached a stationary level and then began to decline. In mill and factory, in shop and store, repetitive acts were transferred from the human hand to the infallible machine. Even the great horde of laborers who followed the rotation of the harvest from Texas to Montana through the seasons were replaced by the combine and the power-driven machinery of the farm.

During this period political philosophy underwent a similar change: our assumed benevolent attitude gave way to candid self-interest, the "greatest social experiment in human history" became the "melting pot mistake," and the open door began to swing shut. Through successive acts, the most important being those of 1882, 1917, 1921, and 1924, the gates were practically closed and the machinery of deportation was so established that the visitor at Ellis Island in the

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, IN 1930 *

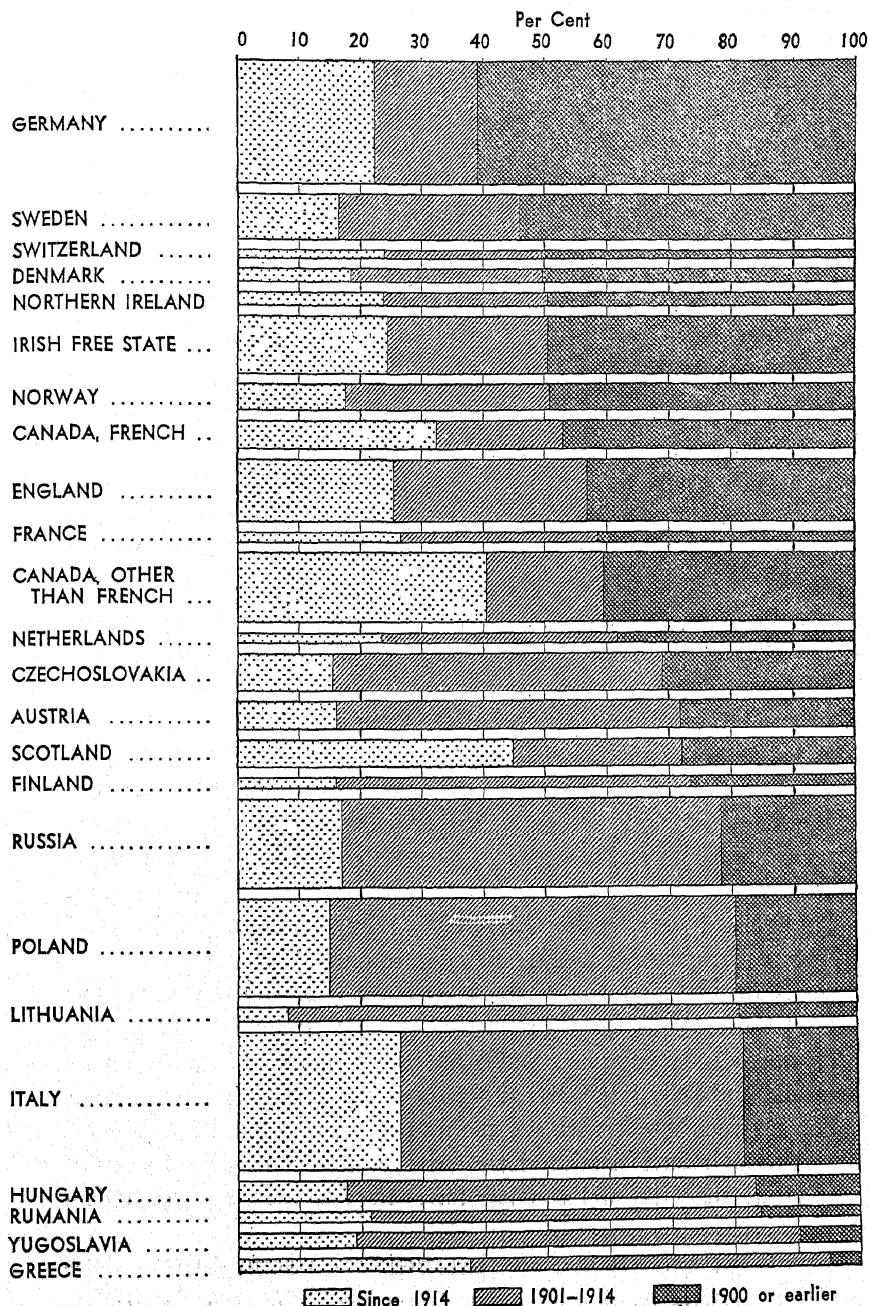


FIGURE 3

* Relative thickness of the bars represents the volume of immigration from each country. (Fifteenth Census of the United States. Population: Year of Immigrations of the Foreign Born, p. 497.)

days before the war found the immigrant room virtually empty but the detention or deportation rooms crowded, some individuals returning voluntarily, others because the long arm of the law had apprehended them for illegal entry. The immediate result of the shutting off of the supply of labor from Europe was the influx of Negroes from the South into the northern industrial cities. This movement declined in the late 1930's because of the depression and the oversupply of labor in urban centers but had an unprecedented rise during the war period of the early 1940's.

The details of legislative action are presented in Chapter XXV, "Immigration and Government." It is our purpose to indicate here only the basic social processes operating to mold such legislation. A glance at Figure 2 will to a large degree explain the motives for the literacy act of 1917, which required that each immigrant be able to read a minimum of forty words in any language. Although presumably applicable to all aliens coming to our shores, this bill was the objective expression of the growing attitude of discrimination against the central and southern European, for in it was the tacit assumption that a larger number of foreigners from this area would be excluded because of illiteracy than from northern or western Europe.

In actual practice this type of legislation failed, as was indicated in the facts presented above, to stem the tide that again set in after the war. Although the basis of our changed attitude was undoubtedly economic, it was camouflaged in a flood of propaganda against immigrants, and especially against those from southern Europe. The theory of Nordic superiority was given scientific credence through analysis of the results of the Army Alpha and Beta tests.⁶ Race differences were "discovered" through the use of a host of newly devised intelligence tests and the development of the mythical I. Q. Almost uniformly such studies demonstrated the inferiority of the "new" immigrant, the Oriental, the Negro, and the American Indian, and that, in the case of the last two, there was a high correlation between intelligence and the proportion of white blood.⁷

Although such studies have been largely refuted by equally scientific analyses,⁸ and although the average layman failed to under-

⁶ C. C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence*. Princeton University Press, 1923.

⁷ For a summary of such studies and an extensive bibliography see Rudolph Pintner, *Intelligence Testing*, Chapters XVII, XVIII, and XX. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923.

⁸ William C. Bagley, *Determinism in Education*. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1925.

stand the new scientific jargon of means, percentiles, and coefficients of correlation, the results gave a flavor of objectivity to what he subjectively wanted to believe.

Another type of propaganda appeared at the same time. The results of the Army tests showed a high percentage of illiteracy among the more recent arrivals to our shores as well as among the Negroes, especially of the South. This was interpreted as a failure on the part of these particular minorities to assimilate our culture, and a general feeling of alarm was aroused which still further strengthened the growing antagonism toward them and resulted in the establishment of the quota laws of 1921 and 1924. The quotas are given in Table II (page 634), together with the number admitted from 1936 to 1941.

The attitudes demonstrated by the present policy and enhanced by it may be briefly summarized under three general implications of all legislation from 1917 to the present. First, such attitudes are clear expressions of the growing ethnocentrism of the native-born population. The term "America for Americans" has been raised from the slogan of a popular newspaper chain to a national policy. The majority has lifted its hand against all minority groups.

A glance at Table II will reveal abundant evidence of the second implication—the assumed superiority of the "old" immigration from northeastern Europe and the consequent assumed inferiority of the "new" immigrant from eastern and southern Europe. The quota allotted to the former even in the Act of 1921 was in excess of the average emigration from those countries during the years 1910 to 1914, while the quota for the latter was less than one fourth of the average number admitted. The complete exclusion of the Chinese and Japanese, not by the quota but on the grounds that only white and Negro native and African stock can be naturalized, is still further evidence of the attitudes toward certain minority groups. And finally, the acts clearly show the irrational character of the social processes with which we must deal in considering the problem of American minorities.

The war made sharp changes in the flow of immigration and emigration. Four significant facts are shown by Table IV (page 636). Japanese emigration rose rapidly during the four years before Pearl Harbor, from June 30, 1938 to June 30, 1942, a total of 1,800 leaving in 1941. The number of Germans who left in proportion to those who arrived from June 30, 1938, to June 30, 1943, was more than four times that of Italians and larger than that of any other country except Japan. More women came as immigrant aliens than men, while more

men than women returned to their native country. America again became the haven of refugees, receiving over 100,000 Jews during this five-year period—almost ten times the number from any other country and approximately one half of the total immigration.

To meet the labor shortage of 1942 and 1943, several thousand laborers were imported from Mexico and Cuba; but the experiment did not prove successful. Most of them were returned home at the expense of our government.

The period of postwar adjustment will create a problem new in its magnitude. Will all of the prisoners of war be returned to their respective countries? What of Italians, captured as enemies, but later citizens of an "allied nation"? Will they be permitted to remain in the United States if they request the privilege of doing so? The answers cannot be predicted, but it may be assumed that the same forces that have determined prewar policies will to a large degree shape our national policy in the postwar period.

The problem of American minorities is, then, primarily a problem of attitudes—of ethnocentrism on the one hand and of prejudice on the other. While it does have, as will be stressed in succeeding chapters, a basis in fact—in differences of culture and in isolation—the basic element rests in the subtle assumption of the fundamental character of such differences.

It is this fact that makes a frank analysis of the problem a genuine challenge to every thoughtful individual. To the degree that the children in our schools, the young people in our secondary schools and colleges, and the adult can be led to a sympathetic understanding of the many factors that have continually played upon our minority groups, and to a genuine appreciation of the contributions of those groups to the lives of each of us, to that extent may we supplant irrational attitudes with reasoned judgment and prejudice with understanding.

CHAPTER II

Backgrounds of America's Heterogeneity

FRANCIS J. BROWN

IN THE preceding chapter, the problem of America's minority groups was painted in broad strokes. If we are to grasp the problem's full significance, we must analyze it in some detail.

Table I (page 632) presents the overall picture. During the 124 years in which data have been available, approximately 39,000,000 immigrants came to America. Of this number, nearly 33,000,000 or 85 per cent came from Europe; the other American countries contributed 4,500,000 or 11 per cent, Asia a little less than 1,000,000 or about 3 per cent, and the remainder or 2 per cent came from Africa, Australia, the Pacific Islands, or unspecified parts of the earth. It is estimated that of these 39,000,000 who entered the United States *from other nations* 30,000,000 have remained.¹

In Table III (page 636), we find the total picture broken down still further. This table indicates that during a period of one hundred and twenty-one years the largest total was from Germany, with its peak in 1882. The peak migration from southern Europe was from Italy, in 1907. The great English and Irish migrations reached their peaks earlier, that of Irish migration having come in 1851 and of Great Britain in 1888. The eastern European migration—from Austria-Hungary and Russia—like that from southern Europe, came during the early part of this century, with peaks in 1907 and 1913, respectively. The largest number of Chinese immigrants came in 1882 and of Japanese in 1907. Mexican migration did not become important numerically until 1924, after the passing of the Oriental exclusion act. The curbing of Oriental immigration left expanding agricultural and industrial areas of the Far West in need of a supply of cheap labor. This need was filled by the nearly half a million Mexicans who entered the country during the decade ending 1930.

¹ Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, p. 376. Third edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943.

Emigration. Another side of the picture must be taken into account. Although it is important to know the numbers that have come to America from the nations of the world, our present problem is also determined by the number who have returned. Only by the arithmetical process is it possible to procure an accurate appreciation of the extent to which each nationality group has contributed, numerically, to our heterogenous population. Table IV (page 636) gives the data.

Unfortunately no emigration statistics were kept before 1908. Even the data as given by the Immigration and Naturalization Service are not wholly subject to the subtraction referred to above. The numbers indicate the country to which the emigrant is returning. This may or may not be the country from which he came, especially with the shifting boundary lines which followed the first World War.

Certain generalizations, however, can be made. In proportion to immigration, the numbers returning are higher for eastern and southern Europe than for western and northern Europe. For example, the Greeks came in large numbers during the two decades 1901 to 1920. There were approximately 350,000 of them, but almost half of them, or 170,000, returned between 1911 and 1930. Conversely, while nearly 500,000 Irish came during the first two decades of this century, only 35,000 returned. Mexican emigration, since 1920, has exceeded immigration, but the reverse is true for Canada.

These data are frequently discussed in later chapters as they are a measure of the extent to which each group came with the intent of becoming permanent residents in the new land.

Nationality backgrounds. The most accurate picture of nationality backgrounds of the white population of the United States is provided by the special analyses made each decade since 1910 by the Bureau of the Census showing the nation of origin of the white population. These data² for the year 1920 indicate that about 40 per cent of the white population was of British or North Irish origin, 16 per cent of German origin, and 11 per cent of Irish Free State origin. From these groups were derived two thirds of the population. No other country has contributed as much as 5 per cent of the total population.

A study of the data for 1940 presented in Table V (page 638) reveals several important facts. Although Germany ranks first in the number of foreign white stock, it is second in the number who are foreign

² *Recent Social Trends*, p. 20. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932.

born. Italy is second in foreign stock, first in foreign born. Great Britain is third in the number of foreign stock with Poland and Russia following, but both of the latter surpass Great Britain in the number born abroad. An analysis of the figures on native born of foreign parentage shows that Germany and Italy (15.9 and 15.5 per cent respectively) have more than half again the number in this category of any other nationality group.

The picture of immigration by nationality groups is thus continually in flux. The fifty years of immigration shown in Table VI (page 640) indicates these changes even more graphically than does a comparison of twenty years. Many factors, economic, religious, social, and political, determine the course of immigration.

Language distribution. The extent to which these various nativity groups have failed to blend into our predominant culture pattern is probably best indicated by language. The 1940 census tabulates the total white population of the United States by mother tongue.³ Since 1910 the Census Bureau has collected information about mother tongues, but the tabulation has included only the foreign-born white group itself (the 1930 census), or, at the most, the foreign-born white and their American-born children (the 1910 and 1920 censuses). The 1940 census is the first one that furnishes information not only for the so-called first and second generations of foreign stock but also for the third generation and subsequent generations.

The Census Bureau defines mother tongue as the "principal language spoken in the home of the person in his earliest childhood." It classifies the foreign born as first generation; the native born of foreign or mixed parentage as the second generation; and the native born of native parentage as the "third and subsequent generations."

Table VII (page 644) shows that English was the mother tongue of nearly 80 per cent of the total white population in 1940, the proportion being lowest for the first generation (20 per cent); in the second generation almost 53 per cent; and in the third and subsequent generations, almost 93 per cent. The census thus comments on this notable increase: "Since the proportion of immigrants from English-speaking countries has been declining for many decades, it would appear that immigrants of a foreign mother tongue are less inclined than formerly to use it in their homes and thus to teach it to their children."

Although the German mother tongue was the next largest in 1940,

³ *Mother Tongue of the White Population: 1940*, "U. S. Census, Series P-15," No. 4, September 22, 1942.

numbering 4,949,780 (about 4 per cent) of the total white population, it seems very small in comparison with the English-speaking one. Among those of Spanish mother tongue nearly two fifths, and among those of French mother tongue over one third, were of the third and subsequent generations.⁴

Mother-tongue statistics taken by themselves are interesting and significant, and so are statistics by country of birth; when combined, they are infinitely more interesting and significant. Mother tongue is in most cases the same as the language usually spoken in the country of birth, but not in all cases. The situation in this respect varies widely from country to country. For example, 97.4 per cent of the foreign-born white persons having Norwegian as mother tongue gave Norway as the country of their parents' birth; on the other hand, only 22.2 per cent of the foreign-born white persons having French mother tongue said that France was the country of their parents' birth. To look at the matter from another angle, 1,451,160 of the foreign-born white persons in the United States said that Russia was the country of birth of their parents, but only 392,480 of them said that Russian was their mother tongue. Yiddish was the mother tongue of a large proportion of the persons who came here from Russia, as was true also, though to a much less extent, of Germans. To get a realistic picture of the origins of the foreign group it is necessary to know not only in what country they or their parents were born but also to what "race" or "people" they belong, as evidenced by their mother tongue.

Median age. A similar but less accurate indication of the recency of immigration are data on the median age of our foreign white stock. The 1940 census shows the foreign groups from northern Europe to be older on the average by nearly twenty years than those from eastern and southern Europe.

Naturalization. A measure of assimilation is the percentage of each foreign group who have become citizens of the United States. In the 1940 census, those from the Scandinavian countries led the list, closely followed by Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Ireland. Mexico is by far the lowest, with five other countries between 50 and 60 per cent naturalized. This problem will be discussed in more detail in Chapter XXVI. (See Table XXI, page 657.)

Trends in foreign born. From the standpoint of nativity, America has not yet approached homogeneity in the composition of its popu-

⁴ For a more detailed analysis see the *Interpreter Releases*, No. 49 (October 19, 1942), XX, No. 22 (May 27, 1943), and XIX, No. 55 (December 11, 1942).

lation. There is, however, a significant trend in this direction. In 1940, less than 11,500,000 were foreign-born whites, as compared with almost 14,000,000 only one decade earlier. These figures are even more significant when reduced to percentages. The foreign born constituted 8.7 per cent of the white population in 1940, whereas it made up 11.4 per cent ten years before.

This trend has influenced the nature of our present problem. With each passing year the number of foreign born is decreasing. There is no longer the need to adjust a foreign group to American life. The question which we now face as a nation is the extent to which the children and grandchildren retain the cultural heritage of their forebears and at the the same time are integrated into the total pattern of American life.

Racial distribution. Thus far we have dealt only with nationality groups; but America's population differences are both national and racial. The principal non-white race is, of course, the American Negro, comprising, in 1940, 9.73 per cent of the total population of the United States. All other races combined make up less than one half of one per cent. The American Indian comprises half of this total and is increasing more rapidly than any other group. (See Table VIII, page 645.)

Religion. One of the marked effects of nationality derivation on ideologies and behavior patterns is the field of religious belief. The 1936 census of religious bodies shows that approximately 56,000,000 persons were affiliated with religious bodies. Of these, some 31,000,000 were Protestants, 20,000,000 Catholics, and 4,600,000 Jews. In all, the church population was broken up into 256 denominations, each possessing some distinctive characteristic.

This picture of heterogeneity would be incomplete without some mention of the considerable number of refugees who have come to this country since the rise of the intolerant totalitarian systems. It is extremely difficult to provide accurate figures. The reports of the United States Immigration Service make no distinction between refugees and other immigrants; furthermore, many refugees have entered this country on the visas obtained in Canada or South America, and many are allowed to come in as "visitors," "professors," "priests," "students," and similar classifications which do not include them in the regular quota system.⁵

⁵ Francis J. Brown, Ed., "Refugees," *Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 203, May 1939.

The Weakness of All Census Data

All these figures are suggestive rather than conclusive. For, contrary to the popular conception that there is such a thing as a "German" vote or mentality, there are no Germans, Czechoslovaks, Poles, or other minority groups living in America, that are characterized by definite and singular characteristics applicable to each group member. It is impossible to speak about such minorities in terms of their collective names without noting that each cluster is subdivided into numerous socially stratified classes and castes, disintegrated and frequently in conflict with one another in terms of their differences. This fact is very important to bear in mind, as pointed out by Donald Young: ⁶

The human tendency to classify strangers by traits which distinguish them most strikingly has made for the neglect of the complicated class stratification which exists within each minority, no matter how lowly its position on the national scale. Whatever the white man's view, Negroes are not just Negroes to each other; a multitude of status lines crisscrosses colored social relationships, marking distinctions which are no less important humanly and scientifically than those to be found in white Boston or Baltimore. Similarly, Mexicans are not just Mexicans to each other, nor Jews just Jews, Japanese just Japanese, French Canadians just French Canadians, Italians just Italians.

This point will become more than obvious in the subsequent pages of this volume. When, therefore, we use the collective term in describing various minorities, we deal with the tendencies or attitudes in such groups rather than with the all-pervading mentalities of each respective group.

⁶ Donald Young, *Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression*, p. 25. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 31, 1937.

Part II

OUR MINORITY PEOPLES

CHAPTER III

The American Indian

CLARK WISSLER

THE AMERICAN INDIAN in our national population has a unique history. All the other minority groups migrated here from the old world since 1492, whereas the Indian was at that time the sole inhabitant. He possessed the land by virtue of long occupation but was gradually crowded out, seized, and made an unwilling subject to the European intruders. He played a part in the colonial wars between the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch colonials, according to local circumstances. Not infrequently Indians fought on both sides, because their tribes were usually at war with each other and easily induced to give temporary allegiance to the colonial nationals not immediately pressing upon their individual frontiers. After the Revolutionary War, the United States became their chief enemy, though even then tribes temporarily at peace could be hired to fight with the soldiers of the United States against such tribes as were formally at war with that nation.

When the original thirteen colonies set up an independent government, they inherited the Indian minority problem from the mother country. In the main, the former policies of the English government were followed at the outset. The Dutch seem to be credited with having led in establishing the procedures adopted by England. The colonies of the Dutch, English, and French were established as business corporations operating under charters issued by their respective governments. Thus the Dutch corporation settling in New York expected its main profits for a time to be derived from trade with the Indians. They assumed that the land was really owned by the Indians and consistently secured titles to such lands as they needed by

purchase. They went further in recognizing the several tribes as independent states with which they made treaties. It mattered little that the Indians rarely understood what was happening when they signed a contract to sell portions of their lands, because the colonists considered these contracts legal and binding and were powerful enough to defend the titles to lands thus acquired.

Prior to the Revolution, the leaders of the colonial governments and the Crown evolved a policy of permitting each Indian tribe to retain a relatively small area of its lands for permanent residence. This area was called "a reservation," because it was not subject to colonization or sale, but was guaranteed in perpetuity by treaty with the tribal government as exclusively reserved for the tribe's own residential occupation and use. Washington's administration naturally accepted this policy. The concept of the tribe as a nation continued until Grant's time, when Congress ruled that all Indians were individually subjects of the United States, but still recognized the several tribes as entities with whom contracts could be made. Their prior rights to definite areas of land were taken for granted and the practice continued of respecting tribal ownership as vested in equal per capita shares in the same.¹

Another important and unique feature of Indian minority policy is that the government recognizes hereditary tribal groups as owning tracts of land communally, in that all their descendants are equal per capita owners of the lands and income derived from the same. Trends in current policies are toward the formal incorporation of each tribe as owner of its residual lands and accumulated capital, under a form of national trusteeship. All other minorities are looked upon as of common national ancestry but received as individuals seeking citizenship.

This policy is consistent with recent legislation authorizing a form of restricted self-government for Indian corporations according to which members of the tribe elect a body of directors who regulate the financial and social affairs of the tribe or the corporation. Now that many tribes are increasing in number and inherit their right to individual participation in their corporation and community governments, it remains to be seen what the future may bring forth. Already, under the guiding hand of the government, new lands are being purchased and added to certain reservations no longer large enough to

¹ Walter H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations 1774-1788*, 1933; Annie H. Abel, *Proposals for an Indian State of the Union*, American Historical Association Report, pp. 89-102, 1907.

support the tribal population. Where this may lead in the distant future is not clear. Indians are now increasing in number faster than any other minority in our population. The Navaho, for example, to provide for their improving economy, need more land for raising their livestock, thus presenting a group of local problems in Arizona and New Mexico, which sooner or later will demand just solutions. So far no other minority group in our nation enjoys so unique a legal and social status.

The government has liberalized its policy respecting language, permitting the printing of textbooks in certain native tribal languages and the giving of instruction in the same. However, English is taught in Indian schools also. This experiment in dual language instruction is now under way in the schools for Navaho Indians and will be extended to the tribes who speak the Dakota language. When a compact community of 50,000 inhabitants retains a distinct language, its cultures and institutions seem fair to become stabilized and to persist for a long time. Most of the tribes surviving still speak their own languages in their homes and at official conferences, but many become bilingual, speaking in addition English or Spanish, according to location. Under such conditions it is not to be expected that the native speech will soon be extinct; rather it will become even more stabilized, especially where it is used in school instruction. When large groups of Indians speak, read, and write their own languages and reside in fixed geographical areas, they have something in common with other foreign-language groups, even though they are unique in their legalized communal ownership of land and capital.

Indian Population

The number of Indians on the rolls of the United States Department of Indian Affairs in 1943 was reported as 401,384, including Alaska. It was estimated that the total Indian population was approximately 430,000. It is thus apparent that the Indians do not constitute one of the major minorities such as the Italians, Scandinavians, Greeks, and so on, but on the other hand do greatly outnumber many others listed in this volume, for example, Turks, Syrians, and Hindus. The data on living Indians in the United States census usually record fewer Indians than those reported by the United States Indian Service. There are several causes for this difference: because of mixture of Indian and white blood, many white hybrids appear in the census as white, due to their small degree of Indian blood, whereas the rolls of the Indian service count them because they are entitled to shares

in Indian tribal lands and incomes. Again, in states where there are mixtures of Negro and Indian the custom is to list all as Negro. Further, the Indian service registers all persons of Indian descent whether they live on their tribal reservation or not, whereas many mixed-blood Indians scattered at random are enumerated in the census as white or Negro. Thus, it seems probable that the main cause of discrepancy between the census and the reservation rolls lies in the classification of mixed bloods.

The question is often asked as to the number of full-bloods now living. As already pointed out, the difficulty in classification, especially of the descendants of those who marry back with full-bloods, dooms any answer which might be given to the status of an estimate. The usual statement is that at least one-half of our Indians are of mixed blood. Mixed marriages seem to be declining, however, and since many mixed bloods marry full-bloods, the Indian strains are reasserting themselves. On the other hand, intertribal marriages are increasing, so that although the tribes are still mainly inbreeding, the tendency toward leveling down tribal types is growing.

The number of Indians in the United States in 1492 is still a controversial question. The conservative estimates are about 1,000,000, or roughly 0.33 per square mile. Since most of our Indian tribes were primarily hunters and but a few of them agriculturalists, some critics regard this estimate as too high. The denser populations were distributed along the Atlantic coast plane, in the Gulf states, New Mexico, Arizona, and the Columbia River area.² With European contact, the stress of white domination, war, and new European diseases took heavy toll, the lowest point in numbers being reached about 1900. Since that time the number of Indians has been increasing at an accelerating rate, due to the falling death rate among children and the constancy of a birth rate equal to that of any other minority.

Students of populations know that several factors may modify the growth of numbers: (a) changes in the birth rate, (b) changes in the total death rate, (c) changes in the age-at-death frequencies, and (d) changes in sex ratios. It is conceivable that any one of these could remain constant while the others changed. Hence, a knowledge of the total death rate does not tell us much about what is happening to the age and sex composition of our Indian population.

One of the first questions may be as to the sex ratio in the total Indian population. Although early observations of explorers and

² A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*, pp. 131-172.

fur traders indicated an excess of females, the data for 1934 show the reverse to be true today. This change in sex ratio suggests that reservation life, or white contact, is favorable to the survival of males, whereas in earlier times life was far more favorable to females. Further, analysis of Indian data suggests that a hunting life, plus war excursions, presented extra hazards to males and that white contact gradually reduced these hazards, so that at present the total ratio of males and females, among Indians in the United States, is similar to that among our white population.

The age distribution, or age profile, of a population changes probably in unison with trends in mode of life. Because of the change to reservation life, there was an increase in children surviving through the first fifteen years of life, which means that minors have increased, relatively, under white contact. The increase would have been greater, if tuberculosis, an adolescent disease, had not caused a slight decline in the number of minors surviving for the ages 16-20. It is further observed that an increasing number of adults survive. So, as may be suspected, the gross death rate rose sharply when Indians were first placed upon reservations, then in a few years began to decline and is still declining. The birth rate, on the other hand, remained high; hence the observed recent increase in Indian populations is due chiefly to the falling death rates, in turn due to increasingly effective social and economic adjustments to white culture.

Looking toward the future, we may expect the Indian death rate to fall until it approximates the death rate for whites living under similar conditions. Then if the Indian birth rate remains high, there will be a rapid increase in Indian population. Further, since the Indians possess social solidarity and each tribe has its own language, they may hold their own for a long time. However, all promise to become Americanized in mode of life, in economic and social customs.

Acculturation

The adjustment of a minority group to a larger dominating culture group is defined as acculturation. As such, it is one type of resultant in culture impact. The culture history of the Indian is an example of acculturation as so defined.³ At first each tribe made its contact through trade and was thereby stimulated to greater production of

³ Margaret Mead, *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe*; Mekeel, Scudder, "A Discussion of Cultural Change," *American Anthropologist*, N. S.; and Clark Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*.

goods and inducted into a higher standard of living. As competition became keener, the weaker tribes were crushed. But eventually each surviving tribe in turn was engulfed in white settlements, then placed upon a reservation and expected to live like white people. Yet adjustment to white culture began at early contact, and the cultures of the Indians changed with each advance in the intimacy of the contact. Through this early contact the Indians acquired the horse, metal tools, firearms, kettles, cloth, and so on. European clothing became common, and now that axes were available, better houses were constructed and more comfortably furnished. The use of liquor became common. Many Indians became bilingual, nominal Christians, and learned a great deal about white culture. Some customs that the whites frowned upon were given up or at least kept in the background. Marriage of Indian women and white men spread a knowledge of white folkways. Almost every Indian had observed white people in their daily occupations and knew how they lived.

Once having reached the reservation stage, the leaders of each tribe knew that they were doomed to live, if self-sustaining, like their rural white neighbors; and in many cases they made the initial effort in that direction. There were failure, discouragement, incompetence, trickery, and tragedy, the responsibility for which rested upon both Indian and white. All Indians were expected to farm; but in many cases their lands were ill adapted to agriculture. Even when crops were planted, drought, hail, insects, and other misfortunes discouraged the Indian, because, unlike the white man, he had no folk experience behind him to give him faith in the future and encourage him to expect ultimate success. His philosophy of life led him to expect that "the powers" would protect him from these calamities; but, if they did not protect him, he accepted such failure as evidence that they disapproved of what he had done, and so there was no use in persisting. Nevertheless the younger generation has overcome many of these handicaps, and if one visits an average reservation today, he will find many Indian families living in good houses, dressed according to modern rural white standards, using automobiles, radios, and the like. Most of the young people are able to write and read English. In the southwestern part of the United States many Indians speak English and Spanish in addition to their own language.

Yet these Indians are not identical in culture with their white neighbors of old American stock. Their traditions are different. Secretly, maybe, but surely, they consider themselves intrinsically better than their white neighbors, or at least that the culture of their ancestors

was a far better one than that of the white man. At the same time many of them are doing their best to acquire the economic techniques of their white neighbors and to profit thereby. They desire all the conveniences of contemporary life, though they are not in sympathy with it.

Today the touring white public looks upon the Indian as a diversion and encourages him to exploit his past for profit. At many places where tourists gather, the Indian displays his handwork, usually honestly, but occasionally fraudulently, offering for sale machine and factory-made imitations. Along the Great Lakes, in eastern Canada, and almost everywhere west of the Mississippi where Indian reservations are found, Indian women and men frequent railway stations and the main highways, dressed in modern conventional Indian styles, offering Indian goods for sale. Also, at camps and other central locations, costumed Indians sing and dance, and afterward solicit tips. The actual profits resulting from all these efforts are pitifully small. For example, several thousand Navaho women weave blankets at home, but the average return they get is less than five cents an hour. On the other hand, it is contended that these women enjoy weaving and thereby develop their aesthetic appreciation to their betterment. A group of public-spirited persons is now interested in the development of Indian crafts, seeking to stimulate a larger market for Indian-made goods and, of course, a higher price. This may be possible, but there are many economic and social pitfalls to be avoided. The white tourist attitude encourages the Indian to take a place in our midst which is somewhat like that of the gypsy of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is not a desirable solution to the Indian problem. How to change this attitude on the part of the interested public and still maintain a market for Indian crafts, the interest in which is certain to be erratic and subject to violent style fluctuations, is puzzling.

Perhaps the outstanding problem in the present system of reservation management is that of keeping the Indian from becoming more and more dependent. If he should be turned loose in the world, his lack of experience would quickly send him to the bread line. Thus, the net result would be nil, and the burden would be shifted from federal to local governmental agencies. Forceably to put Indian families upon their own and to scatter them among the white population at large would be to break up their relationship ties and separate them from their friends. The effect of this upon their mental and emotional life might be detrimental. Just how to avoid the violent

final wrench in turning the Indian loose is not clear. No one has as yet proposed a procedure which promises gradually to induct the Indian from economic dependence to independence. And so he is in a kind of vicious circle, completely conditioned to a dependent existence and at the same time taught to desire all the benefits accruing to a successful independent citizen.

Present Conditions of Indian Tribes

All Indians are legally citizens of the United States, entitled to vote according to the laws of the states in which they reside. They may own real estate and personal property subject to common law, but their tribal or reserved lands are held in trust for them by the federal government and so are not subject to state and county taxation or to most procedures of state government. Each tribe of Indians is claimant to the right of domicile on the lands reserved for its members and their descendants, and the federal government considers itself committed to their schooling, medical care, discipline, and general welfare. Churches of various denominations may support missions and private schools for Indians under permits from the government, though at present many congregations of Indians support their churches as churches are supported among the population at large. An Indian reservation, or agency, is in charge of an agent, or superintendent, with an administrative staff varying in size according to the number of Indians and area of the reservation. The agent is directly responsible to the United States Indian Service, under the Department of the Interior. He administers the reservation according to the regulations established by the Indian Service and special legislation by Congress.

All reservation Indians are in the main rural populations, engaged in food production according to local conditions. Those upon the seacoast and inland waterways may be in part fishermen, but the aboriginal economy of hunting and foraging has disappeared from all reservations, except in parts of Alaska. Livestock production has been substituted, coördinated with agriculture. The types of housing are approaching national styles in architecture, though often upon a low level of adequacy. During seasons of mild weather, many families may leave their cabins and cottages for temporary shelter of tents or other aboriginal types of housing; but they return to their permanent homes in unfavorable weather. Most Indians prefer an outdoor camping mode of life to the indoor mode characteristic of our nation. In the vicinity of reservations they furnish a mobile

temporary source of farm and outdoor labor, with their families occupying camps of their own construction. They prefer such activities as gathering potatoes, picking fruit, harvesting beets, and so on, in which the whole family young and old can participate. At such times the traditional form of tribal society is in full function. Under war conditions, many young Indian men and women found work and regular housing in towns where war goods were produced, expecting to return eventually to homes on their respective reservations. Practically every registered reservation Indian looks forward to a normal family life upon his reservation. The security and advantage of his right to reside upon the reservation is the obvious deterrent to the absorption of the Indian into our national life and the losing of his identity as a minority.

The Indian Reorganization Act

In 1934, congressional action, in the form of the Wheeler-Howard Bill, instituted a new policy in the control of Indian minorities. The intent was to legalize steps to accomplish the following: (a) conserve the property now held in trust for the several tribes, (b) allow the tribe to manage its own affairs in a legal manner, (c) evolve a mode of living consistent with our national economy. The act was not forced upon the Indians, but each reservation unit was given the right to vote on the acceptance of jurisdiction under the act or to proceed under the old form of reservation management. A considerable number refused to accept the act, so that only a majority of our Indian minorities are living under this new policy. However, the policy of the government in administering Indian affairs is tempered by the ideal objectives inherent in the act as summarized above. When a reservation unit accepts the act, a charter or constitution is drawn up and ratified, the necessary elections are held to provide officers and directors, and the act is set in operation under government guidance. It is expected that each reservation unit territorially and otherwise will eventually function under local state governments and be self-supporting as are incorporated communities. The policy is still in its experimental stage, but in most instances it has demonstrated that it is feasible and economically sound. It is expected that from time to time it will be necessary to revise the charters and constitutions to meet new conditions. One of the chief responsibilities delegated to the councils, as they are called, is the administration of a revolving loan fund from which loans can be made to assist individual members to finance crops or herds of livestock and to finance general

tribal enterprises as irrigation, conservation, building up tribal herds of livestock, and so on.

In 1943 it was reported that 192 tribes had accepted the act, of which 88 had adopted constitutions and by-laws and 68 had received their articles of incorporation and were operating under the same. Some 280 tribes are recognized as living under some 160 reservations, but the number of units under which these tribes may incorporate is undetermined.⁴

The official reports issued by the Department of Indian Affairs claim that great progress has been made in raising the incomes of tribal members. The total production of food, livestock, farm products, and so on, has increased encouragingly. The value of food products produced in 1943 was estimated as \$21,000,000, and livestock to the value of \$12,000,000 was marketed. Efforts were made to encourage the storing of food by families in cans, by drying, and in root cellars, the results of which have been surprisingly successful.

That many Indians are approaching white standards of thrift is indicated by the purchase of government bonds to the amount of several million dollars. The tribal councils have shown initial skill in handling coöperative enterprise, not only in livestock production but in lumbering on their own lands, raising sugar beets, mineral production, and so on. Some councils have invested their profits in the purchase of additional land to enlarge their reservations. Unless the government arbitrarily changes its present policy, or the state governments unduly interfere with the economic development of these incorporated Indian communities, Indians seem destined to become self-supporting and efficient citizens.

The record of the Indians in World War II was excellent. Since they are citizens, they were subject to draft; but the number of volunteers was so great that the representation of this minority in our armed forces was relatively high. Over 18,000 were inducted into the service, notwithstanding many rejections because the applicants were unable to read simple English. Special schooling was provided, and many young Indians strove to qualify. The combat record of Indians was exceptionally good, a number having been decorated for valor.

⁴ G. D. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States*, p. 37, 1943.

CHAPTER IV

The American Negro

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
Revised by FRANCIS J. BROWN

PARADOXICAL as it may seem, the Negro goes as far back in the history of the new world as any of the old-world groups. Indeed, there are theories that African Negroes crossed the Atlantic at its narrowest point, landed on the South American continent, and influenced Indian civilization before the arrival of the white man. These theories have been set forth in great detail by Professor Leo Wiener, formerly of Harvard University.

Whether the finds of Wiener be regarded as matters of fact or of conjecture, data exist which show that Negroes had a part in the accepted discovery of America and its exploration. There are some grounds for believing that the pilot of Columbus's flagship on the first voyage and of the *Nina* on the third voyage was a Negro. He was Pietro (or Pedro or Pero) Alonzo. In the "Libretto" (1504) there are a number of references to him as "Alonzo, the Negro." Once he is referred to as "Alonz, Negro companion of the Admiral."¹ Similar references are made in other early reports of the voyages of discovery. Whatever may be the fact concerning Alonzo's race (Thacher states that the word "Negro" as used in the "Libretto," which became current in following publications, was in the first instance the result of a typographical error), it is known that Negroes were numerous in Portugal and Spain long before Columbus sailed, and that many of them followed the sea; so it is not beyond likelihood that Negroes were among the crews of the three voyages.

However that may be, authentic history attests the fact that there were Negroes with Balboa, Cortez, Pizarro, De Soto, and with the other great explorers. One of the survivors of the ill-fated expedition led by De Narvaez was a Negro called Estevanico. He was

¹ See original and translation of the "Libretto," John Boyd Thacher, *Columbus*, Vol. 2, 457-514. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.

later a member of the expedition that explored the Rio Grande, and was the guide of the expedition that resulted in the discovery of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. The writings of the explorers and of the authoritative historians of the period contain numerous interesting and often amazing references to Negroes.

But the history of the Negro in the United States begins definitely with the landing of twenty Africans at Jamestown, Virginia, in August, 1619. It is worth noting that this landing at Jamestown took place more than a year before the Pilgrim Fathers set foot on Plymouth Rock. These twenty Africans were landed from a Dutch vessel and purchased by the white settlers, who made indentured servants of them. The status of these first Negroes was practically the same as that of the white indentured servants who had preceded them. With the increase of the number of Negroes in Virginia and the other colonies, and as a result of the economic factor at work, there was a transition in this status from indenture to slavery. The economic factors were the basic forces in establishing, spreading, and maintaining the institution of slavery. According to the census of 1790, there was a total number of 757,181 Negroes in the United States, of which 59,558 were free. At the outbreak of the Civil War the total Negro population of the United States amounted to 4,441,830, of which number 488,070 were free. Out of the Civil War came the emancipation of the slave.

The continued growth of the Negro population is shown in Table IX (page 645). By 1900, the number had doubled and was 8,833,994. In each decade, the Negro population has increased approximately one million, and, in 1940, was 12,865,511.

Even more significant than the gross figure is the relation of Negroes to the total population. The percentage which the Negro population bears to the total population is also given in Table IX. In 1870 the percentage was 12.7. It increased slightly and in 1880 was 13.1 per cent, probably due to more accurate census data than because of any unusual increase. From 1880 to 1930, the percentage gradually but persistently declined to 9.69. This decrease in relation to the white population occurred during the period when the white population was being increased by an average net immigration (in excess of emigration) of approximately 3,000,000 each decade. The effect of immigration upon the ratio is further evidenced by the fact that during the ten years from 1931 to 1940 in which the increase in white population due to net immigration was but 70,000, the ratio of Negroes to whites reversed its trend. It increased to 9.77 per cent.

In planning for the future, these facts become important, for they indicate not only an absolute increase in Negro population, but a gradual stepping up of its percentage to the total population.

Another significant fact is the distribution of Negro population. While a few Negroes had migrated to northern states prior to 1870, the number was small and, for the most part, they were escaped slaves. Beginning about 1875, the numbers gradually increased, fluctuating with the accessibility of employment in the North, especially in the cities. The migration reached a previously unprecedented peak during and immediately following World War I, continued high even during the depression, and advanced to a new peak at the time of World War II. A comparison of population in selected states, over the decade 1930-1940 only, is presented in Table X (page 645).

Several facts are evident from a study of this table. Only one of the seven states in the Deep South, Kentucky, has shown a decrease in Negro population within the decade 1930-1940. The industrial states of the North have had an increase in their Negro population in approximately the same proportion. The agricultural states, especially those having no large manufacturing centers, have shown little increase, and in Iowa, for example, there has been a decrease in Negro population.

Comparative data over a larger span of years to include both world wars would have shown a larger proportion of increase in the industrial North. If a comparison were made of population in cities, the trend toward urbanization would be even more pronounced.

In this twofold movement of population—to the northern states and to urban communities—lie many of the problems of economic and social adjustment comparable in many respects with the problems faced by the recent immigrant minorities.

It is evident, then, that for more than three hundred years the Negro has lived in the United States and has been an element of increasing consequence. Today the Negro-American population, numerically at least, constitutes the most important of all American minority groups.

If we turn to even a brief statement of the social and economic factors, it becomes necessary at once to define more closely Negro Americans as a minority group. First, they have long been identified with the United States and cannot now be regarded in any sense as "immigrants"; and second, although they are more sharply separated from the main body than is any other minority group, they are not

to be classified as "aliens." They are essentially American. They are one with the main body in language, in religion, in customs, and in general concepts. Their minority status is therefore unique. For although there is this oneness at these vital points, the minority status of Negro Americans involves the greatest separateness from the main body and the least susceptibility to being changed. In this anomalous condition lies the fundamental distinction between Negro Americans and other American minority groups. The latter, no matter what their historical, cultural, or religious particularities, have the opportunity and privilege of rapidly narrowing the gap between them and the main body. The practical closing of the gap between the main body and almost all of the earlier white immigrant groups has been achieved.

A study of the Negro-American minority group will have little to do with distinctiveness in social, political, cultural, and religious ideas, but will find a wide field in the duality of the system under which the Negro works separately along lines parallel to the basic national pattern. The problems resulting from this dual system of culture and this group's significant contributions to American life will be discussed in later chapters.

CHAPTER V

"Old" Immigration

A. BRITISH AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

THE PREPONDERANT influence of our British origins is everywhere apparent—in our language, our government, our social organizations, our implicit faith in the individual, and our value of the freedoms for which we willingly stake life itself. The dominance of our British heritage is forcefully demonstrated in the data given in an earlier chapter, which indicated that other languages are scarcely spoken among third and subsequent generations.

Although we fully acknowledge the contributions of the British to American life, it would be a gross misstatement to imply that our present culture is British. Even before the Declaration of Independence, the children and grandchildren of our Pilgrim Fathers had become American. New arrivals, even from the homeland, were looked upon as, and became in fact, immigrants. Although the English shaped the molds into which the life of our country was first poured, the product differed markedly and, over the years, became a composite pattern, a component of many cultures, and thus really American.

No records were kept of these early arrivals, but census reports from 1820 to 1940 show a total of 4,264,728 immigrants from Great Britain divided as follows: from England 2,650,298; Scotland 734,191; Wales 86,465; not specified, 793,774.

ENGLISH

In the early days of colonization, the larger number of new arrivals came directly from England. A combination of political, social, and economic causes drove them to America. They transplanted, or attempted to transplant, the English institutions in the new world. Thus the foundation of American culture was laid by the English people, although it must be emphasized that from the beginning it

was apparent that transplanting was bound to be unsuccessful just because the new world was new. Only adaptation could save the form and spirit of things English. That very adaptation led ultimately, of course, away from England. Nevertheless, a new order was slowly shaped, and its beginnings became more apparent with the continued immigration of the late seventeenth century.

These British immigrants represented at least two grades of society that differed widely from each other. The Pilgrims and Puritans of New England were the yeomen, the merchants, the manufacturers, skilled in industry. The southern planters sprang from a class of similar standing. Below both these classes were the indentured servants, the majority of whom were brought to this country through the advertisements of shipowners and landowners or were forcibly captured and transported for crimes or pauperism.¹

The age was a cruel, undemocratic, and intolerant one in England, and it was hardly better in the colonies, even though religious freedom existed in Rhode Island and, to a degree, in Maryland. Yet among the rascals and scalawags who appeared in every colony, along with the more idealistic and often intolerant leaders, were prominent men who, for their general abilities, their idealism, sometimes their very impracticability, were lovable and admirable. Both of these elements laid the foundation of the United States; took part in a dramatic experiment the like of which the world had up to then never seen.²

Even during this early period, our social conflicts, the products of immigration, began. During the colonial period hostility to immigration was apparent, and the "old" colonists regarded immigrants in some cases as "foreigners."³ There were differences in religion, language, and culture traits, intensified by objections to the pauper and criminal elements. The colonial assemblies were almost entirely in the hands of the English, and they were inclined to look down upon other ethnic and cultural groups as inferior. The situation was complicated by the religious elements. Anglicans in the South and in New York, Puritans in New England, and Quakers in Pennsylvania were anxious to keep not only political but also religious and ethnic control. Sectarian differences were magnified. "Religious intolerance and religious ethnocentrism were the spirit of the time, despite the fact that

¹ J. R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, pp. 26-44. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.

² For a summary of the conditions of transportation of the colonists and immigrants, and especially the character of indentured service, see M. R. Davie, *World Immigration*, pp. 29-39. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

³ L. Garis, *Immigration Restrictions*, Chapter I. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

religious freedom was one of the attractive inducements held out by most colonies. Colonists were not ready to welcome those who did not cherish the same beliefs that had become sacred to them."⁴ Catholics were discriminated and legislated against in most colonies. Pennsylvania was the only really liberal colony in the matter of religious tolerance.

It was also quite natural that the various colonies soon began to object to the importation of the paupers, convicts, and felons whom England sought to send to them. It is of interest that the economic arguments, so important in hastening later immigration, were used even this early. In fact, at the turn of the eighteenth century, some colonies tried to attract settlers by grants of land on the frontier. They needed them for frontier defense. One of the grievances in the Declaration of Independence was that the mother country had hindered the free flow of workers into the colonies.

The religious, political, and cultural differences, the localistic old-world customs and ideals, and the geographical isolation tended to retard the rapid amalgamation of the immigrants from the non-British stock to the culture which was dominant at that time. Communication and consequent social and economic contacts were more or less difficult, and yearly arrivals from Europe promoted separatism. On the other hand, the forces of assimilation were also at work. There was the physical distance from England, through which the colonies tended to retain the English cultural impress only in its modified form. But the English language was dominant, and the forms of local government, system of courts, and legal ideas were in use. Inter-marriage was common and in favor of producing a common type. Washington, in his Farewell Address, speaks to "Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country" and mentions that "With slight shades of differences, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles."

As shown in Table I (page 632), more than two and one half million immigrants from England arrived during the 121 years of recorded statistics, the peak being reached in the decade 1881-1890, when there were 644,680 new arrivals. However, as is true to a varying extent of all immigration, over one third of the entire number returned home.⁵

Like the Scots and the Welsh, the English first settled chiefly in

⁴L. G. Brown, *Immigration*, p. 51. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1933. Reprinted by permission.

⁵H. C. Duncan, *Immigration and Assimilation*, p. 42. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933.

the Northeast and Middle West; but, as the years passed, they diffused throughout the entire United States. In 1940, there were 657,335 individuals born in England or Wales living in this country. The largest number, approximately 120,000, lived in New York, with Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, California, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Connecticut following in the above order.

As informal ties to the homeland declined, social organization crystallized the link between the old world and the new and organizations developed to promote Anglo-American relations. The General Society of Mayflower Descendants, and the Ark and Dove, were made up exclusively of those of English descent, as were also the Colonial Dames of America and the Hereditary Descendants of Colonial Governors.⁶

Groups that preserve English customs and traditions in this country provided another bond between Great Britain and the United States. In this class may be placed what was the first regularly organized military company in America, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, Massachusetts. Formed in 1637, this military organization, which held drills in Faneuil Hall, was modeled upon the Honorable Artillery Company, the oldest existing body of volunteers in Great Britain, founded in 1537.

The English Folk Dance Society of America was organized in 1915 by Cecil J. Sharp, an authority on folk dances and folk music, and aimed to perpetuate and encourage folk dancing in its traditional English form in America. Branches and centers were established in many parts of this country. Since 1926, the group has conducted a summer school or Folk Dance Camp at Pinewoods Camp near Plymouth, Massachusetts.

As colonizers and immigrants, the English were indissolubly connected with the growth of America. George Washington was the great grandson of a Yorkshireman, and nearly two thirds of our presidents have been wholly or partially of English blood. Every chapter of American history is studded with English names. We received not only the colonizers and immigrants from England, together with their culture, but also our first ironworks, cotton mills, and railroads. It was English capital that supplied the means for much of the early beginnings of our industrial development.

The English have been leaders in every enterprise. We have no important walk of life that does not bear somewhere the hallmark

⁶ Helen J. Nolan, *Organizations in the United States Interested in Anglo-American Relations*. New York: The Digest Press, Vol. VI, No. 6, December, 1936.

of the Englishman. Two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were English-born: Robert Morris, who placed his entire fortune at the service of his adopted country, and Button Gwinnett. A forceful Englishman named Thomas Paine did much for American independence with his pen. Although born in Bermuda, Francis Landey Patton, who was president of Princeton University for fourteen years, is considered an Englishman. John Harvard's name is associated with the founding of the oldest and one of the most outstanding of American universities. Samuel Slater was the founder of our cotton-mill industry at the close of the Revolution.

Coming to our more modern period, we find James Smithson, that mysterious benefactor of ours who never even visited our shores but who bequeathed to us the fortune and the idea from which our Smithsonian Institution sprang. The writings of Thompson Seton, friend and biographer of wild life and animals, are still widely read, as is Francis Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. James E. Scripps' name is connected with a chain of newspapers. James Elverson began his career as a messenger boy and then became the proprietor of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*. The genius of Richard Mansfield, the magnetism of William Faversham, the winsomeness of Annie Russell, the classic charm of Julia Marlowe are still remembered by the theater lovers of America. Great motion picture stars of England have contributed much to our Hollywood studios: Charles Laughton, Merle Oberon, Herbert Marshall, and Ronald Colman head an extensive list. Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke was the head of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. William Colgate, soap magnate, it also identified with philanthropic pursuits. Samuel Gompers, a former leader of the labor movement, was born in England.

In the field of mechanical invention, we also must note John Stevens, grandson of an English immigrant, who built our first steam railroad in Hoboken, and Walter Katte who built the New York elevated railroad. Robert Hoe adapted the "Hoe cylinder" invented by his grandfather, which made possible our great metropolitan dailies.

It is scarcely possible that Andrew Carnegie's dream of a British-American union will ever become a reality. But the significant influence of the past combined with the stern realities of global war translated that dream into a widely proposed plan.⁷ The postwar world will require the closest coöperation between Great Britain and the United States; the foundation has been well laid in the pattern of our common culture.

⁷ C. H. Streit, *Union Now*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939.

SCOTTISH

There were two streams of Scottish immigration. One came directly from the motherland, the other came through the province of Ulster in North Ireland. The latter are claimed as Irishmen by Irish writers in the United States and are commonly referred to as "Scotch-Irish." To assert that these Ulster Scots are either Scottish or Irish after two centuries of blending is difficult, especially since they have become almost a distinct group unto themselves.

The migration to America was influenced by many factors. The first impetus was given by the rebellion of 1641. During the Commonwealth, the war between Scotland and England resulted in large numbers of Scottish prisoners taken at Dunbar (1650) and at Worcester (1651) being sold into service in the colonies. Revolutions, discrimination by England against Scottish woollen goods, and especially religious intolerance, were all contributing forces to this early migration. Two shiploads of Scottish Jacobites were sent over in 1717 and sold as servants. Matters became so desperate at the beginning of the ninth decade of the seventeenth century that a number of nobles and gentlemen determined to settle in New Jersey and the Carolinas. The mania for the emigration to North Carolina affected all classes and continued for many years. In 1735, the General Assembly of North Carolina provided for recruiting among the Highlands of Scotland.

Although many Scots came to New England, they never settled there in such numbers as to leave their impress on the community so deeply as they did in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the South. From the coast settlements, the stream of immigration flowed south into the Virginias, the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and west across the Alleghenies into the great territory of Ohio. The immigration slowly increased until the accession of George III. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, it is believed that one third of the entire population of Pennsylvania was of Ulster-Scottish origin.⁸

The wide distribution of these immigrants was accounted for in large part by the sentiments they carried with them. The people in most of the seaboard colonies, and especially the governing classes, had preserved the Anglican flavor in their folkways, and so the larger number of Scots and Ulster Scots went to Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. Their independent position on the frontiers proved to be

⁸ W. Reid, *The Scot in America and the Ulster-Scot*, is the most readable summary of Scottish immigration.

of importance during the American Revolution. The Ulster Scots especially had felt the hand of England so heavy upon them that they had been glad to leave their green fields along the Ban and the Foyle to come to the new world. It was not strange, then, that "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain (the Mecklenburg and West Moreland Resolutions) came not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor the Planters of Virginia, but from the Ulster-Scottish Presbyterians."⁹

According to the United States census of 1940, of the 279,321 foreign born from Scotland in America, over 50,000 live in New York, with lesser numbers in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Illinois, and California. Although the Scot has an Anglo-Saxon background, he is slow to become naturalized; in 1930, only 60.9 per cent of the foreign born had become American citizens. In religion, the American Scot is almost sure to be Presbyterian, and the influence of Scottish Presbyterianism on the formation of the Republic cannot be exaggerated.¹⁰

From the beginning, the Scot impressed his cultural background on America. Who need be Scottish to join in singing "Annie Laurie" or "Comin' Through the Rye?" Today no city of importance is without its St. Andrew's Society or Burns or Caledonian Club. There are more than 1,000 of these societies, including the Order of Scottish Clan, organized in 1878, and the Daughters of Scotia, organized in 1898. Philip Livingston was the first president of the St. Andrew's Society of New York. Among his sons was the president of the New York Provincial Congress. Another son signed the Declaration of Independence, and another was governor of New Jersey. It is of interest that of the fifty-six members of the Continental Congress in 1776 who signed the Declaration of Independence, James Wilson of Pennsylvania and John Witherspoon of New Jersey had been born in Scotland and nine others (William Hooper of North Carolina, George Ross of Delaware, Thomas Nelson, Jr. of Virginia, and Philip Livingston of New York, among others) were of Scottish descent. John Witherspoon's name is still celebrated in America in educational and other circles; in 1766, he was elected president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). The descendants of Principal Witherspoon can be traced in honorable positions

⁹ George Bancroft, *The History of the United States*, Vol. 5, p. 77. Boston: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1861.

¹⁰ The best summary of the Scottish influence in America is D. MacDougall, *Scots and Scots' Descendants in America*.

in the ministry and the professions to the present day. Patrick Henry, the orator and patriot, was the son of a Scot named John Henry. Of the presidents of the United States, Monroe, Hayes, Grant, the Roosevelts, and Wilson are of Scottish descent. In Washington's first cabinet, out of four members, two were Scots and a third was an Ulster Scot: Edmond Randolph, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox. In other phases of American politics the Scots have been represented by such names as John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, James G. Blaine, J. C. Breckinridge, the Livingstons, Chauncey Mitchell Depew, Stephen A. Douglas, William McKinley, and countless others. Sam Houston, president of the Republic of Texas and first representative of the state of Texas in the United States Senate, was of Scottish blood. Daniel Webster was descended from the New Hampshire Scots. In the Civil War, Scots and their descendants were prominent on both sides. General U. S. Grant and Robert E. Lee were both of Scottish descent. Admiral John Paul Jones, the most famous of the old-time American sea-fighters and the first commodore of the American Navy, was a Scottish lad of thirteen when he saw America for the first time.

Robert Lenox, founder of the Presbyterian Hospital and the Lenox Library in New York, was one of the five wealthiest New Yorkers for years before his death in 1840. Numerous American educators have been of Scottish descent. William and Mary College, preceded only by Harvard, was founded by a Scot, James Blair. An Ayrshire man, James McCosh, was another president of Princeton University. Dr. John H. Finley, former commissioner of education of the state of New York, is of that background. In more recent years, James MacAlister was one of the foremost American educators. William McLure has been called "the father of American geology." John Muir, geologist and explorer, was the author of many books on natural science; after him is named the great Muir Glacier in Alaska. Peter Cooper built the first locomotive in the United States. Alexander Graham Bell, who invented the telephone, was born in Edinburgh. The telegraph depends today on the inventions of Joseph Henry and F. B. Morse. Cyrus Hall McCormick invented the reaping machine. James Scott and George Lauder helped to build Pittsburgh's great steel industries.

Other great names in American life include: James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, James Gordon Bennett, Whitelaw Reid, Arthur Brisbane, Horace Greeley, and Andrew Carnegie. All were either born in Scotland or were of Scottish descent.

Like their fellow immigrants from England, but to a somewhat lesser degree, the Scots have merged into the composite that is America. They are a minority group only in the sense that they represent another of the many rivulets coming from foreign shores, blending easily and quite unconsciously into the current of American life, and contributing much to its richness and beauty.

WELSH

The Welsh came to the United States with the Puritans, the Huguenots, and the Cavaliers. The first Welsh immigrant of historical fame is Roger Williams, but even before him, in 1620, had come John Alden, and in 1630, Edward Garfield, the ancestor of our twentieth president. Among the first settlers of Pennsylvania who landed here in 1682 were a large number from Wales, mostly Quakers from the vicinity of Dolgetan. Thereafter the immigration continued for many years, and Welshmen could be found in all settlements from the woods of Maine to the pines of Florida, and as far west as the Alleghenies. In fact, in the early days of Philadelphia, the Welsh language was freely spoken in its streets and market places, and Welsh Quakers bought the Welsh Tract, now a suburb of that city. Although their language is no longer spoken there, names tell the story of their origin. The maps of southeastern Pennsylvania are thickly dotted with Welsh names—Merion, Gwynedd, Pencader, Maldwyn, Bryn-Mawr, Haverford, Berwyn, North Wales, and others. The decline of the Welsh in Philadelphia and vicinity after the Revolution discouraged further emigration there, and many of those who remained turned to other states. Between 1796 and 1802, Welsh settlements started in other portions of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Maine. In Maine are found many Welsh place names such as Bangor, Monmouth, and Wales.

Although the United States census of 1940 states that we have approximately 50,000 foreign-born Welsh, the Welsh themselves estimate the number at 250,000 to 300,000,¹¹ including those born here of Welsh parents. There is hardly a state without its Welsh Day, its Welsh church, or its *eisteddfod*. *Gwyl Dewi* is commemorated wherever a few Welshmen can gather together. In general, however, the largest number live in Pennsylvania, with a lesser number in New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. The larger proportion of them

¹¹ F. J. Harries, "Welshmen and the United States," *Glamorgan County Times*, 1927, p. 17; Erasmus W. Jones, "The Welsh in America," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1876, pp. 305-313; H. N. Casson, "Welsh in America," *Munsey's Magazine*, 1905-1906, Vol. 35, pp. 749-754.

are miners and consequently are concentrated in mining areas. Perchance the Welshman has had to learn the English language in America. But that does not prevent him from heading the list of the United States naturalized citizens (in 1940, over 75 per cent had been naturalized).

The contributions of the Welsh to American life have been many and varied. They did much to establish our iron business, and more still for our coal industry. In addition to being themselves capable miners, they have contributed to the development of the industry. David Thomas came in 1840 and became "the father of the American iron business" by developing the hot-blast and the first big furnaces. Marshall Owen Roberts was one of the founders of the Erie, Lackawanna, and Texas Pacific Railroad; George B. Roberts was for many years president of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

David Lloyd, chief justice, Thomas Lloyd, first governor of Pennsylvania, and D. Thomas Wynn, speaker of the first Assembly, were Welsh. Meriwether Lewis was a member of the noted Lewis and Clark expedition. Elihu Yale gave \$4,000 to a little college at New Haven and so perpetuated his name in one of our greatest institutions of learning. Brown University came into existence as the result of the efforts of the Welsh ministers, the Reverend Morgan Edwards and Dr. Samuel Jones. Ephraim Williams (1715-1755), the founder of Williams College, developed the first observatory in the United States. Charles Evans Hughes, the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, has a Welsh lineage. The same applies to Jonathan Edwards, one of America's greatest clergymen, and to J. J. Davis, former secretary of labor. Robert Owen, the first great social reformer, came here in 1823 from Wales. Other leaders of Welsh descent include John L. Lewis, labor organizer, D. W. Griffith of motion-picture fame, and J. Pierpont Morgan, financier. The following past presidents are claimed to have been men of Welsh origin or partly of Welsh descent: John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Q. Adams, W. H. Harrison, Abraham Lincoln, and General Garfield.

Thus, in spite of their small numbers, the Welsh immigrants and their descendants have made an indelible mark on every state in the Union and throughout our history. In many communities, especially in the mining areas, they have retained a greater degree of autonomy than have either the Scots or the English. This is perhaps natural because of at least two factors: language and greater local and occupational unity.

B. IRISH AMERICANS

A. J. REILLY

There is an old tradition that the first European to set foot on the soil of the new world was an Irish sailor whom Columbus had recruited in Galway for his expedition; but long before Christopher Columbus set out upon his momentous voyage this western land was known to the Irish. From earliest times the voyage and vision literature of the Celts dealt with a land beyond the rim of the western sea whither chosen heroes and champions journeyed to reap the rewards of their valor. No doubt these tales exerted a powerful influence on the minds of later Christian missionaries, tales of whose westward voyages are numerous. The most widely known of these was the *Navigatio* of St. Brendan, founder of the monastery of Clonfert. The *Navigatio* is a Latin account of the missionary journeys of this sixth century cleric which took him as far west as the coast of North America.

The first recorded settlement of Irish colonists, however, was in 1621 on the site of the present city of Newport News. It may have been this colony to which Reverend Andrew White, S.J., referred in his *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*. Father White accompanied Lord Baltimore's first group of colonists in 1633. To avoid the Spanish fleet, the expedition put in at Montserrat. "The inhabitants," wrote Father White, "are Irishmen who were banished by the English of Virginia on account of their professing the Catholic faith."

From the records of the Massachusetts colony we learn that in 1634 a settlement of "Irish and Schottische gentlemen with considerable quantity of equipment and merchandise" was made on the Merrimack River. In the same year, we learn from the diary of Governor Winthrop, "Darby Field, an Irishman" explored the White Mountains. In 1640 William Collins, with a band of Irish refugees from the Barbados, settled in New Hampshire where Collins immediately opened a school. This was the period of the "plantations" in Ireland, and English shipmasters made considerable sums transporting the dispossessed Irish landowners seized by the English to the Barbados where frequently they were sold into slavery.

The real beginning of large-scale Irish immigration was about the middle of the century. Cromwell as lord lieutenant of Ireland was attempting by fire and sword to make the country into an English

Puritan settlement. The entire population of the three provinces, Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, was driven out and their lands apportioned among Cromwell's followers. They had the choice of seeking homes in the desolate and rocky mountain regions of west Connaught or being shot on sight if they remained on their lands. Thousands of the dispossessed fled or were forcibly transported to America. In the year 1649 a single vessel embarked with one hundred and seventy Irish persons for the "plantations in America." In 1650 another vessel brought one hundred Irish men and women to the Virginia colony. In 1651 one thousand Irish emigrants left Bristol, England, for the New England colonies. In 1653 the Kelly and Healy families from Galway established the first white settlement in Maine. In 1654 the vessel *Goodfellow* brought four hundred Irish "redemptioners" to New England. In 1655 two thousand persons were shipped from Ireland to the Barbados and the American colonies. Between 1652 and 1655 approximately six thousand five hundred Irish were landed at various American ports, and it is estimated that by 1660 ten thousand Irish had been scattered among the thirteen colonies.

The majority of these settlers were from the former large land-owning class, but toward the end of the century the type of immigration changed. Large numbers of business men, artisans and skilled workers of all kinds, especially weavers, were forced to flee from Ireland when the English trade and navigation acts ruined Irish industries. In the new world there was need for their crafts and ample opportunities for themselves and their children. Among the first purchasers who embarked with William Penn in 1682 were a number of Irish families from the towns of Wexford and Cashel. Because of its liberal laws, Pennsylvania became extremely popular with Irish immigrants who found scant welcome in colonies where liberty of conscience was not allowed. Penn's secretary, James Logan from County Armagh, was "the most remarkable inhabitant of the English colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century," says his descendant, Logan Pearsall Smith, in *Unforgotten Years*. As the agent for William Penn he held successively every important office in the gift of the colony. He was an accomplished linguist, a master mathematician, and a widely known botanist. He was one of Franklin's first patrons and bequeathed his library, the finest in America, to the Philadelphia Library founded by Franklin.

A contemporary of Logan's was Thomas Dongan, Pennsylvania's first schoolmaster, son of a Dublin merchant and kinsman of Governor Dongan of New York. George Talbot from Castle Rooney in

County Roscommon was the first solicitor general of Maryland, and Charles Carroll, grandfather of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the first proprietary governor. In 1683 two Irish settlements were made in New Jersey. The strength of the Irish element in the colonies at the close of the seventeenth century and their close relations with the motherland can be judged from the fact that in 1686 the ship *Katherine* from Dublin arrived in Boston laden with supplies for the relief of the victims of King Philip's war. This "Irish donation" we learn from the records of the Massachusetts colony was divided among five hundred towns and gave relief to some three thousand persons.

The tide of Irish immigration reached the flood during the eighteenth century when, according to Froude in *The English in Ireland*, not enough ships could be found to carry those fleeing to America. The penal laws against Catholics, the Test Act against Presbyterians, the trade and navigation acts against all Irish industry and commerce spread economic ruin throughout the country, which was aggravated by the famine of 1740, only a little less disastrous than that which occurred a century later. Between 1714 and 1720 fifty-four ships arrived in Boston with Irish immigrants who were induced to settle along the frontier and in Maine and New Hampshire. In 1720 there were so many Irish in Massachusetts that the general court ordered that "certain Irish families recently arrived from Ireland be warned to move off." In 1723 an ordinance was passed requiring the registration of all Irish immigrants. In Philadelphia the number of Irish in 1728 was estimated at five thousand. Within two years, from 1771 to 1773, some thirty thousand emigrants left the northern province of Ulster alone.

Some American writers refer to this immigration as "Scotch Irish" or "Ulster Scottish" and claim that these immigrants were neither Irish nor Scottish, but a nationality distinct from both. There is, however, no factual basis for this assertion. Colonial and early nineteenth century writers, as George Chambers, refer to Scots *and* Irish, but make no mention of a third group. The distinction did not arise until about the middle of the nineteenth century and coincided with the rise of the Know-Nothing movement, which was especially directed against Irish immigrants professing the Catholic faith. Probably William Willis, who in 1858 compiled a history of the McKinstry family, was the first to use the term Scotch-Irish. No doubt some Irish were pleased to be dissociated from those "foreigners" whom Know-Nothingism had made unpopular and wel-

comed the distinction "Scotch-Irish" and the myth of a distinct nationality, but the general Irish attitude is expressed by Thomas Hunter, founder and first president of Hunter College of the City of New York and one of those frequently described as "Scotch-Irish." In his *Autobiography* he writes, "I was born in Ireland as were my parents and grandparents, and that makes me Irish, and I am proud of it."

No accurate statistics cover the Irish immigration during the colonial period; but that the Irish outnumbered other racial groups seems to have been accepted by contemporary writers. That they brought to America a hatred of tyranny, especially as represented by the English government, strong enough to precipitate the Revolution, to carry it to a victorious close, to carry the young country through its second War for Independence, and to remain a force in American life until after the turn of the present century is equally true. Douglas Campbell in *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America* says of the Irish, "By them American independence was first openly advocated and but for their efforts seconding those of the New England Puritans, that independence would not have been secured." Joseph Galloway, testifying at the British parliamentary investigation into the cause and conduct of the American war, asserted that fully half the continental army was Irish; but Michael J. O'Brien, who has done painstaking research on the subject, places the figure at 38 per cent. David Ramsay, historian of South Carolina, says, "The colonists which now form the United States may be considered as Europe transplanted. Ireland, England, Scotland, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Poland and Italy furnished the original stock of the present population, and are generally supposed to have contributed to it in the order named. For the last seventy or eighty years no nation has contributed so much to the population of America as Ireland."

Irish immigrants were among the pioneers who opened up the great West. John Lewis from Donegal led the first group of settlers to the Shenandoah Valley. An Indian trader named Doherty was the first white man known to have penetrated the wilderness of Kentucky, and a fellow countryman and explorer, James McBride, fired the spirit of adventure in Daniel Boone. Patrick Kelly explored Utah, and the first dwelling erected by a white man in what is now the state of Oklahoma was built by Hugh McGarry in 1790. Northern New York was explored by two brothers from Limerick, Michael and Nicholas MacDonald, who established themselves on the shore of what is now Ballston Lake. The sons of Irish parents, the Creighton

brothers, opened up Nebraska, established Omaha as a thriving city and there founded Creighton University.

Celtic genius for organization early made the Irish a force in the political life of the country. In 1789 the Tammany Society was founded in New York by an ex-Revolutionary soldier, William Mooney, to combat property qualifications for voters urged by the wealthy Tories. The first post-Revolutionary mayor of New York City was James Duane, son of Anthony Duane of Cork. In 1774 Christopher Colles, who had emigrated from Dublin ten years earlier, began work on a water-supply system for New York City and in 1784 presented a plan to the New York Assembly for the construction of a canal to connect the city with the Great Lakes. Less than a generation later the Erie Canal was built by DeWitt Clinton, whose ancestors came from County Longford. The first governor of the state of Georgia was the Irishman, John Houston, and John Boyle, son of Irish immigrants, was the first governor of Illinois. The city of Denver was named for the family of John Denver who became the first governor of Kansas. The Irish-born William Claiborne was the first governor of the state of Louisiana, and Irish governors guided the development of the territories of Oregon, Mississippi, and Montana, the most famous of whom was Thomas Francis Meagher, Irish revolutionary, Civil War hero, and secretary and temporary governor of the Montana territory.

The influx of political refugees during the early years of the nineteenth century gave America such distinguished families as the Emmets, the MacNevens, the Guineys, and others. Business and professional men, they turned their considerable talents to the service of the country of their adoption. As a colonial commentator wrote of the Irish of his day, "They became thoroughly American from the moment of their arrival." Thomas Addis Emmet, brother of Robert Emmet, soon after his arrival in this country was admitted by special act to the New York State Bar. William James MacNeven was appointed lecturer on clinical medicine in the newly established College of Physicians and Surgeons two years after his arrival in this country. Co-editor of the *New York Medical Journal* and author of a number of scientific works, including *Exposition of the Atomic Theory*, his best-known work, he was the leading exponent of "those discoveries and doctrines which raised chemistry into a science."

About the middle of the century occurred the great famine which all but wiped out Ireland's agricultural population. During the centuries of foreign occupation, the island had become practically a

one-crop country. When that crop failed three years in succession, the plight of the people was indescribable. All who could fled. Immigration to the United States rose from 50,724 for the decade between 1820 and 1830 to 914,119 for the decade from 1850 to 1860. Thereafter for nearly three quarters of a century the bulk of Irish immigration came from the rural areas, the small tenant farmers, farm laborers, and other unskilled workers. They provided the labor for our fields, mines, and factories. They built our railroads and our telegraph and telephone lines. They also built our churches and schools and colleges and made notable contributions to our cultural life as teachers, writers, and journalists. To the son of an Irish immigrant from Wexford, Patrick Tracy Jackson, New England owes her supremacy in cotton manufacturing, as she owes her pride in literary achievements to men and women of Irish ancestry such as E. L. Godkin, founder of the *Nation*, John Boyle O'Reilly, editor of the *Pilot*, the Jameses, Louise Imogen Guiney, and others. In other sections the names of Fulton, Morse, McCormick, inventors, Shea and O'Callaghan, historians, Thomas Hunter and Brother Azarius (Patrick Francis Mullany) educators, Michael Maurice O'Shaughnessy, engineer, John Concannon who introduced grape-growing and wine-making to California, testify to the widespread immigration and varied activities of the Irish in this country up to the close of the nineteenth century.

From 1860 forward immigration from Ireland decreased. The total immigration for the decade ending in 1937 was less than one hundred thousand with a steady decline to the present. Land tenure and improved economic conditions in Ireland have contributed to this decline in emigration, but the principal factor is the independence which the greater part of Ireland now enjoys.

Decline in political influence and importance of Irish Americans as a group has kept pace with the decline in immigration. During the nineteenth century, the bulk of the new immigrants affiliated with one political party and to some extent colored party policies. Today, however, Irish Americans are to be found in all parties, but are without the numerical strength to appreciably affect party policies. The Irish were probably the largest single group opposed to the Lend-Lease program and supporting the America-First movement prior to our entrance into World War II; yet, since they were scattered among the various parties, their opposition was ineffectual. During the administration of Grover Cleveland, however, when the Irish were concentrated in one party, they were able to secure

the recall of the British ambassador, Lord Sackville-West, for imprudently interfering in an American election.

Similarly the Irish no longer form a distinct group in the armed forces. In earlier wars the military genius of the Celt, for which he had been famed from time immemorial, shed luster on American arms. The part taken by the Irish in the Revolutionary War has been exhaustively treated by Michael J. O'Brien in his *Hidden Phase of American History*. In our Second War for Independence, in the Mexican War, and in the Civil War men like MacDonagh, Jackson, Kearney, Corcoran, and Sheridan won imperishable glory. "In all the records of the Civil War," wrote the New England Puritan, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "there was no such thing as an Irish coward." Irish regiments, as the old New York Sixty-ninth, long kept up cultural traditions among the rank and file, being constantly filled by volunteers from their own numbers.

Modern mechanized warfare has changed all this. Volunteer armies are no longer desired. Selective service has superseded the old system and has completely eradicated the stigma that once attached to the man who waited to be drafted into his country's service. As taxation is determined by duly constituted authority and the citizen pays without question, so today the draft board determines when citizens within military age shall be called to the service. The entire male population of military age may be looked upon as a reserve force subject to call. There is no particular distinction in simply obeying the law. It is what is expected of all citizens. Likewise in actual combat a single group cannot claim as a virtue what is common to all, and in modern warfare, directed from far behind the lines and over vast areas of earth and air, personal leadership and individual heroism have ceased to be vital factors. The principle underlying modern warfare is similar to that of mass production in industry.

We may expect a postwar world as different from that of the past as modern warfare is from that of earlier wars. Questions concerning foreign and domestic policies, education, economics, and social services, the very form of government itself, will have to be decided. The position that Irish Americans may be expected to take on these questions may be judged from their past. From the first appearance of the Celt upon the world's stage he has been an individualist, an isolationist, and vitally concerned with the spiritual. Thus we may expect that Irish Americans, faced with two diametrically opposed concepts of government, will combat the communal idea in any form, the formation of a world state under whatever control, and the exten-

sion of paternalism in government. Half a century ago John Boyle O'Reilly expressed the hereditary Irish view of government: "The bottom right," he wrote, "is the right of man not of the state." These expected trends may be deflected, however, by other influences. We have seen that immigration has practically ceased. Today Irish Americans are for the most part two or more generations removed from the original stock, and the farther from the source, the weaker the cultural characteristics.

The cultural influence of the Irish may be strengthened in the future. American institutions of learning on the whole have been slow to grasp the significance of the Irish Literary Revival, which has dominated the literary history of the present century. However, during the decade preceding the outbreak of the war, indications were not lacking that our educators were becoming more alive to the implications of the movement. Irish Americans, themselves, no longer preoccupied with politics and government, have become more conscious of the early contributions of their people to civilization as well as to the history of their own country. It is, however, impossible to predict postwar trends. Influences unsuspected as yet may turn the course of our civilization into entirely new channels.

Whatever the trends may be, the Irish in the United States, immersed in American life, present no immigration problem principally because the immigration from Ireland was not the usual exodus of surplus population or escape of adventurous or undisciplined spirits. It was the flight of a whole people from unbearable conditions imposed upon the nation by a foreign power which was able neither to subdue nor to placate. A sense of finality attended their departure from their native land. They entered the United States as permanent citizens and spent themselves with incomparable prodigality in the service of the land they adopted as their own. They contributed little to the criminal class, although, because of their tendency to congregate in congested urban areas, an undesirable type of citizen, the petty grafter, the unscrupulous ward leader, the venal politician, found it easy to thrive.

The Irish immigrant needed no schooling in American ideas of democratic government in which he saw the realization of his own and his forefathers' dreams. He brought to this country his "living faith in another world," in the words of Daniel Corkery, and, clinging tenaciously to the faith of his fathers, he helped to keep religion an integral part of American life and to hold back for a generation the rising tide of materialism. As early as 1683 Francis Makemie, "father

of Presbyterianism in America," came from Ramelton in Donegal to preach to the scattered Presbyterians and for twenty years "rode missionary" in Maryland. In like manner a group of Irish colonists founded Methodism in this country, and Irish immigrants laid the foundations and were the principal element in the growth of the Catholic Church in America. They and their children have provided the laity for the new congregations and a large percentage of the clergy who minister to these congregations. They have been the mainstay of some seven thousand Catholic schools and a thousand Catholic colleges and universities throughout the country. Their interest in the land of their forefathers is largely sentimental and entirely secondary to their primary interest, the United States of America, to which they have given much and received much in return.

C. NORWEGIAN AMERICANS

B. J. HOVDE

Although scattered individuals had come to the United States in earlier periods, the Norwegian immigration is commonly dated from October, 1825, when the first organized company arrived in New York on the sloop *Restaurationen*. Quakers, who felt themselves religiously persecuted, they were led by their "scout" Cleng Peerson to settle in Kendall Township, New York state. Not until 1836 did another considerable group of Norwegians (about 200) depart for America, lured by the account of a returned member of the "sloop" colony. This group settled on the Fox River, in La Salle County, Illinois, and inaugurated the great midwestern Norwegian settlement. Thereafter the movement became a steadily growing flood, reaching its climax between the Civil War and the first World War. Between 1836 and 1943, approximately 850,000 persons of Norwegian birth settled in the United States. (Until 1860, immigration statistics of Norwegians and Swedes were combined.)

The era of large-scale Norwegian immigration ended with the American restrictive legislation of 1924. Even before that date the proportion of Norwegian-born in the American population had begun to decline; it was 3.5 per cent in 1890, but only 2.3 per cent in 1940. The United States census of 1940 gives 262,088 of Norwegian birth and 662,600 native born of Norwegian parentage.

No adequate statement of the reasons behind this immigration is possible. Religious persecutions and dissatisfaction certainly played some part in the earlier stages. Another oft-cited reason was the

alleged hauteur and insolence of the public officials in Norway, symptomatic of the social revolt that eventually democratized Norway both in politics and administration. But far more important were economic considerations. Between 1750 and 1850, the population of Norway increased from 625,000 to 1,399,733, or almost 125 per cent. The same period brought a notable improvement in the economy of the country, but the rate was not so great as was the rate of population increase, particularly in the rural districts, which comprised about 90 per cent of the population. Long before Norwegian emigrants became pioneers in America, there was much pioneering activity in the home country, for the growing population pushed the forests back to make room for the plow, even on very inferior land. Nevertheless, it was necessary in many districts to parcel the farms among many heirs, with the result that the parcels became too small to sustain a family in decency and dignity. The class of married agricultural laborers, with little or no land to cultivate for their own use, the so-called *husmaend*, or crofters, increased rapidly, causing wages to decline so much that this group usually lived in dire misery. In 1845 the crofters constituted 26 per cent of the rural population. It was very plain then that agriculture could not support all of the people who were trying to live by it. Meanwhile, urban activities, commerce, and industry were expanding but slowly; and to make matters worse, these occupations were not free to anyone who might wish to enter them but were monopolized by the guilds or held under legal privilege. Shut off from a livelihood both in town and country, many people naturally began to seek the means of existence outside of Norway. In 1839, legislation had been adopted that abolished most of the occupational monopolies, but the good effects thereof could but slowly become apparent. The late 1840's and the early 1850's were therefore marked by an acute social crisis, manifesting itself in widespread poverty, a high rate of jail commitments, a higher illegitimate birth rate, the appearance of radical social theory, and in emigration. Once begun, emigration fluctuated with the trend of economic conditions both in Norway and in the United States, though it should be noted that not until 1857 did Norwegian business and finance become very sensitive to the movements of the world economic organism.

But why did these Norwegians choose to come to the United States and to particular areas there? America in the eighteenth century was beginning to be known as a land of heroes and of freedom. The Norwegians began to admire the ideas of the American Revolution

and its representatives, Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin. Merchants and the small Quaker colony in Stavanger had direct American connections. The American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1789 were treasured in many households. With the arrival of the first colony in 1825, contact became direct. Thereafter, the letters written by emigrants to their relatives and friends at home, the so-called "America letters," spread news of the opportunities to be found in the new world. They were often read aloud in groups, copied and passed from hand to hand, and even printed in the newspapers. With every new emigrant, the number of such letters grew. As Professor Theodore C. Blegen has shown, the influence of these documents from the hands of acquaintances whose veracity could not be doubted was almost incalculable. Soon there began to appear another more formal and complete body of information about America, the most suitable locations for settlement, and the best way to travel—namely the "America-books," one of the earliest and most influential of which was Ole Rynning's *True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner, Published in Christiania, 1838*. Inevitably, as soon as emigration began to assume some proportions, shipowners, who might profit by transportation, began to drum up business for themselves by sending agents into the country districts.

No adequate records exist that indicate to what social classes or occupations the emigrants belonged. This much is clear, however, that until about 1871-1875 the movement was predominantly rural. Furthermore, the emigrants seem to have come mainly from the class of small peasant proprietors. The crofters, who were married agricultural laborers, seldom were able to find money for passage, and the better-situated farmers usually preferred the good living they already possessed to any American adventure, although they frequently helped their younger children to emigrate. In spite of the fact that crofters found it hard to leave Norway, there can be no doubt that emigration was an important factor in the practical disappearance of this class in Norway, for a large number of the agricultural servant class, who would have become crofters as soon as they married, departed to seek their fortunes in the United States. Petty owners of land in Norway often found themselves so encumbered by debt and so weighted down by taxation that it seemed wise to trade their equities for passage money to America. After the five-year period 1871-1875, emigration became more an urban and industrial than a rural phenomenon. Between 1891 and 1925, 17.75

per cent of the Norwegian emigrants were listed in the official statistics as farmers, 25.5 per cent as craftsmen, 12.0 per cent as merchants and seamen, 36.25 per cent as laborers, and 8.5 per cent as miscellaneous.

The first settlements, in New York and Illinois, did not attract many subsequent arrivals. Wisconsin, where the first Norwegian pioneers established a colony at Muskego, near Milwaukee, in 1839, became the goal of most emigrants prior to 1850. In 1914, there were Norwegians living in almost all of that state, but the great, concentrated settlements were in the south-central part, with Dane County as a center. Norwegians began to move into the northern tier of Iowa counties, particularly Winneshiek, beginning about 1850, and into the south-eastern counties of Minnesota at about the same time. By 1914, there were more Norwegians in Minnesota than in any other state. North and South Dakota began to receive Norwegians about 1860, and today this element constitutes a larger percentage of their populations than of the population of Minnesota. Montana, Washington, and Oregon attracted many Norwegian immigrants after about 1880.

As long as they came chiefly from the rural communities, most of them sought farms in the United States; but when the towns of Norway began to contribute a large part of the stream, the number who sought a living in the American urban communities increased. Between 1920 and 1930, the number of Norwegian foreign-born residents increased in the industrial states—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania; declined considerably in the agricultural states—Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; but increased slightly in Washington and Oregon, and considerably in California.

In 1930 Minnesota had 267,953 persons who were either immigrants or children of immigrants from Norway, and in 1940 counted 52,025 immigrants. The corresponding figures for Wisconsin were approximately 125,000 and 23,211; for North Dakota approximately 125,000 and 21,637. Washington, New York, and Illinois had about 75,000 immigrants and children of immigrants each in 1930; but the same states had in 1940 only the following numbers of immigrants: 26,489, 37,164, and 21,508 respectively. The tendency to avoid large cities is shown by the fact that of all American cities with more than 100,000 people only four, in 1940, had more than 5,000 of Norwegian birth: New York, 30,750 (of which 20,214 are in Brooklyn); Chicago, 14,933; Minneapolis, 11,777; and Seattle, 8,436.

The census of 1930 affords even more precise information on the preference of Norwegians for rural areas. Of all the "foreign white stock"—that is, immigrants and children, one or both of whose parents are immigrants—in all American urban communities (2,500 or over) only 1.8 per cent are listed as Norwegian, whereas in rural communities (under 2,500) 6.1 per cent are so listed. When the "rural communities" are broken down into the categories "rural-farm" (actual farms) and "rural nonfarm" (villages), the census indicates that in the "rural-farm" areas, 8.4 per cent of the "foreign white stock" is Norwegian, while only 4.1 per cent is so listed in the "rural nonfarm" areas. The equivalent figures in the 1940 census are: 1.8 per cent "urban," 3.9 per cent "rural nonfarm," and 7.7 per cent "rural-farm." No previous census showed this stock beyond the children of direct immigrants. If the 1940 census had done so, it would certainly have been apparent that third- and fourth-generation descendants of Norwegian immigrants to an even greater degree than second-generation have participated fully in the general movement of the American population away from rural to urban areas, where generally speaking they have completely lost even the last vestiges of their Norwegian origin.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Religion. It is safe to say that the zeal of the Norwegian immigrants in affording themselves and their children the opportunities of cultural development has equaled that of any foreign group. By far the greater number of the Norwegian-speaking church members have remained faithful to the Lutheran doctrine; in 1916, 96.7 per cent of the communicants using the Norwegian language were Lutherans, and only 3.3 per cent were non-Lutherans. But in that year, the Lutheran communicant membership using Norwegian was only 342,817 and the number of congregations only 3,138; therefore, most of the Norwegian immigrants and their descendants have either become unchurched or have joined non-Lutheran English-speaking congregations. Almost all of the churches employing the Norwegian language have for thirty years or more also used English, and in 1936 the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America first voted to drop the word "Norwegian" from its name. Although the Norwegian immigrants brought no special social or racial divisions with them from the old country, nevertheless they have almost from the beginning been badly divided on religious issues. Leaving out of account the comparatively small number who have organized non-Lutheran church

bodies, the theologically minded Norwegian Lutherans have, until recently, maintained some six or seven different corporations, differing from one another but little in doctrine, somewhat more in the character of their services, and very markedly in emotional attitude.

The Norwegians in America have at various times founded, maintained, and lost almost every kind of school. Parochial day schools were maintained by many congregations, almost from the first; but the second generation has generally given them up in favor of the public school. Secondary religious schools or academies were founded in more than fifty different communities between 1860 and 1890; but few of them survived more than ten years, and now there are practically none left. A few normal schools and "ladies' seminaries" were maintained for a number of years, only to become extinct, along with the academies, in the 1920's. Colleges have been supported with more zeal and success. Luther College in Decorah, Iowa (1861), and St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota (1874), are the oldest, best-equipped, and largest Norwegian-American colleges. Others are Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota; Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota; and Pacific Lutheran College, Parkland, Washington. All of these colleges are now coeducational, Luther College first admitting women in 1936. In the founding of all these colleges the primary motive was to train candidates for the theological seminaries of the various church bodies. The one important remaining institution of the last type is Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota.

The press. The history of the Norwegian-American press is long and varied. The first Norwegian newspaper in America was *Nordlyset* (Northern Lights), published by J. D. Reymert in Muskego, Wisconsin, 1847-1849. It championed the Free Soil Party. Since then and until 1917, it has been estimated that more than 450 newspapers and periodicals in the Norwegian language were founded, an overwhelming proportion of them lasting less than five years. This number includes religious as well as secular journals. The two leading secular newspapers still appearing are *Decorah Posten* (Decorah, Iowa) and *Skandinaven* (Chicago, Illinois). Both were founded in 1866, and thus span the period of heaviest Norwegian immigration. Politically they are independent.

Organizations. The organized social life of the Norwegians in America has revolved largely around their churches, but it has been almost unthinkable for the members of one body to join in the social life of any other. There has been a considerable improvement in

this respect since 1917, when the three largest church bodies merged to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. Church meetings, church picnics, church socials, young people's gatherings in the basements of the churches or at the homes of members, ladies' aid societies, men's religious clubs, mission festivals, and revival meetings in one or two of the church bodies—these have composed most of the social activities of the organized immigrants and their children. Dances have been viewed with considerable disfavor among them, owing to the austere influence of both the high-church and the low-church tendencies. The Norwegians in America have been ardent lovers of music. Singing societies have flourished in considerable numbers, and those of Chicago, Minneapolis, and New York have attained no little renown in American music circles. Outstanding have been the achievements of the St. Olaf College Choir, directed by F. Melius Christiansen, and the Luther College Concert Band, directed by Carlo A. Sperati. There have been, and still are, a large number of societies among the Norwegian Americans. Of special importance are the various *bygdelag*, or societies, of the immigrants who have come from some particular province in Norway together with such of their descendants as retain an interest in the old home. The Sons and Daughters of Norway are fraternal orders, but inasmuch as Norwegian Lutheranism has officially been opposed to secret societies, these fraternities have supplied the organizational needs chiefly of the immigrants whose religious interests have been weak or nonexistent; they flourish almost only in the cities. None of these secular societies own much property. Their twofold patriotic character is evidenced by the fact that among the first and second generations, May 17 and July 4, national holidays in Norway and America, respectively, have been celebrated with equal democratic fervor in the denser settlements. However, the third generation almost never observes May 17.

Naturalization. Very few Norwegian immigrants have been subject to conscious Americanization influences. Nevertheless, their assimilation has been comparatively rapid. Generally they have been quick to learn the English language as spoken in America; at least they have usually developed a kind of pidgin English by a liberal admixture of English with Norwegian, and Norwegians in Norway have learned not to expect the returned emigrant to speak pure Norwegian. Only in the most densely populated Norwegian settlements, where almost every family is of that stock, has the Norwegian language preserved itself alongside the English. Today it is rapidly disappearing even there. Politically and socially the assimilation has been almost com-

plete in the second generation. The responsibilities of democracy were not new to any of the Norwegian immigrants, for the Constitution of May 17, 1814, for a long time the most democratic fundamental law in Europe, was read and memorized almost as much as the Bible. Furthermore, the rise of the peasant party in Norway after 1830 and the labor movement of 1848-1851 had given many immigrants democratic political training and convictions before they ever set foot on these shores. According to the census of 1930, of all foreign-born residents in the United States, 55.8 per cent were naturalized; but of all Norwegian-born residents, 70.9 per cent were naturalized, and 29,954, or an additional 8.3 per cent, had taken out their first papers. In 1940, the national figure was 64.6 per cent and that for the Norwegian-born was 75.2 per cent.

Comparatively few Norwegian Americans have returned to Norway. The Norwegian statistics indicate that only about 17,700 did so between 1871 and 1910, and that the members of this group were more than twice as likely as the average Norwegian to possess private means of support at the age of sixty-five. The Norwegian Emigration Commission in 1912 adduced evidence to show that, particularly in the province of Lister and Mandal and in the southern provinces generally, to which a considerably larger number returned than to other parts of the country, the influence of the repatriated Norwegian Americans had been noteworthy. They had learned in America more progressive methods in agriculture, a higher standard of living, and a more rapid rate of work; these had in turn been taught to the remainder of the population. The same commission estimated the amount of money sent home annually by Norwegian Americans at \$10,000,000.

Norwegian Americans and World War II. The conquest of Norway by the Nazis in 1940, the sufferings and the heroic resistance of the Norwegian people, and the great contributions of the Norwegian merchant marine to the cause of the United Nations aroused the intense sympathy of Norwegian immigrants and their descendants in America. Contributions poured into the coffers of the Norwegian-American Relief Association. Money was also given to support Little Norway in Canada, where young Norwegian refugees were trained for aerial combat. Through these activities, many have renewed their consciousness of descent from a proud and free people.

Contributions to American Life

There is hardly any aspect of American life to which Norwegian immigrants and their offspring have failed to contribute. They

helped to push back the frontier, fought the Indians, and established farms and hamlets. They shared largely in developing the fishing industry and contributed to the evolution of American seamanship. Commerce and industry have profited by their participation, as have every one of the professions—law, medicine, and engineering. They have promoted American education and achieved success in the realm of scholarship. As newspapermen and authors Norwegian-American names are known throughout the world. They have made notable contributions to American politics and statesmanship. They have been here so long and are now so well assimilated that they are hardly distinguishable from native American stock, with which they are rapidly intermarrying.

Space permits only a brief description of the careers of a few of them—a list that could be multiplied many times.

Laur. Larsen (1833–1915) came to America in 1857 when he accepted a call to serve a Norwegian-American congregation in Fillmore County, Minnesota. Already there was much discussion among the Norwegian Lutherans in Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa, of the need for a college to prepare young men for the study of theology, and Laur. Larsen became the first president of Luther College when it was founded in 1861. He remained in that position until 1902, during which time his influence upon the course of education, and no less upon the religious development, among the Norwegian immigrants and their children, was exceedingly important.

Knute Nelson (1876–1931) was elected county attorney in 1872 and advanced through various stages to become governor of Minnesota (1892–1895), the first Norwegian to hold that office in the United States, and United States senator (1895–1923), the first of a number of Norwegian Americans to be admitted to that body.

The misdirected “Americanization” fury during World War I aroused the fears of O. E. Rølvaag (1876–1931) that the Norwegians in America might surrender their old-world culture before they were ready to adopt that of the United States; consequently, he began to write for them, in the Norwegian language, the epic of their adjustment to the American scene, particularly *Giants in the Earth*. This book in 1925 placed Rølvaag in the front rank of those who have immortalized the pioneer movement. From then until his death he occupied a leading place in both Norwegian and American literature.

Only two others can be named: Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929) and Victor Lawson (1850–1925). Veblen was born in a Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin, of immigrant parents. He is unquestionably one of the greatest economists so far produced in the United

States, and has deeply influenced philosophers, historians, and sociologists. Victor Lawson was a journalist and financier. He inherited an interest in the Norwegian newspaper, *Skandinaven*. In January, 1876, the *Chicago Daily News* began to appear from the same building as *Skandinaven*, and within six months Victor Lawson had purchased it. Under his able management, the *News* prospered, and Lawson became a power in American journalism. He led the Associated Press out of a serious crisis and exercised a great influence upon the handling of foreign news. Lawson became very wealthy, and distinguished himself by his philanthropy and his civic leadership.

D. SWEDISH AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Early in the seventeenth century William Usselinx of Antwerp, attracted by the success of the Dutch traders in America and by reports of the opportunities awaiting there, endeavored to form a company for purposes of trade and settlement. Failing in this, he went to Sweden and secured from Gustavus Adolphus valuable trading concessions, although at this time the king was so deeply involved in the struggles of the Thirty Years' War that he could give no further attention to the plan. At the instance of Usselinx, a commercial company with exclusive privileges to traffic beyond the Straits of Gibraltar and with the right of planting colonies was sanctioned by the king on June 14, 1626. The stock was open to all Europe for subscription, and the king himself pledged \$400,000 from the royal treasury. Then in May, 1630, Adolphus decided to invade Germany, and the funds of the company were arbitrarily confiscated for war purposes. But at Nuremberg, on October 6, 1632, only a few days before the battle of Lutzen, the enterprise was recommended to the people of Germany.

After Adolphus's death, his daughter Christina listened to similar plans presented by Peter Minuit, a former governor of New Netherlands who knew something of the prospects offered by the lands on the South River. On December 31, 1637, an expedition consisting of two ships, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Gripen*, sailed from Sweden under the command of Minuit with a mixed batch of Swedish, Dutch, and Finnish settlers on board. The Swedish government had supplied the emigrants with a religious teacher, provisions, and merchandise for traffic with the natives. Minuit entered the Delaware River about the middle of March in 1638 and selected a site for his venture on

the high ground of a branch of that stream. The territory lying between the southern cape—which the immigrants named Paradise Point—and the falls in the river at Trenton, was purchased from the natives. Near the mouth of Christiana Creek, within the limits of the present state of Delaware, Fort Christina was founded and named after the child who was queen of Sweden. This was the beginning of what later developed into the city of Wilmington.

Peter Hollender succeeded Minuit as governor of New Sweden. He arrived with a second expedition in the spring of 1640 and brought additional settlers. In October of the following year, a third expedition landed with more settlers and supplies. The religious welfare of the colony was in the hands of the Reverend Reorus Torkillus, first Lutheran minister in America. In 1643 a fourth expedition arrived under the command of John Printz, who had been appointed to succeed Hollender as governor.

Word of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and Finland were eager to exchange their farms in Europe for homes on the Delaware. The Swedes had gradually extended their plantations, and when the Dutch rebuilt their fort at Nassau, Printz established his residence on the island of Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia, in 1643. The latter city, like Delaware, owes its origin to the Swedes, who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietor. New Sweden developed on the Bay and the River Delaware.

In 1653 Queen Christina gave Sven Schute the area now occupied by Philadelphia. The Indians called the district "Coaquannock," and it included not only what is now the center of the city but also parts later known as Moyamensing, Wicac, and Passyunk. This land came into the possession of the Svenssons, from whom Penn secured it.

Printz ruled the colony ably for ten years. During this time, the Dutch were growing more aggressive and he had received no communication from Sweden for several years. His patience exhausted, he took matters into his own hands, and in the autumn of 1653 he left for Sweden in company with about twenty-five colonists. In the meantime, the Swedish Council, ignorant of his departure and aroused by his reports, determined to send the tenth expedition, which was intended to save the colony from ruin.

This expedition, under the command of Johan Classon Risingh, with 350 immigrants on board, reached the Delaware on May 20, 1654. Risingh forced the surrender of Fort Casimir, the Dutch head-

quarters on the river. But his request for the oath of allegiance from the handful of Dutch colonists precipitated a crisis destined to result in the downfall of New Sweden.

When Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherlands, heard of the reduction of the fort, he swore vengeance and forced Risingh in turn to surrender on September 16, 1655. The articles of capitulation provided that such Swedes as desired to return to their home country would be transported free of expense, while those who wished to remain could do so on condition of swearing allegiance to the Dutch government. They were to retain their property and the right to maintain their customary religious observances. In view of these liberal terms, all but thirty-seven of the Swedish settlers elected to remain, but the colony of New Sweden was no more, and the Dutch ruled on the Delaware.

Swedish supremacy on the Delaware had lasted from 1638 to 1655, a period of seventeen years. To it is to be attributed the introduction to the new world of the language and institutions of Sweden. The Swedes were the real pioneers in Pennsylvania. They built the first houses, founded the first churches, established the first civil government, held the first courts, cultivated the first farms, imported the first livestock—in general were the first to introduce white civilization. Though the Swedes fell prey to the Dutch, and the Dutch in turn were obliged to yield to the English nine years later, they maintained for long their farms and institutions. The Swedish government continued to send Lutheran pastors to the new world, and these acted as disseminators of the Swedish cultural pattern.

Modern Immigration

Swedes constituted a minor element in the tide of migration from 1655 until the nineteenth century. During the first forty years of that century, only a few Swedes landed in America, and these were mostly sailors, businessmen, and adventurers. About 1840, interest in America began to increase rather rapidly in Sweden, stimulated largely by the press, by literature, and by general discussion in which America was idealized. The result was sporadic emigration of the educated class, especially among the academic youth. The Pine Lake colony was founded not far from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, by Gustaf Unonius of Uppsala. Another university town, Lund, contributed Ludvig Kumhen, whose party settled in Wisconsin on Koshkoning Lake, some forty miles from Madison. Several other expeditions followed. In 1849 a band of about 140 persons came from

northern Sweden, accompanied by Pastor L. P. Esbjorn, who was to become the founder of the Augustana Synod, the largest Swedish church organization in America. Larger and larger groups went to Chicago. In 1850 religious pressure brought another group from northern Sweden, members of a sect known as *Luthlasare* (Luther Readers). The followers of Erick Janson, about 1,500 strong, went to the United States between 1845-1854, and founded a communistic settlement at Bishop Hill, Illinois. The first Baptist church of American Swedes was founded in 1852 by the Baptists who had also come into conflict with the home authorities. After 1848 the various groups become too numerous to be enumerated in detail. Group migration was the rule till about 1860.

The majority of the earlier Swedish immigrants were recruited from among the classes that felt attracted to America for reasons other than economic, although a reasonable assurance of economic success was essential. In the subsequent period economic motives predominated, intertwined with political, social, religious, and other factors.

The period preceding immigration on a large scale extended approximately from 1840 to 1860. More and more knowledge of America was brought to the attention of prospective immigrants. The great adventure was made increasingly attractive by improved communications and financial assistance rendered by relatives. A special permit for emigration was no longer required in Sweden after 1842. Immigrants began to journey by way of England and later on German boats. Safer traveling obviated the previous necessity of migrating in groups. In addition, about 1860 the agrarian cultivated area of Sweden could no longer expand quickly enough to keep pace with the increasing population. The difficulties of the Swedish peasants were further accentuated by a series of crop failures. Emigration rose to an unprecedented height. Whereas the industrial element among the emigrants amounted to only a fifth of the agrarian during the fifties, in the eighties it increased to a third and in the first decade of the twentieth century to a half. During the last thirty years a new current of members of the learned professions has set in, sprinkled with celebrities and leaders in different professions attracted to America by the great opportunities for advancement and financial remuneration.

It must not be forgotten that the waves of immigration into America have alternated with periods of migration in the reverse direction from America to Sweden. These return movements accompanied the series of American crises in 1884, 1903, and 1907. The

American immigration law of 1924 is the turning point in the history of Swedish immigration. Even so, 42,119 Swedes were admitted to America between 1925 and 1929 and only 5,689 returned home.

From 1820 to 1940 the total number of Swedes admitted to the United States was 1,213,488. In 1940, the United States census showed 595,250 foreign-born Swedes and 967,453 American-born Swedes of Swedish foreign or mixed parentage—in all 1,562,703.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. A majority of American Swedes live in urban areas. Those who landed here in the first decade of the nineteenth century settled in the West and Northwest. They left their homeland during a time of religious unrest, and this circumstance may have contributed to their tendency to segregate themselves. So greatly did they desire isolation that they selected their lands in the wilderness, in the most inaccessible places, and put up their log cabins in the wild forests. Yet in a decade or so their settlements became prosperous farms and dwellings. The Swedish Americans have cleared and cultivated more than ten million acres in the United States. In Minnesota alone they have brought two million acres under cultivation, and in Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, the Dakotas, and Kansas whole counties are almost entirely Swedish. They have a facility for using inventions and labor-saving devices and were the first of the American farming population to adopt electric light. They are excellent horticulturists, landscape gardeners, fruit growers, and nurserymen. They are interested in consumers' coöperatives, but are by nature small capitalists and property owners, with a marked respect for individual property rights.

Less than one fourth of the Swedish Americans work in the skilled trades as carpenters, tool-makers, and electricians. Their sons and the sons of farmers have already passed into the more exalted professions of college and university teaching, of engineering and architecture, and the business of contracting and manufacture. Many of them hold leading positions in furniture factories and in the lumber business.

Religion. The majority of Swedish Americans are members of the Lutheran Augustana Synod. Immigration from Sweden in the seventeenth century left its mark on both the political and religious life of America. Several of the churches which the early immigrants from the North built are still in existence, though no longer affiliated to the Lutheran Church. A much stronger influx of immigrants in

the last century brought Swedish religious organization to the shores of America. The first of the congregations of the Augustana Synod to be organized was that in New Sweden, Henry County, Iowa, in 1848, and the second was in Andover, Henry County, Illinois, in 1850. The same year Swedish Lutheran congregations were organized in Galesburg and Moline, Illinois. At that time there were some groups of Swedish Methodists in America. They enjoyed the support of the Methodist Church in the United States, and the wealthy Episcopal Church was ready to take under its wing pilgrim children of an episcopal country. On June 5, 1850, the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America was organized in Clinton, Wisconsin. The Augustana Seminary was founded at Chicago but was eventually removed to Paxton, Illinois.

In 1872 and 1875 the onslaughts of "Waldenstromianism," supported by the Congregationalists, brought civil war into the church of Sweden and the synod. In the midst of the tumult, the Augustana College and Theological Seminary was removed from Paxton to Rock Island, Illinois, in order to be nearer Minnesota, then the stronghold of the Swedes in America. In 1894 the synod dropped the word "Scandinavian" from its name and thenceforth became known as the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America, or, in brief, the Augustana Synod. This synod was a part of the General Council, but formally withdrew from the council on November 12, 1918, and declined to enter an amalgamation of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South, by which was formed the United Lutheran Church in America.

In the early days of the synod, the Swedish language was used. Today about 75 per cent of its members are native born or landed in America in early childhood, and the English language is used almost exclusively in the work among the children and the young. More than half the services held for adults, however, are in the language of their homeland.

The synod has one theological school, Augustana Theological Seminary, at Rock Island, Illinois. Augustana College, at the same place, is the oldest and strongest college of the synod and is owned and controlled by the synod as a whole. There are three other standard colleges, two junior colleges, and two academies, which are owned and controlled by individual conferences, namely Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peter, Minnesota, Bethany at Lindsborg, Kansas, famous for its music festivals, and Uppsala College at East Orange, New Jersey.

Swedish immigration to the United States was also encouraged by the Baptist, Mormon, and Methodist churches. The Baptists were very different from the Lutherans and their persecution led many to come to America. The Mormons settled in Utah in such large numbers that a law was passed prohibiting their importation to that state. A considerable number of Swedish Americans are affiliated with the church known as the Mission Friends, which supports a college at North Park, in Chicago.

The press. Although in the Swedish and Danish press secular interests are more prominent than in the Norwegian, the church has played a considerable role in Swedish journalism. Notwithstanding the relatively early rise of secular interests among the Swedish Americans, all the early Swedish-American papers were religious in nature. In fact, prior to 1866 no successful attempt had been made to start a Swedish newspaper that was not the organ of some church denomination. The first successful step to found a secular periodical not under the domination of the church was taken when Colonel Hans Matson, later secretary of state in Minnesota, became editor of the *Svenska Amerikanaren*. In general it was difficult to secure an editor for a secular newspaper, as most Swedish Americans with more than a common-school education were in the church either as teachers or ministers.

All in all, about twelve hundred Swedish newspapers have been established in the United States, about a fourth of which were in existence in 1910. During and after World War I the mortality rate was high as evidenced by the fact that more than a hundred Swedish papers have been started in Chicago alone. The Augustana is the most important Swedish-American publishing house and has published more than four hundred books in the Swedish language. Most of these books are of a religious and philosophical nature and are full of devotional poetry.

Organizations. Among the fraternal orders the most important is the Vasa, with about 60,000 members. In addition there are many other fraternal organizations and hundreds of glee clubs and singing societies, such as the United Swedish Societies of Greater New York, the American Society of Swedish Engineers, the Scandinavian Fraternity of America, the American Union of Swedish Engineers, the Scandinavian Fraternity of America, and the American Union of Swedish Singers. A unique contribution of the Swedes is the choral and instrumental music society of the Swedish community of Lindsborg, Kansas, the chorus of which is composed of local people. Part

of the orchestra is also recruited from the neighborhood—farmers and small businessmen. The yearly performance of Handel's "Messiah" oratorio by the Messiah Chorus of the Lindsborg Choir is one of the musical events of the year. Swedish folk dances are now taught in almost all the schools of the larger cities, and Ling gymnastics still have great vogue in America.

Swedish Americans and World War II. In 1942, *Fortune* reported that "though interventionist Carl Sandburg is (Norwegians' and Swedes') greatest pride, the 1,400,000 first- and second-generation Swedes in the United States still stand for whatever is left of Midwest's specific isolationism. Stronger only than their anti-Russian feeling is their ready understanding of Sweden's 'realistic' attempt to avoid Nazi invasion by voluntary, though limited, collaboration with the Reich."¹ But, since American "Swedes are sincere democrats and good citizens" they had been willing to comply with the United States government's orders and produced what was wanted of them—"except enthusiasm."

Contributions to America

The Vinland Saga relates that when Karlsefne was in America, about 1008, a son whom he named Snorre was born to him and his wife Gudrid, the widow of Thornstien, who was Leif Ericson's brother. Snorre is claimed to be the first white child ever born in America, and, as the Saga states that Karlsefne was partly of Swedish descent, it follows according to this source that the first white person ever born in America was of Swedish extraction. A statue of Karlsefne was raised in Philadelphia in 1920.

The Swedes founded the state of Delaware and were among the earliest settlers of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. When at a most critical stage of the War of Independence, Washington crossed the Delaware River with his army to attack the Hessians at Trenton, his boats were manned by descendants of the Swedes who had settled in that district 140 years before. Others served throughout the Revolution.

In connection with the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the name of John Morton (also claimed to be a Norwegian), descendant of a Swedish settler in New Sweden on the Delaware, stands out with special prominence. The Continental Congress of 1776, when the momentous question of severing relations with England by an

¹ "Steam from the Melting Pot," *Fortune*, September, 1942, p. 76.

overt act of signing and proclaiming the Declaration of Independence was under consideration, had come to a deadlock. Two of the five members of the Pennsylvania delegation had voted for it and two against it, thus leaving the Pennsylvania delegation tied. John Morton, the fifth member of the delegation, had been too ill to attend the Congress. His friends rigged up a litter borne between two horses and carried Morton from his home to where the Congress was in session. He cast his vote for the Declaration, which was proclaimed on July 4, 1776. Morton was one of the men who signed this historic document. In 1876 a memorial tablet was erected to him in Independence Hall and a beautiful building, called after him, "John Morton Memorial," was set up in his honor in Philadelphia, 1926-1929.

Another distinguished patriot of the American Revolutionary period, also of Swedish descent, was John Hanson of Maryland. He filled one public post after another until he was finally elected "President of the United States in Congress Assembled" and served as such from November 5, 1781, to November 5, 1782. His statue in Statuary Hall in the national Capital was placed there by the state of Maryland on January 31, 1903.

The contributions of Swedes in those early days also extended to the realm of art. Gustaf Hesselius who arrived in Philadelphia in 1711 has been called "the father of American painting." Adolf Ulrick Wertmuller painted the famous portrait of George Washington during his second term as president.

In religion and culture the Swedish colonial settlers took a prominent place. Of the three churches remaining from the colonial period before 1700, and which are still in regular use, two are Swedish: Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) in Philadelphia, and the Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, in Wilmington, Delaware; the third is the English St. Lucas Church, Isle of Wight County, Virginia.

The Civil War again brought to the front Swedes and men of Swedish ancestry: Captain John Ericsson, born in Sweden in 1803, Admiral J. A. Dahlgren and his son Colonel Oscar Malmborg, Colonel Hans Mattson, and others. Thanks to the engineer Captain Ericsson, the engagement between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* at Hampton Roads, Virginia, on March 9, 1862, marked a definite epoch not only in the naval operations of the Civil War, but more broadly in the world aspects of warship design and construction. Although the design of the *Monitor* as a type of warship and the introduction of the screw propeller were the outstanding achievements of Ericsson's

career, he made many other contributions to the art and practice of engineering in his day.

Other great Swedes or men of Swedish lineage have made their contributions to America. In Minneapolis may be seen a grotesque and magnificent structure known colloquially as Turnblad's Castle, and officially as the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature, and Science. It was built by the late Swan Johan Turnblad, a Swedish peasant boy immigrant who went to Minnesota in 1860 when there were still virgin forests and Indians. He came in the steerage, but before he died he was a multimillionaire. His "castle" is now a superb cultural institute and museum, where lectures, concerts, symposiums, and exhibitions are organized. The University of Minnesota has several outstanding Swedish-American scholars; Professors A. A. Stomberg and G. M. Stephenson are distinguished members of its history department.

The Swede John Johnson, rail splitter, laborer, printer, governor, and senator, was a great figure in American politics, and Colonel Hans Mattson of Minnesota was the first of the long list of Minnesota Swedes in government service. Charles A. Lindbergh, father of the famous airman, was born in Stockholm.

The Swede Greta Garbo is well known in the cinema world. Equally well known in the nineteenth century was Jenny Lind, the celebrated Swedish singer brought to America by Barnum. Her tradition is carried on by such members of the Metropolitan Opera in New York as Kristina Nilsson, Onegin, Claussen, and Gustav Holmquist. In sculpture, Carl Milles is a Swede. Carl Sandburg is considered by many to be the greatest all-American poet since Walt Whitman.

Nor should we forget to mention the famous airship navigator Commander Charles Rosendahl, also of Swedish descent; Johanssen, who invented the gauge by which the whole world now measures steel to the half millionth of an inch; Erich Nelson, Swedish engineer of the first United States Army flight around the world; Marjorie Gestring, Olympic diving champion, of Swedish descent; Helen Wills Moody, purportedly part Swedish; Claude Swanson, secretary of the Navy; and E. F. W. Alexanderson, consulting engineer of the General Electric Company, who was born in Sweden.

The list of notable Swedish-American educators is very long. In colonial days, Dr. Nils Collin, one of the Swedish pastors in Philadelphia, was for a time a director of the University of Pennsylvania. Scholars of Swedish lineage are very numerous. Professor Thorsten

Sellin of the University of Pennsylvania is one of the best-known specialists in criminology; in addition to being editor of the *Annals*, he has shaped the policies of that important organ of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for a number of years. Fryxell and Udden are well known in geology, Alexanderson in electrotechnics, Odegard and Sandelius in political science, Seashore and Wallin in education, and Bergendorf in theology. Physiologist Anton Julius Carlson of the University of Chicago, born on a farm in Sweden, is the author of a classic book, *The Control of Hunger in Health and Disease* (1916), and on his theories other scientists worked out diets for infant feeding, gastric ulcers, and so on.²

The Swedish Americans, like the rest of the Scandinavian Americans, fit well into the cultural life of America. Their lot today is much easier than that of immigrants from other Baltic (Poland, Estonia, Latvia) and eastern European countries. When the influx of Swedes into America was at its height, there was no such tremendous difference between the environment of the European peasant in his native land and in America as there is today. The fact that most of them settled in rural districts and not in the slums of America's cities was an added advantage. Unlike the immigrants from central and eastern Europe, the Swedes did not bring with them what Professor Miller has called the "oppression psychosis"—the product of past struggles for national existence which strengthened ethnocentric tendencies in the religion, language, and customs of such immigrants as shared it. Consequently the Swedes have found it much easier to adapt themselves to American culture. In this process they have been helped by the fact that their religion is Lutheranism, a form of Protestantism.

Since their adjustment to the American environment has been favored by every circumstance, the Swedish Americans have been able to produce an unusually large number of great men. Furthermore, since the Swedes belong to the "old" immigrant movement, the second and subsequent generations have been in a position to push rapidly ahead in America, a process less easy for descendants of the "new" immigration. The transition from one culture to another, and from one personality to another, is a process that requires not only time but demands the coöperation of both groups. Even in this last respect, the Swedish Americans are fortunate in enjoying the guidance of such distinguished institutions as the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

² Cf.: "Scientist' Scientist," *Time*, XXXVII (February 10, 1941), pp. 44-48.

E. DANISH AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Although large-scale migration from Denmark to the United States did not set in until the middle of the nineteenth century, Danes were connected with the discovery of America and active in the affairs of the colonies from the beginning.

Although no authentic record exists, a Polish authority states that as early as 1475 Jan of Kolno, a Polish sailor in the service of the king of Denmark, reached Labrador and explored the Atlantic seaboard as far south as the present coast of Delaware. It is quite certain, moreover, that there were Danes on board Henry Hudson's ship, and that Danes were present on the *Half Moon* when Hudson met the Indians at the mouth of Menaten (now Manhattan) Island in 1609.

In 1611, a Dane, Captain Henry Christiansen, set sail from the West Indies in a Dutch vessel, voyaged to New York, and took back skins and corn to Holland. When he returned in 1613 he was accompanied by a partner, one Adrian Block. The *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, the two vessels commanded by Christiansen and Block, voyaged to and from America about ten times. Christiansen died in 1614. Block subsequently lost the *Tiger* off Battery Place, and accordingly built four log houses at about the site of what is now 39 Broadway, New York City. This was the beginning of New Amsterdam.

As news of the country Henry Hudson had discovered reached the king of Denmark, he decided to establish a colony in the new land and dispatched Captain Jens Munk with two small ships to America. The captain left Denmark in May, 1619, landed in the Hudson Bay country, and took possession of the land in the name of the king of Denmark. This was just a few months before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. As the immigrants from England gave the name "New England" to the colony that they founded, so Captain Munk designated his colony *Nova Dania* (New Denmark). Extreme hardship, severe sickness, and the hostility of Indians quickly put an end to this first Danish colony in America.

Jonas Bronck, Jochim Petersen, and their families and friends reached New Amsterdam in 1639. The party sailed up the river, past the island of Manhattan, and landed on the end of the mainland. Both Petersen and Bronck purchased land from the Indians, the former establishing his settlement along what is now the Harlem River, a valuable tract in Westchester "over against Harlem," and

Bronck establishing his between what are now called the Harlem and the Bronx rivers. As the colonies grew, the territory on which they were located came to be known as "Bronck's land," and thus the name Bronx came in time to be applied to one of the boroughs of New York City.

A number of sailors on Dutch vessels soon afterward abandoned sea life and settled in the Bronx, forming an exclusively Danish community. This small group was subsequently merged with the Dutch population living around them, but in succeeding years so many Danes arrived in large numbers that they were able to keep their national characteristics for a much longer period.

Other prominent names appeared: Andreas Dreyer was the Dutch governor in Albany in 1673-1674. General Hans Christian Febiger (1746-1796), born on the Island of Funen, Denmark, retired from the American Army and was brevetted brigadier-general by Congress on September 30, 1783. Settling in Philadelphia, he was elected and remained treasurer of Pennsylvania from 1789 to 1796. Abraham Markoe, from the West Indies, also fought in the American War for Independence; he is said to have given the red and white stripes to the American flag. Another Dane, Peter Lassen, was one of the earliest explorers of the Far West, and he is commemorated today in the name of Mount Lassen in California.

Many Danes continued to arrive as individual immigrants. A number of them settled in the Swedish colony of "New Sweden" in Pennsylvania, and others who belonged to the Moravian Church found their way to the Moravian Brethren's colonies in Pennsylvania and North Carolina.

The Danish navigator, Vitus Jonassen Bering (1681-1741), born at Horsens in Jutland, discovered America on the west. From 1725 till the time of his death he conducted a series of explorations and in the course of these led an expedition to America in two ships, both of which he had built. A storm separated the ships, but Bering sighted the southern coast of Alaska and made a landing in the vicinity of Kayak Island. Making haste to return, he inadvertently discovered several of the Aleutian Islands. When he had fallen sick with scurvy and was unable to command his ship, his expedition was driven to take refuge on an uninhabited island in the southwest of the Bering Sea. Here he and many of his company died on December 19, 1741. Bering Island and Sea and Straits were named after him.

Modern Immigration

The early immigrants were mostly adventurers, merchants, and sailors. The peasants in Denmark were long compelled by law to remain the whole of their lives in the locality in which they were born. Not until the late eighteenth century were they given the right to live where they pleased. This fact is of vital importance in connection with Danish immigration.

When in 1825 Norwegian farmers first emigrated to America, their example was soon followed in Denmark, and in 1828 about one hundred Danish immigrants landed in the United States. Between 1830 and 1840 the number swelled to over one thousand, of whom approximately one half arrived in 1835. In the following decade five hundred settlers arrived, of whom one hundred reached their destination in 1846 and two hundred in 1848. Most of these early groups had to charter their own ships.

The first Danish immigrants who came to settle permanently in America were almost entirely from the country districts. Their first permanent settlement was founded in 1845 in Waukesha County (southern Wisconsin), not far from the town of Milwaukee. Three years later New Denmark was settled farther north in the territory. Within the next decade there were half a dozen rapidly growing Danish communities in that state. Of these the most important was Racine, which in time was to be known as the Dane city and as a center of Danish cultural activities throughout the Middle West.

At the same time Danes appeared in the eastern and mid-western cities. After saving money, they frequently went westward, and, in company with fresh arrivals from Denmark, built up larger settlements in Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Danish immigration to Minnesota began even before the latter's organization as a territory. Independent in other things, the Danish pioneers were independent in settling, for instead of collecting at a few places they scattered widely. The large settlement in Freeborn County, however, owed much to its early leader, the Reverend Lars Jorgsen Hange, who in the eighteen-sixties and -seventies directed a considerable number of Baptists to that part of the state. The Swan Lake settlement is still one of the largest Danish settlements in the United States. The first Danes arrived in Iowa in 1860. Considerable numbers of Danes settled in Utah during the fifties, sixties, and seventies. Later a few larger settlements were founded in California, Oregon, and Washington. The whole movement was stim-

ulated, at least in part, by the favorable conditions in America at the time. The Homestead Act of 1862 and the construction of railways in the trans-Mississippi West were excellent inducements. The western railways began to encourage immigration by scattering agents throughout Europe to spread propaganda for the northern Pacific lands. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Dannevang, Texas, none of the larger Danish settlements were situated in the southern states.

In the eighteen-fifties began the great stream of Danish immigration which reached its highest levels in 1882, 1891, and 1905, when respectively about eleven, ten, and nine thousand emigrants from Denmark entered the United States. A Danish sailor in America had previously become a convert to the Mormon faith and was sent in 1850 by his church as its missionary to Denmark. His followers were persecuted in Denmark and therefore emigrated to join their coreligionists in Utah. Many of the converts were farmers who wrote home of the great opportunities to be found on American soil. From 1850 to 1860 four thousand Danish immigrants were admitted to the United States. At least half of these were Mormons. All in all, between 1820 and 1940 Danish immigration totaled approximately 300,000. The greatest number of arrivals in a single year (11,600) was recorded in 1882.

Causes of immigration. Religious and political persecution was largely responsible for Danish immigration prior to 1870. Thereafter economic pressure was the predominant factor. The Napoleonic Wars brought a series of disasters to Denmark: the loss of the fleet in 1807, the bankruptcy of the National Bank in 1813, and the secession of Norway in 1814. Social and political agitation followed. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of worship were given to Denmark only with the granting of the Constitution of 1849 by her last absolute king. Prior to that document, the government had been ungenerous in religious matters. Children had to be baptized and confirmed in the established Lutheran faith. Whereas at the opening of the nineteenth century there were no dissenters or non-Lutherans in Denmark, at about the middle of the century small groups of dissenters—Baptists, Methodists, Latter-Day Saints, and Adventists, some of which had been formed by missionaries sent by the corresponding American churches—found emigration preferable to the animosity of the Danish authorities. Among the early immigrants were a number of Baptists, who had suffered severe persecution at home, and a few Methodists and Adventists.

Another important flow of immigration was set in motion by the Mormon missionaries who arrived in Denmark in 1850 and soon made hundreds of converts. Between 1850 and 1860 no less than 2,606 Mormon colonies were established in the West—the forerunners of the thirty thousand Danes who later came to Utah. Since the Mormons did not carry on missionary work among other Danish immigrants, they exercised little religious influence on the Danish immigrants except in Utah.

After 1864 another contingent of Danish immigrants entered America. The “Elbe Duchies” of Schleswig and Holstein were seized by Prussia after the second Dano-German War of 1864, and many chose to leave their country rather than to live under their new masters.

The Socialist Party started its activities in Denmark about 1871, but its leaders were soon imprisoned. Many left for the new world. However, the number of Danes who migrated to America for political reasons comprised only a minor part of the influx; since 1870 economic reasons have been far more prominent than have any others.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. Many of the early immigrants had originally been agricultural laborers and small farmers. Later they represented practically all classes. A large number came from the Jutland Peninsula and from Zealand and other islands. In the seventies and eighties, young unmarried men and women constituted a considerable proportion of these immigrants. Later, young unmarried men and women predominated. There were urban laborers, but more especially farm laborers, cotters (*husmaend*), and a large number of skilled mechanics. Practically all of them could read and write, and a number of them had been educated at folk high schools; many of the men had also attended technical schools. Toward the close of the century and up to World War I, the majority of these latter were mechanics. Most of the later arrivals were unmarried men and women who took up residence in the cities rather than in rural districts. Only a limited number had enjoyed a higher education, since the well-to-do or especially gifted alone could afford such training. Many stayed in cities simply because they were unable to raise the traveling expenses for the journey from New York farther west.

Perth Amboy, just outside of New York, seems to have had a great attraction for these Danes, possibly because of the large terracotta works owned there by the Mathiasen and Eskesen families.

Others found their way to the growing cities of the Middle West. Once settled, large numbers left the rural districts for such cities as Chicago, Detroit, Omaha, Seattle, and Los Angeles, where large colonies of Danes are congregated, and for some of the smaller towns, such as Racine in Wisconsin and Clinton and Des Moines in Iowa.

According to the United States census of 1930, 50.7 per cent of Danish Americans were living in urban districts, one of the lowest figures for any immigrant group in America.

Religious divisions. The first Danish minister in America was Pastor Rasmus Jensen, who arrived at Nova Dania, Hudson Bay, in 1620. In 1754 J. M. Magens, a noted layman, came to New York and translated from the Danish into English forty sermons on the Augsburg Confession. In 1843 a student named C. L. Clausen arrived from Copenhagen and was ordained by the Buffalo Synods. In 1869 the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel among the Danes in North America was formed, and two years later the first missionaries were sent over in the person of Pastor A. C. G. L. Rasmussen, a lay preacher, A. S. Nielsen, and a student, R. Andersen. In 1870 the Norwegian-Danish Conference was organized.

Before proceeding further we must recall that the American Danes, if they had been practicing Christians at home, had been Lutherans and therefore attached either to the Innermission People—a body not unlike the German Pietists—or to the *Grundtvigians*, a nationalistic sect of Lutherans. A large proportion of the immigrants were Grundtvigians, and their disagreements with the Innermission Peoples in the United States form a well-documented chapter of Danish-American history.¹

Before 1872 Danish Lutherans tended to become members of the Norwegian-Lutheran synods, which had much in common with the Innermission both in practice and creed. In 1856 the first Dano-Norwegian Church was founded in Raymond, Wisconsin, by Louis

¹ The chief characteristic of the theology of Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872) was the substitution of the authority of the "living word" for the apostolic commentaries; he desired each congregation to constitute a practically independent community. As a minister, he tried to restore what he termed old-fashioned, vital Christianity and pure Lutheranism. He protested in turn against the rationalism and the dogmatic liberalism of the church; he demanded a simpler creed, a more abundant life, and greater religious freedom for laity and clergy. His educational ideas were exemplified in numerous folk high schools working successfully under state supervision in the more rural communities of Denmark. Intensely patriotic, he founded popular schools where national poetry and history form an essential part of the instruction. He was popular as a writer of hymns, lyrics, and patriotic songs. The influence of his liberal movement has not been confined to America.

Jorgensen. Some of the pastors of these synods were Danes whom the Innermission leaders had encouraged to emigrate.

The first step toward the formation of a Danish Church in America was taken by the organization of the above-mentioned society in Denmark, in 1860, for the purpose of carrying out missionary work among the American Danes, most of whom were Grundtvigians. The society's work consisted mainly in the selection and training of ministers for Danish congregations in America, and in acting as an advisory council to such ministers and congregations. In October, 1872, three representatives of the society—A. Dan, N. Thomsen and R. Andersen—together with several Danish laymen, met at Neenah, Wisconsin, and organized, under the name of *Kirkelig Missions Forening*, what is now called the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. At this meeting it was decided to publish a church magazine, the Reverend A. Dan of Racine being elected its first editor. The organization grew slowly as fresh Danish settlements were formed, the church paying specific attention to the organization of the new Danish colonies. Of the four colonies—in Shelby County, Iowa; Lincoln County, Minnesota; Clark County, Wisconsin, and Wharton County, Texas—the settlement in Iowa is most noteworthy and successful. Since 1884 the Danish government has supported the work by appropriating a small annual amount for the education of ministers of the church.

Until World War I, the Danish language was used in all Danish church work and exclusively in the church itself. But lately the use of English has become general. Both churches are faced with the pressure of Americanization and the passing of their original immigrant members. These trends have tended to encourage coöperation between the two rival synods, and it is quite possible that in time they may unite.

It is important to note that the Danish Church has not so strong a grip on its sons and daughters as have similar organizations among Swedes and Norwegians.

Fraternal organizations. The most important of the various clubs and fraternal organizations is the Danish Brotherhood of America (*Det danske Brodersamfund*), founded in 1882; it has 329 lodges and between sixteen and seventeen thousand members. Other organizations include: the Danish Sisterhood of America (*Det danske Soster-samfund*), organized in 1885, which embraces 148 lodges and has from six to seven thousand members; the United Danish Societies (*De Sammensluttede danske Foreninger*), founded in 1882, which

has thirty-two lodges and three thousand members; and *Det danske Forening Dania*, of California, founded in 1879, which has twenty-two branches in California and Nevada and some three thousand members. Danish societies are recreational and cultural and possess some of the benefit features of the secret societies. The local organizations of the latter are organized chiefly in the larger cities, whereas the Brotherhood forms local branches in both urban and rural districts. Both have tried to use mainly the Danish language in their social activities.

Of the smaller societies mention must be made of the Danish People's Society and the Danish American Association. The former was created in 1887 by the Reverend F. L. Grundtvig, son of Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig, for the purpose of preserving the social heritage of the Danish immigrants; the latter, founded in 1906, has to its credit the establishment of a national park in the moorlands of Jutland, Denmark, where the Fourth of July is celebrated each year under both the *Dannebrog* (the Danish flag) and the Star-Spangled Banner. There are also numerous secular societies of the most varied kind, recreational, linguistic, gymnastic, musical, patriotic, educational, fraternal (or secret), and economic. Charitable institutions supported by the Danish Americans are scattered throughout the country.

The press. Of the many newspapers and periodicals published in the Danish language in the United States since 1872, only a few are still in existence. *Det danske Pioneer* (Omaha, Nebraska) appeared in 1872 as a liberal periodical with socialistic tendencies and was for many years the leading Danish newspaper in America. It is now more conservative and has always supported the Democratic Party. The *Dannevirke* (Cedar Falls, Iowa) has been the unofficial organ of the Danish Lutheran Church since 1880. The *Bien* (San Francisco, California) appeared two years later on the west coast. The *Nordlyset* (New York) began its career mainly to represent the Danish colony in Chicago. *Det danske Ugeblad* (Tyler, Minnesota) has been the unofficial organ of the United Danish Lutheran Church since 1916.

Educational institutions. It is noteworthy that the Danes can boast of the highest rate of naturalization of all American citizens—78.1 per cent, a rate which surpasses even that for Sweden (77.1 per cent). Their adjustment to the American environment is also facilitated by their high rate of literacy. This fact is intimately connected with the folk high school movement in Denmark. It was only natural that American Danes should try to preserve their cultural heritage

in the United States by means of the same institution. A number of folk high schools were established in the Danish Horn, Shelby County, Iowa, in 1878, but these had to be closed during World War I. Four other schools also suffered from indifference and lack of financial help, in spite of the attempts of the Grundtvigians to support them. A few such schools survive today, notably *Asbland Højskole* (Grant, Michigan), *Danebod Højskole* (Tyler, Minnesota), *Dansk Højskole* (Portland, Maine) and *Nysted Højskole* (Danebrog, Nebraska). Among educational institutions must be included Dana College and Seminary (Blair, Nebraska) founded in 1886, and Grand View College (Des Moines, Iowa) established in 1895.

The various churches and associations promote their own educational activities. These church organizations, with the exception of the Grundtvigian, have been of a strictly religious character. The Grundtvigian young people's societies also promote interest in gymnastics, folk dancing, singing, dramatics, and libraries.

American Danes and World War II. In 1942, *Fortune* magazine reported on American Danes as follows: "Less impregnated with 'realism' than the Swedes, but also less united in anti-Axis fervor than the Norwegians, are the half-million United States Danes. In general they back Henrik de Kauffmann, Danish Minister to the United States, who defies German orders from Copenhagen. The leading fraternal organizations of United States Danes do not fall for Nazi propaganda, which tries to prove that Denmark made a good bargain when it accepted German protection."²

Contributions to American Life

Their cultural heritage is itself the most important contribution made by the Danes to American life. The Danish folk high school, whether in its original Danish or its modified American form, is of considerable significance for American education; it has suggested methods and principles of adult education that are widely practiced today, for example, the experiment carried on by S. A. Mathiason, of Danish descent, in the Pocono People's College, the Pocono Study Tours, and the American People's College in New York City.

The conditions of the dairy industry in America are to a large degree the result of work done by the Danish people. Danish experiments and discoveries, and particularly the invention of the cream separator, revolutionized the milk, butter, and cheese industry. The

² "Steam from the Melting Pot," *Fortune*, September, 1942, p. 76.

Danes introduced their methods in America, and in the early eighties a Danish immigrant living near Cedar Rapids imported a cream separator, then a novelty in Iowa. Danish methods were soon learned and imitated by others, and the fame of American dairies soon spread to Europe. There are still many districts in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Wisconsin where all the dairies are owned or managed by Danes. Intimately bound up with their success in farming and the dairy industry is the Danes' inclination for coöperation. Coöperative associations were well received in Danish communities and in the groups in contact with them. There are still some associations of this nature flourishing among both urban and rural groups.

The Danes have made distinguished contributions to American life, not only as a group, but also as individuals. Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914) was born in Ribe, Denmark, and was apprenticed for four years to a carpenter in Copenhagen. Coming to New York in 1870 he tried his hand in turn at farming, coal mining, brickmaking, and peddling before, on the strength of his previous journalistic experience, he secured employment on a weekly newspaper published at Hunter's Point, Long Island. After several years he joined the *New York Tribune* (1877-1878) and later the *Evening Sun* (1888-1899) as a police reporter. Afterward he supported himself by articles, books, and lectures. His activities at police headquarters led Riis to his life work, the cleansing of New York's slums. In vivid newspaper and magazine articles, in countless lectures, in widely read books, he focused attention on the life of the poor, especially of the children, and organized their relief. His exposure of the contaminated condition of the city's water supply led to the purchase of the Croton watershed; he abolished police station lodging houses; he worked for child labor legislation and its enforcement; he secured playgrounds and a truant school; he forced tenements to be destroyed; he revealed to a horrified country long-hidden dens of vice, crime and filth; he drove bakeries, with their fatal fires, from tenement basements. Riis's chief supporter was Theodore Roosevelt.

Niels Poulson (1843-1911), iron-master, architect, and philanthropist, built the Hecla Architectural Iron Works at Brooklyn in 1897. The construction and ornamental details of the Grand Central and Pennsylvania railway stations in New York City are products of the Hecla Works. Poulson's house in Brooklyn was built almost entirely of copper. He left the bulk of his estate to endow the American Scandinavian Foundation for the purpose of fostering closer understanding between the United States and the Scandinavian coun-

tries. Poulson was also an ardent believer in popular and adult education and established a technical evening school in his factory where employees could obtain free instruction. He must also receive credit for several mechanical inventions, such as fireproof stairs and library bookstacks.

Lack of economic opportunities in Denmark has resulted in an unusually large number of Danes joining American scholarly and scientific institutions. Niels Christian Nielsen is curator of prehistoric archaeology at the American Museum of Natural History of New York. August Busch has been the entomologist expert of the United States Department of Agriculture since 1896; another Dane, Adam Giede Bving, is senior entomologist at the United States Bureau of Entomology. Jens C. Clausen was connected with the Rockefeller Foundation and the Division of Genetics of the University of California, and is a member of the Division of Plant Biology of Stanford University.

One of the foremost naval architects of America is William Hovgaard, who was professor of naval design and construction at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1931-1933. Neils Eobesen Hansen, professor of horticulture at South Dakota Agricultural College and Experiment Station since 1895, found in Turkestan and Siberia species of alfalfa that could grow on the prairies of the Northwest. Waldemar Westergaard holds the chair of history at the University of California. C. Larsen, dean of agriculture in the South Dakota State College, is the author of several books on dairy science, as is also Martin Mortensen, dean of the department of dairy industry, Iowa State College. Julis Moldenhawer introduced pasteurization into America. There are numerous well-known Danish artists, among them, Rehling Quistgaard.

In the sphere of business, Mathias P. Mleer of Hagerstown, Maryland, is a pioneer in organ building and owns the largest organ manufacturing factory in America. Peter Larsen built railways for the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Grand Trunk railways. The late John Carstensen was a vice-president of the New York Central Railway. George Rasmussen organized one of the largest chain stores in the Middle West—the National Tea Company. William Knudsen, executive vice-president of the General Motors Company, became one of the best-known leaders appointed by President Roosevelt to put America's industry on a war basis during World War II. William Hovgaard has the distinction of being one of America's most noted naval architects.

Jean Hersholt, the Danish motion picture actor, is also famed for his collection of Hans Christian Andersen's works; he has selected and translated thirty of his countryman's most memorable tales (1943).

Assimilation of Danes in America

The notion of the integration of the Danish culture within the American environment is not new to some Danish-American leaders, as the Reverend F. L. Grundtvig, though Americanization is thought of less as a process of absorption than as an interplay of social forces. His ideas are now being acknowledged by the most enlightened thinkers of America in the field of cultured pluralism. Grundtvig's Danish People's Society was based on his nationalistic cultural and spiritual Danish-American ideals. However much he tried to inculcate a love of Danish culture through the medium of his songs, he nevertheless always favored loyalty to America and its institutions. Grundtvig's conception of America as the land of the trysting place of nations (*Folksestaevnets Land*) represents the great American ideal: that Americanization is but a fruitful exchange of the social heritages of all the various peoples settled in the United States—an exchange that will ultimately create something finer and nobler than any of its individual component parts.

F. DUTCH AMERICANS

A. J. BARNOUW

Dutch emigration to North America took place in two widely separate periods: first in the seventeenth century before the seizure of New Netherland by the British, and again in the forties and fifties and subsequent decades of the nineteenth century.

The earliest immigrants were fur traders, but after the Dutch West India Company was founded in 1621, a systematic attempt was made to bring agriculturists over to the colony. There never was any great enthusiasm among the Dutch at home for emigration to New Netherland. The home country was prosperous, there was little unemployment, and the conditions imposed upon the settlers by the company were no inducement to exchange security at home for an adventurous life in the new world. Those who did go were impelled by various reasons: wanderlust, the hope of improving their lot, the wish to abscond and turn over a new leaf, or a longing for freedom beyond the control of government agencies. The urban population

of the Dutch Republic was far from homogeneous, Amsterdam and the other cities of Holland having offered shelter to thousands of refugees from other countries, and the settlements in New Netherland must have reflected that composite character of the nation in the motherland. Father Jogues, who visited New Amsterdam in the late forties of the seventeenth century, found eighteen different languages spoken on Manhattan Island.

Immigration

The Dutch in New Netherland settled on Manhattan, Long Island, in the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, at the mouth of the Delaware, and along the lower course of the Connecticut River. John Miller, in *New York Considered and Improved* (1695), estimated that "the number of the inhabitants in this Province are about 3,000 families, whereof almost one halfe are naturally Dutch." The nucleus of this Dutch population of New York was the settlement west of the lower Hudson in the region now known as Ulster County. The numerical predominance of the Dutch in this part of the country appears from the encroachment of their language upon non-Dutch settlements. Until 1800, Dutch was the prevalent speech of northern New Jersey, from which it should not be inferred, however, that the entire population was of Dutch stock. Here again, as in Ulster County, French and German settlers, by adopting the speech of the majority, had become identified with the Dutch. It is, therefore, a hopeless task to estimate the extent of Dutch immigration up to the War of Independence. Inter-marriage between descendants of different European stocks blurs the picture still further. The committee report to the American Council of Learned Societies arrives at a total of 106,750 Dutch in the territory covered by the United States in 1790.

The second wave of immigration from the Netherlands occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. A large majority of these newcomers were recruited from the rural classes. Economic distress drove the poorest among them to seek betterment in America. Religious motives were mixed with their resolve. These people belonged to the most orthodox among the Calvinists, to whom the Dutch Reformed Church seemed to have swerved from the true teachings of John Calvin. They seceded from its fold and met in conventicles, which, being forbidden by the authorities, were forcibly broken up and dispersed. They hoped to find in the new world release from hunger and persecution, and under the

leadership of ministers of the Word, they set sail for America. The first group arrived in 1846 with the Reverend A. C. van Raalte at their head. With funds collected in the mother country, he purchased land between the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers and the little Black River, which flows into Black Lake, now part of Lake Michigan, but in those days separated from it by a ridge of dunes. Close to these natural trade routes he laid the foundations of Holland, the future port of the Dutch settlement in Michigan. Another group of like-minded seceders from the Dutch Reformed Church made a new home for themselves between the Des Moines and Skunk rivers in Iowa and called their settlement Pella.

Also, about the same time, occurred a Roman Catholic immigration from the Netherlands under the leadership of Father T. J. van den Broek, a Dominican missionary, who had preached the gospel among the Indians around Green Bay and Fox River, Wisconsin, from 1834 until 1847. In the latter year he went to Holland and returned in 1848, at the head of a company of Roman Catholic immigrants, to the Fox River Valley, which is even today the center of Dutch Catholic colonization in the United States.

Van Raalte, van den Broek, and Scholte, the leader of the settlers in Pella, Iowa, were the pioneers who showed the way to other groups that were to follow. The main stream turned toward Michigan. Its map is dotted with villages bearing names borrowed from place names in Holland. The other states that were attractive to the Dutch were New York and New Jersey in the East, owing no doubt to their early ties with Holland in the days of the Dutch Republic; Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois in the Middle West; and California in the Far West.¹

The choice of these regions was determined by their similarity of soil and climate to that of the country from which the immigrants came. All the Dutch settlements are situated between the isothermal lines that also enclose the Netherlands, and their soil belongs, as does that of Holland, to the moraine region of the diluvial glacier. A few isolated attempts at colonization by Dutch settlers in Colorado, Texas, and Florida ended in failure because of their unfamiliarity with the soil they found there and with weather conditions foreign to the temperate climate of Holland. Even in the middle states best suited for settlement, it took them some time to adapt themselves to the greater

¹ For a detailed analysis of distribution by states, see table compiled by Dr. Neil van Aken, Executive Secretary of the Netherland Chamber of Commerce, New York City.

disparity between summer and winter temperatures and to the long periods of heat and drought, which never occur in Holland.

Until the seventies of the nineteenth century the exodus from Holland to the United States continued unabated. As economic conditions in Europe improved, the stream began to lose in volume, until it dwindled to a mere trickle in the early twentieth century. The total number of immigrants of Netherland birth now living in the United States, according to the census figures of 1940, is 111,064, which is no more than 1 per cent of all foreign-born white residents. Of this number over 90,000 were living in the seven states mentioned above as being attractive to Hollanders, the rest being scattered over the remaining forty-one states. The largest number, 32,128, were settled in Michigan, and of these 13,000 were in Grand Rapids, 3,000 in Kalamazoo, 2,500 in Detroit, and 1,500 in Muskegon. These figures do not present an accurate picture of the Dutchness of these cities, for there are still many American-born descendants of the settlers of the forties and fifties of the past century who cling to Dutch customs and are able to speak the Dutch language.

Assimilation and the Influence of Orthodoxy

The binding force that holds Hollanders together is not their sense of racial unity, but the religious faith that they have in common. They do not feel drawn to one another because they speak the same language, unless they also profess the same creed. In *Belly Fulla Straw*, an autobiographical novel by David Cornel De Jong, a young American author who was born in Holland and came to this country in his early teens, the story is told of a Dutch carpenter who, shortly after World War I, settled with his wife and four children in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He was not a church member and his children had not been baptized. He soon found that as a Hollander he could lay no claim to the help of his Dutch-American neighbors; only as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church was he assured of a welcome among them.

The most ignorant, of course, are the most exacting neighbors. The less a man knows, the more cocksure he is of the little he does know. Such people will not allow even the slightest departure from the doctrines that they have learned to revere as the only true ones; hence, repeated secessions from the fold by the rigidly orthodox occur when liberalizing tendencies threaten to undermine the faith. Dr. A. C. van Raalte, the heroic leader of the Holland colony in Michigan, incorporated his flock with the Dutch Reformed Church

of America. But there was opposition against this move from the outset, and it was not long before the stricter members, who called themselves the True Dutch Reformed, seceded and organized the Christian Reformed Church. In 1880 there was a new schism among these true brethren, the truer ones forming the "Netherland Reformed Church," and this separatist body split again in two by a secession of the truest. Such religious conservatives are also extremely tenacious of Dutch language and customs. The stubbornest resistance to Americanization is offered by the most orthodox believers.

This power of resistance inherent in religious orthodoxy proved the pioneers' most valuable asset. For, thanks to that same power, they were able to withstand the trials and hardships of the life that awaited the first settlers in the forests of Michigan and the prairies of Iowa. Calvinism, thanks to the fervor with which it inspires the faithful, is a great builder of colonies. Even its schismatic tendencies proved a blessing in disguise. The rival sects sought to surpass one another in the care that they took of education. The Christian Reformed, having realized that their Dutch Reformed brethren owed their higher social standing to the culture that was spread among them by the alumni of Hope College at Holland, Michigan, redoubled their efforts to raise their own standard of education at Calvin College, Grand Rapids. This rivalry in education is benefiting both groups and may, in the course of time, bring about their union. As the Americanization process goes on, the dividing lines will gradually fade and fusion will automatically follow.

This resistance to the Americanization process, especially among the Christian Reformed, is not due to a lingering love of the old country. The Dutch Calvinists of Michigan are taught by their schoolteachers and ministers to think of Holland as the country that a century ago persecuted their ancestors and compelled them to seek freedom of religious worship in America; and since that happened under the rule of King William I, they have no special affection for the House of Orange. After the invasion of Holland in May, 1940, a group of Hollanders and American friends of Holland organized the Queen Wilhelmina Fund for the relief of Dutch refugees. Its appeals for funds were coolly received by the Michigan Dutch. They were willing to help, but they objected to the fund being named for Her Majesty.

As the use of the Dutch language becomes more and more restricted to the church, it loses its capacity of serving the needs of everyday life. One need but glance at some of the Dutch papers that are still

being published in the United States to realize that the Dutch language is in a state of decay. Only three, *Knickerbocker Weekly*, *Standard Bulletin*, and the *Missionary Monthly Reformed Review*, have a circulation above 3,500, and each of these prints articles in both English and Dutch. The Dutch language does not, and cannot, produce any literature, for it has lost the creative vitality that must quicken artistic expression. These isolated spots where Dutch speech lingers on are like pools of stagnant water left behind by a receding flood such as never again will inundate those parts. They are severed forever from the mainspring whence the tides came rushing on until the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 threw up dikes in protection against them.

No Dutch American has ever portrayed life as it is lived in these settlements in a novel written in the Dutch language. The few writers who chose that theme expressed themselves in English, and one of these, Edna Ferber, the author of *So Big*, a story of Dutch people in Roseland, Chicago, is not a Dutch American. Cobie de Lespinasse, in *The Bells of Helmus*, has told a story of a Dutch settlement in the Middle States that is disintegrated by religious schism. David Cornel de Jong's autobiography, *With a Dutch Accent*, describes the Americanization of a Dutch boy brought from a small village on the Frisian coast to the city of Grand Rapids.

Arnold Mulder is an American of Dutch descent who has dramatized, in a series of four novels, the conflict between the younger generation, which is wholeheartedly American, and their elders, who will not surrender their Dutchness. Mulder himself is of that younger generation. He has surrendered, along with his Dutchness, the old orthodox faith. He remains, nevertheless, a resident of Kalamazoo, Michigan, which may be taken as welcome evidence that the exclusive bigotry which kept heterodox Hollanders apart in pioneer days has yielded to a more tolerant spirit. And this leads one to the paradoxical conclusion that the Dutch as a people become united when they cease to assert themselves as Dutchmen.

Since the church is the binding force that holds Dutch immigrants together, it follows that their social life, as distinct from the American life around them, will center around the church. The Christian Reformed Church forbids membership in secret societies such as the Masonic Order, whose initial oaths they condemn as unscriptural. The Dutch Reformed Church, which has not expressed itself on this point, leaves the decision to local churches, many of which forbid their members to join such societies. Mission work and charity are

prominent activities of both churches. The Dutch Reformed, which is financially the stronger of the two, has carried its mission work into Japan, China, India, and Arabia. The Christian Reformed Church, though also active in China, has restricted itself more to mission work among the Navajo Indians and to welfare work among the poor and the outcasts of society at home. There are also several societies among the Dutch that are organized for the double purpose of providing entertainment and insuring their members against the excessive costs of hospitalization and burial. There are five such coöperative insurance societies in Chicago, and one in Greater New York, called *Eendracht Maakt Macht* (Strength in Unity). There are Knickerbocker societies in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and in Chicago, purely social organizations of Hollanders and descendants of Hollanders who are still attached to the land of their origin. The Frisians, who are the only Netherlands speaking a language other than Dutch, maintain their own Frisian *selskips* (societies) in Paterson, New Jersey, Rochester, New York, Grand Rapids and Holland, Michigan, Chicago and Hebron, Illinois, and at Clearwater, California. Americans of Frisian descent organized in 1943 a Frisian Information Bureau which intends to spread knowledge about Friesland and Frisian history and culture. It began the publication of a Bulletin in January, 1944, eight issues of which had appeared by October, 1944.

The *Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond* (General Netherland League), a world-wide organization with headquarters in Holland, whose purpose is to maintain the cultural bond among Netherlands scattered all over the world, including the Dutch-speaking people of Belgium and South Africa, has a New York chapter called *Afdeeling Nieuw Nederland*. It has never appealed to the Dutch settlers in the Middle West, probably because of its nonsectarian character. Its meetings are held on Dutch national feast days, such as *Sinterklaas* (Santa Claus), which the Hollanders celebrate on December the fifth; the anniversary of the Relief of Leyden on October third; the Queen's and Princess Juliana's birthdays; and similar occasions.

Little has been said so far about those Hollanders who, without any church affiliation, come to this country and settle in an English-speaking community. They soon lose their Dutchness and become Americans. The educated Hollander adapts himself easily to foreign ways, and his knowledge of the English language, which is taught in all Dutch high schools, facilitates the process of adaptation. Their number was swelled by the stream of well-to-do refugees that poured

into this country after the Nazi invasion. Prominent businessmen are among them. The internationally known firm, Philips Electrical Industries of Eindhoven, Holland, moved its headquarters to New York, and several other concerns followed its example. The East Indies also contributed their share. The majority of those who escaped capture by the Japanese settled in California.

Contributions to American Life

A large number of native Dutchmen are to be found on the faculties of our colleges and universities. The statistics of Netherlands exports do not list the scholars whom Holland sends abroad. Bulbs and butter and cheese supply food for speculation to the statisticians at The Hague. They are not concerned with scientists and savants. Still, Queen Wilhelmina's country produces a larger number of these than its universities are able to absorb, and since the United States, praised be Congress, has never erected a tariff barrier against their importation, American institutions of higher learning are gathering the fruit of learning that Holland raised. The majority of them belong to the Netherlands University League of North America, which has a membership of over eighty and meets twice or three times a year for the discussion of scientific and cultural topics. In one of these gatherings the plan was conceived for the publication of a symposium on the contribution of Holland to the sciences, which was completed in 1943.

Four Hollanders who have achieved national fame in the United States are the late Edward Bok, the late writer and lecturer Hendrik Willem van Loon, the airplane builder and aviator Anthony Fokker, and Hans Kindler, conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington, D. C.

In 1921, New Yorkers were invited to view an uncommon exhibition. It was called "America's Making" and claimed to give a comprehensive survey of the various contributions made to American life by the thirty-odd nations that have sent immigrants to the United States. The show, the papers said, was a great success. It was, indeed, a gorgeous pageant of native costumes from all parts of Europe; it was a busy workshop where potters and glassblowers and lacemakers and glovers and woodcarvers were plying their old-world trades; it was a busy market of picturesquely furnished booths, where ladies in uncommon European garb and common American accent sold the kind of knickknack that tourists bring home from transatlantic trips. It was, in short, a demonstration not of what these various

racess had given to America, but of the things they had lost in giving themselves to this country.

The immigrants' contributions to American life are not so tangible as to be capable of visible demonstration. These aliens from many lands brought along with them their faiths, their ethics, their industry, their skill, their prejudices, but of these no exhibits can be made. America's making is too complicated a process to admit of so simple a demonstration. It cannot be visualized—it can only be told; and even the historian who is able to collect and arrange the facts and interpret them with a philosophic understanding will find himself balked in his task by the insufficiency and the elusiveness of his material.

G. BELGIAN AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

Although Belgium is the most densely populated country in Europe, having 688 persons to the square mile, the country has never been a great source of emigration. The state was exceptionally prosperous—at least before World War II—and its emigration has been comparatively slight. Whatever emigration there has been from Belgium in recent times, the bulk of it has gone to the United States, which admitted a total of 160,487 Belgians from 1820 to 1943, the great majority coming after 1880 and the largest number in the first decade of the twentieth century. Most of them are Flemish rather than Walloons, and they come largely from peasant districts. It is estimated that 75 per cent of all Belgians in the United States are Flemings.

In 1940, there were approximately 60,000 foreign-born Belgians and 135,000 Belgians "of foreign white stock" in the United States. Most of them live in Michigan, Illinois, and New York, although they can be found in every state of the Union. This is indicated by the Belgian names of some of our communities: Antwerp (New York and Ohio); Brussels (Illinois and Wisconsin); Ghent (Minnesota and Kentucky); Charleroi (Pennsylvania); and others.

Almost half of the Belgian Americans have settled in rural areas. The skill of the Belgians as truck farmers and gardeners is well known. They have imported a great many of their magnificent draft horses, and their splendid breeds of dogs are appreciated as much as their carrier pigeons. Following the old Belgian custom, pigeon races are conducted regularly in the Belgian settlements. Belgians are familiar

with tapestry weaving; glass, rug, and leather-making; the making of house furnishings (mainly those of wood); the art of the potter and of the goldsmith; wood and stone carving; diamond cutting (a specialty of the artisans from Antwerp, living especially in New York); cutlery and cigar making. The Flemings are especially interested in the textile industry, while the Walloons engage in metallurgy. The Belgian workers are employed in the factories and silk mills of Detroit, Michigan, Chicago, and Moline, Illinois, South Bend, Indiana, Rochester, New York, Paterson, New Jersey, and New York City; and they are employed as glass-blowers in Wheeling, West Virginia. A number of them are brick masons, stone workers, and architects. Belgians are also famed as cooks, bakers, butchers, and sailors. Although little handmade, exquisite Belgian lace is imported today, it is being produced here by Flemish-American housewives.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Religion. Most of the Belgian immigrants are Catholics. There are two Belgian Catholic churches in Detroit, and one in each of the cities named above, as well as in San Antonio, Texas, and Ghent, Minnesota. The Church of St. Albert on West Forty-seventh Street in New York City is the social and religious focal point for some 30,000 Belgians from Long Island, New York, and Hoboken and Paterson, New Jersey. Another colony is gathered in Rochester around the Our Lady of Victory Church, founded about 1880, which has a membership of some 1,200 members; in addition to these, there are close to 3,000 Belgians in the neighboring places of Canandaigua, Phelps, Newark, Clifton Springs, Ontario, and Marion.

Language and customs. The problems besetting most other immigrant groups of America are of little importance to the Belgians, for the Belgians readily become American citizens. In 1940 nearly 70 per cent of their foreign born had been naturalized. The differences between the Flemings and Walloons are not of serious consequence in the United States. Although there are some dividing lines between these two branches of Belgians whenever the two are represented in the same community, this is largely because of the economic and social levels of the immigrants: the Flemish group is composed mostly of farmers and unskilled laborers; the Walloon branch is mainly represented by skilled laborers and better educated individuals. Even the numbers of each branch indicate that their differences cannot be too serious: for example, the Flemings compose about 90 per cent of all

Belgians in New York City and its environs. Both of the Belgian-American newspapers, *De Gazette van Moline* (Moline, Illinois) and *De Gazette van Detroit* (Detroit, Michigan) are printed in Flemish. As the greater part of both groups is Catholic, religious differences do not complicate other points of disagreement, as they do among the Dutch.

Even the problem of the "second generation" is of no serious consequence to the Belgians in America. The Belgian immigrant group is not haunted by such opprobrious names as "Bohunk," "Chink," or "Sheenie." The attitude of good feeling and sympathy on the part of the average American, developed at the beginning of World War I, tends to create pride in the American-born Belgians. Although they may use English in speaking to their parents, there is no marked resentment on their part against the parental background. Thus, they very easily merge into their American environment.

Contributions to American Life

Early contributions. Few American histories give adequate, if any, recognition of the importance of the Belgians in early American history. Quite literally, it was a Belgian who first "put America on the map." Mercator, born in the little town of Rupplemonde, near Antwerp, made the early maps of the new world, and it was on his map of 1541 that the name "America" appeared for the first time on the northern continent of the western hemisphere. Father Louis Hennepin, a Belgian Catholic priest, a Walloon, explored a large portion of America and was the first white man to see Niagara Falls. His book, *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America*, contains the earliest description of this vast region and was one of the first printed "advertisements" of the wonders of the new land. A street in Minneapolis, a village in Illinois, and a county in Minnesota bear his name. His publications were the three most famous books of the period—books that were to give everlasting glory to their author and to remind Americans of the part that Belgians had played in the exploration of the United States. In 1683 his first book appeared, *Description of Louisiana*; in 1697, *The New Discovery of a Very Large Country* came out in Utrecht; and a third book, *A Trip Through a Country Larger than Europe*, was published in the same city.

These works were beyond any doubt the best sellers of the time. They were translated into Flemish, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and English, a real accomplishment for that period. Proof of the

great influence of Pere Hennepin's work is the fact that there were fifty editions of his three books within a few years.

Many other Belgian explorers and missionaries followed in Father Hennepin's footsteps. Among them may be recalled the uncle of Cardinal Mercier, Father Croquet, who was known as "the Saint of Oregon," and Archbishop Soghers, who was called "the Apostle of Alaska." One of the greatest of all was Father De Smet. Born in East Flanders in 1801, he began his great missionary work among the American Indians in 1823. His "little parish" extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains.

Although the Dutch usually receive the credit for being the first settlers of New York and vicinity, actually the first settlers were Walloons, people from the southern parts of Belgium. Thousands of Belgians became Protestants in the sixteenth century. The Catholic rulers of Spain rigorously persecuted these Protestants, who fled in large numbers to the northern parts of Belgium, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. Jesse de Forest organized the first band of Belgian colonists to come to Manhattan Island; he was a Belgian Walloon, born at Avesnes, which was at that time a part of the Belgian province of Hainaut and which remained a part of that province until ceded to France by the Treaty of Pyrenees in 1659. But it was a Fleming, William Usselinx, who organized the West India Company which made it possible for these colonists to come. Their first group came to Manhattan Island in 1623 on the ship *New Netherland*. The fact that they had sailed from Holland has caused many historians to believe that they were natives of the southern parts of Belgium, then called the Comte de Hainaut and the Comte de Flandre, and that they came largely from the cities of Avesnes, Valenciennes, and Lille. On the other hand, these Calvinists of Belgium are also confused with the French Huguenots, as these cities were annexed to France, after the victorious wars of Louis XIV, in 1658 and 1678.

Hence the first settlers in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, the Middle Atlantic states, were Belgian Walloons. In fact, the maps of the seventeenth century indicate the whole territory from Cape Cod to the Delaware River as *Nova Belgica*. A Walloon monument was erected in Battery Park, New York City, on May 20, 1924, near the spot where the Walloons had landed three hundred years before. It is a plain shaft of stone, with the coat of arms of the Province of Hainaut. In the upper part runs a garland of sculptured oak leaves, and below is an inscription that reads:

PRESENTED TO THE CITY OF NEW YORK
BY THE
CONSEIL PROVINCIAL DU HAINAUT
IN MEMORY OF WALLOON SETTLERS
WHO CAME OVER TO AMERICA IN THE
"NIEU NEDERLAND" UNDER THE
INSPIRATION OF JESSE DE FOREST OF
AVESNES THEN COUNTY OF HAINAUT
ONE OF THE XVII PROVINCES

According to Bayer, it was a man of Belgian blood, Peter Minuit, who bought Manhattan Island from the Indians in 1626; it was a good bargain, as he paid for the whole tract on which the city of New York is situated the price of only 60 gulden—or about \$24 in American money.

Even if we have no documentary evidence of Nicolas Martiau's Belgian origin, his very name stamps him as a Walloon of old stock. "Martiau," a corruption of the French word "Marteau," is a distinctive Walloon dialect word meaning "hammer" and is still used today among the peasants of Belgium. Martiau came to Virginia about 1623 and became a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and later on, from 1633 to 1657, a justice of York. His great-granddaughter married Lawrence Washington, the grandfather of George Washington. Martiau was also the ancestor of other men prominent in the colonial history of America, among them being Thomas Nelson, governor of Virginia, who commanded the Virginia troops at the Battle of Yorktown under Washington.

We have the record of some Belgian officers who accompanied the Marquis de la Fayette, among them Charles de Pauw, of Ghent, whose grandson later founded De Pauw University in Indiana.

Recent contributions. In more recent times, the late Dr. Leo Hendrik Baekeland, Belgian-born chemist, gave the world thousands of plastic items from billiard balls to insulation for battleships through his invention of bakelite. He was also noted as the inventor of Velox, a highly sensitized photographic printing paper, the original formula for which he sold to the Eastman Kodak Company for \$1,000,000. He was founder of both the General Bakelite Company and the Bakelite Corporation. A native of Ghent, Dr. Baekeland came to this country toward the turn of the century to continue the research work he started at the University of Ghent and aided in developing the Townsend electrolytic cell for producing caustic soda

and chlorine from salt. During World War I he was a member of the United States Naval Consulting Board and the advisory board of the Department of Commerce's chemical division and chairman of the committee on patents of the National Research Council. He was first Chandler lecturer at Columbia University and held an honorary professorship in chemical engineering at the university after 1917 until his death in 1944. He also was president of the Inventors' Guild and the American Institute of Chemical Engineers and served as this country's delegate to the International Congress of Chemistry in 1909.

A member of the University of Notre Dame, Father Nieland, is the famous discoverer of artificial rubber, developed by the du Ponts; this invention broke the British monopoly in the rubber field. André Parmentier, a Walloon born in Belgium, is one of the founders of landscape gardening in America. Several Belgians have taught at Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, and Georgetown universities. The Catholic University of Louvain inspired the idea of the Catholic University of America, and the graduates of the American College of Louvain have furnished the bulk of pioneer educational work in Michigan, Washington, Montana, and Oklahoma. The great violinist, Eugene Ysaye, is well known to America's music lovers, and New Yorkers remember Ernest Van Dyck, Madame Delaunois, and Madame Lardinois, of Metropolitan Opera fame. General Goethals, whose name is always associated with the Panama Canal, was of Belgian descent, as was also the late Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, former United States minister to Denmark, one of the foremost writers of America and professor in the Universities of Georgetown and Notre Dame, and the Catholic University of America. The eulogy of Father Joseph Damien, of Louvain, was written by Robert Louis Stevenson for his courageous work among the lepers of Hawaii. Henry J. Mail, honorary vice-consul of Belgium in New York City, represents the fourth generation of the family holding this office and interested in the manufacture of woolens. Mgr. J. F. Stillemans organized the Belgian Relief in America during World War I and for many years was director of the Belgian Bureau in New York City.

In addition to the contributions of Belgian immigrants, America's public museums and private collections treasure priceless Flemish tapestries, leather carvings, sculpture, engravings, porcelain cabinets, chests, artistic furniture, laces, and bookbindings. The office building of the Delaware and Hudson Company at Albany, New York, is a modernized reproduction of the famous "Cloth Hall" of Ypres.

Memorial Day is of special significance among Belgian Americans, as the New York troops, the Twenty-seventh Division, were among the first soldiers to fight as a unit on Belgian soil. The American public is reminded every year that the wild poppy of Flanders is the emblem of the American Legion. Our patriotic memories are stirred by Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae's great poem of World War I, "In Flanders Fields":

In Flanders Fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders Fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders Fields.

Twenty years later, the heel of the invader again trampled over Flanders fields and Belgian Americans were soon fighting once more with other American forces "where poppies blow."

H. FRENCH AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

As the British influenced the development of New England and the east-central colonies, so the French explorers and colonists left their indelible imprint upon the territory almost completely surrounding it. Two separate paths were hewn through the wilderness, one up the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes Basins and down the Mississippi to Louisiana, the other from Florida across the southern lowlands to join at the mouth of the "Father of Waters." Forts were built at strategic points along these paths, colonies were established, and from these focal points new areas were explored and new settlements were built.

As early as 1541, Jean François de la Roque, named by the king lieutenant-general of New France, and Jacques Cartier built a small

fort near the site of what is now Quebec. They called it Charlesbourg Royal, but after three struggling years the fort was abandoned.

It was nearly a century later, in 1632, before colonization in the upper St. Lawrence country was resumed. Gradually explorers and traders pushed west, north, and south. Samuel de Champlain explored the lake in upper New York State that bears his name and was the first white man to see Lake Huron. Through his efforts, French influence had been spread southward to the Hudson River and westward as far as the interlocking streams which in Wisconsin formed the principal canoe route to the Mississippi.

Even more permanent was the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, who, in 1640, began their courageous struggle to convert the Indians to Christianity. Despite every conceivable hardship, in a little more than half a century leaders such as Fathers Marquette, Joliet, and LaSalle, and hundreds more who are nameless in history, had established missions and trading posts all along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi, some of them, like Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans to become great cities. It was through the valiant efforts of these missionaries that France laid claim to the vast Louisiana Territory.

The first French settlement in Florida was established in 1562 on the St. John River and named Fort Caroline. Like the Puritans, these first colonists were Protestants and came for religious freedom. Under the leadership of Ribault and Laudonniere the little colony did well and three years later was increased by the arrival of seven hundred men and two hundred women. The Spaniards, however, believed that the Protestants were heretics and, only a few years later, destroyed the colony, thus virtually ending French influence in this region.

The only state-supervised French colonization on what is now United States territory was that of Louisiana. Mobile was founded in 1702 and New Orleans in 1719. Louisiana colony was established largely as a commercial venture, backed by the Scot, John Law, then a banker in France. When voluntary emigration failed, he induced vagrants and even a few criminals to join the two hundred families he had persuaded to venture the long, dangerous voyage. This fact led to a scandal which resulted in the bankruptcy of Law and the withdrawal of all official backing of the colony.

Despite this fact, the colony remained and grew in population and in influence. Most of the settlers raised tobacco, while others became trappers and traded with the Indians. Following the course of rivers, the Louisiana colony stretched northward like a great westward tipped

V and at the time of its cession to Spain had a population of eleven thousand.

Another group, sometimes referred to as Italian Protestants, should also be mentioned—the Waldensians, who came to America in 1656. They were members of a Christian sect that arose in southern France in 1170, and were considered heretical by the Catholic Church. Some of them migrated to northern Italy and settled in the fertile well-wooded Waldensian valleys that lie southwest of Turin, and thus they became known as the Waldensians. They arrived first in New York and Delaware in 1656. Another group of Waldensians settled at Stony Brook, Staten Island; and, according to Morris's *Memorial History of Staten Island*, it was there that they built their first churches, the first of any denomination on the island, in 1670. In 1773, another group of the Waldensians came to America from Rotterdam.

Differing in religious belief at a time when to be different was to be a heretic, and with their homelands almost continually at war with one another, it was inevitable that the colonists of England, France, and Spain should come into frequent conflict with one another. The British capture of Quebec in 1759, the long series of wars and the final sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803, are familiar to every school child. To say, however, that French influence ended with the Louisiana Purchase would be to ignore the deep foundations that had been laid. National feeling never subsided, and today nearly half a million people living in the former settlements of the Louisiana colony continue to speak French.

Later Immigration

The intervening period of French immigration differs little from that of other north European countries except in one important characteristic: immigration remained more constant from 1830 to 1930 than did that of any other country. During the decade 1831 to 1840, it was 45,575, and from 1921 to 1930 it was 49,610. The highest peak, 1841 to 1850, was but 77,262, and the lowest, 1891 to 1900, was 30,770. Total French immigration from 1820 to 1943 was 605,430.

The number of French-born in the United States in 1940 was 102,930. This is a small group compared with the number from other large nations. Even if to this number is added those of the second French generation, the total, according to the 1940 census, is 199,110.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

The direct result of the early history of the French in America is clearly shown in the fact that the percentage of Americans of French descent living in Louisiana is greater than in any other area of the United States. The rather large number of French and French Canadians found in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, and Michigan bear evidence of the trek of early colonists and missionaries. Although, like other "old" immigrants, French Americans are now scattered through America, there are some 35,000 in New York City, and, on the west coast, there is a fairly large group in San Francisco.

The French have several organizations which maintain and propagate French ideals in America. One of the most important of these is the *Fédération de l'Alliance Française aux Etats-Unis et Canada* (French Alliance in United States and Canada), which has headquarters in New York City and branch offices in all of the larger cities of the United States. The Alliance organizes series of lectures by well-known French leaders. Many branches also organize social gatherings to provide an opportunity for French-speaking people to get together and to keep up their language.

What are the occupations of this relatively small number of French immigrants? Unlike the other foreign colonies, the element of non-specialized manual labor is almost nonexistent among the French. On the other hand, the predominating groups are those engaged in teaching. This group, consisting of university and college professors, high school and private school teachers, tutors, and so on, contributes the most toward the diffusion of the French language, French ideas, and French culture. French summer schools such as those of Middlebury, Columbia University, Mills College, and Penn State, although the duration of their courses is quite short, do remarkable work with French students through affording them a typical French atmosphere in which to live. Middlebury College is recognized by the Sorbonne.

The next largest group consists of cooks, who range from paid chefs engaged in the largest and most exclusive hotels of America down to kitchen boys. In New York alone, more than 3,000 are engaged in this profession. A large group is engaged as domestic help, including servants and chauffeurs. However, since wages in this type of employment are low compared to other employment, these positions no longer attract so many immigrants. In fact, a great many returned to France prior to the war. Also, French hairdressers for ladies are very much in demand in the United States and their prestige is high in com-

parison with that of hairdressers of other nationalities. As a matter of fact, many hairdressers who have no French connections take French names in order to attract a larger clientele.

Several other groups should be mentioned, such as those who are engaged in the perfume, silk, cosmetic, jewelry, and wine businesses, either as owners, managers, or salesmen.

The assimilation of the French parallels that of other foreign-language groups from northern Europe. The complete absence of any attitude of prejudice makes for the free interplay of social interaction, and many individuals merge wholly into American life and institutions. On the other hand, there are many areas in which the native French¹ have formed definite culture groups. The French colony of New York may be taken as fairly typical. It is so organized that it has formed a regular French community in the heart of the city. It has its own churches, hospital, pharmacies, school (French *lycée*), theater, newspapers, and magazines. Thus it has been able to maintain not only its own language but also its institutions and traditions.

With their homeland overrun, in World War II, those of French origin sought in various ways to perpetuate the sense of national unity. They contributed generously to the maintenance of the activities of their government-in-exile and maintained active contacts through available channels. Their own cultural and fraternal organizations were even more active than before. Yet, at the same time their sons and daughters enlisted in the armed forces in large numbers and contributed not alone to the restoration of their mother country but even more to the preservation of American ideals to which their forebears have made so significant a contribution.

Contributions to American Life

Among the settlers peopling the Atlantic coast, the Huguenots have had a large influence on our history and are still a dominant force. Their simple life, frugal habits, domestic virtues, their cultivation of music and the arts, have all had a distinct share in the molding of the American national spirit and character.

New York was founded by Pierre Minuit, who settled on Manhattan in 1619 and bought the island from the Indians in 1624. The village was called at first "Neu-Belgica," as many of the followers of Minuit were Walloons; then it was changed to "Village of Neu-Avesnes" (Avesnes is a town of northern France, the birthplace of

¹A distinction must be made between the native French and the Canadian and Swiss French, discussed in their respective chapters.

Jesse de Forest, a Huguenot leader of the Group). When tercentenary stamps of the foundation of New York were issued in 1924, they bore no mention of the Dutch settlers.²

A Huguenot was the first president of the Colonial Congress. John Jay became the first chief justice of our country and president of the Continental Congress. Alexander Hamilton was a Huguenot on his mother's side. Descendants of the Huguenots have been prominent in all walks of life; among the most outstanding we might mention Paul Revere, Presidents Tyler, Garfield, and the Roosevelts, Admiral Dewey, and the La Follettes of Wisconsin.

American history abounds in the great names of the Frenchmen who fought in our War of Independence. Lafayette and Rochambeau are the greatest of them. Stephen Girard was another hero who aided us in our struggle for freedom. John James Audubon is "the man who introduced us to the birds of America." Augustus Saint-Gaudens was a great American sculptor.

In the field of science, the name of the late Dr. Alexis Carrel may well be mentioned for his splendid research work at the Rockefeller Foundation. He was French by birth but he became an American citizen.

These are but a few of the many of French origin who have contributed much to American life. From earliest history to the present, the gifts of such men to America have been lasting and invaluable.

I. GERMAN AMERICANS

A. B. FAUST

The most immediate and impressive fact about the Germans in America, viewing them historically, is that they have contributed over 25 per cent of the flesh and blood composing the present white population of the United States. The English element (including Scots, North Irish, and Welsh) alone exceeds them with about 33 per cent, and third come the Irish (Free State or Catholic) with about 15 per cent. None of the other numerous national stocks exceeds 5 per cent by the same calculation.¹

² B. L. Henin, as expressed in his "American Historical Oration," delivered at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 14, 1928, for the commemoration of the landing of the French expeditionary troops. The fact that Minuit and de Forest are "claimed" by the Dutch, Belgians, and French is a further illustration of the ethnocentrism of minority groups, as is also the claim of the French Huguenots by both French and Belgians.

¹ This estimate has been carefully derived by statistical methods explained in detail in the writer's book, *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, Chapter I.

Characteristic of the German immigrations throughout their history has been the very slight return migration to the native country as compared with recent immigrations. Their assimilation was rapid almost to a fault. The children of German parentage exhibited traits recognized as typically American. These were produced by many historical and economic conditions: the pressure of frontier habits, the quest for land and large opportunities, the common level of educational facilities, and the democratic environment and government. We cannot think of the German element without the historical background, beginning with the colonial period and following their contributions to, and participation in, the upbuilding of the American nation.

Immigration

Early settlements. The Germans had their *Mayflower*. It was the ship *Concord*, which on October 6, 1683, brought the first body of German immigrants to Philadelphia. Their leader, Franz Daniel Pastorius, had come in advance and bought from William Penn a neighboring tract of land, on which he established the first German permanent settlement in the American colonies, only two years after the founding of Philadelphia in 1681. This settlement was called Germantown and became the distributing center for the large and continuous German immigrations throughout the eighteenth century. The German settlers spread over the central and southern counties of Pennsylvania and formed a new base in Lancaster County. Thence they followed the mountain range to the southward, colonizing western Maryland. Crossing the Potomac they ascended the Shenandoah Valley and made of the Valley of Virginia a rich agricultural country. There they stood in readiness to trek southwestward into Tennessee and Kentucky, or directly southward to the banks of the Yadkin and Catawba in North Carolina.

The Moravians began their settlement of the Wachovia district, now Forsyth and Stokes counties (North Carolina), about 1750, only nine years after their original settlement of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, by Zinzendorf in 1741. South Carolina also received a large contingent of German settlers in the eighteenth century, who came through the port of Charleston. Some few remained at the seaport, but most of them, beginning about 1735, settled permanently in what was known as the Saxe-Gotha district, the present Orangeburg and Lexington counties, then the extreme western frontier. There was a tradition that Queen Anne had set aside this southern area for the

settlement of the Palatines, the name given the German refugees who had come to London in great numbers in 1709 and thereafter, hoping to be transported to the American colonies. Just so, Queen Anne traditionally granted them a tract of land in the north, at the request of American Indians visiting London.

This "promised land" was Schoharie in the colony of New York. Governor Hunter brought over a large number of the Palatines in 1710, to carry out his plan of producing tar from the pines at East and West Camp on the Hudson. After the failure of this experiment, on Livingston Manor, the German colonists left for Schoharie and built seven villages there. When an attempt was made to dispossess them, some migrated to new land on the Mohawk, which was soon settled almost exclusively by German pioneers on both its banks.

The most northerly settlement of the Germans in the eighteenth century was that of Waldoboro, Maine, in 1751, and the most southerly that of the Salzburgers, in 1734, at Ebenezer, Georgia, then the southernmost limit of settlement. Many German tradesmen remained in the coast cities of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston; and Pennsylvania remained the most thickly settled by the German element, Germans numbering over one third of the total population. In the entire area of the thirteen colonies in 1775, the German contribution was about one tenth of the white population. These German settlers of the eighteenth century were for the most part agricultural people, accustomed to hard work and efficient in the methods then known of procuring the greatest yield per acre.

The German Quakers of Germantown immortalized themselves by their formal protest against Negro slavery in 1788, the first time such action was taken in the history of the American people. Also a deed of imperishable fame was the printing by Christopher Saur in 1743 of the complete Lutheran Bible in the German language. It was the first Bible printed in a European language in the American colonies (John Eliot's printing in 1663 was a translation into the Algonquian language of sections of the Bible). Another eminent German printer was Henry Miller, subsequently printer of Congress, who announced the ratification of the Declaration of Independence in his *Staatsbote*, on Friday, July 5, 1776, a day ahead of the other Philadelphia papers, and issued a complete German translation of the declaration in his paper on July 9th.

It was not the first time that a German printer and publisher wrote himself into history, for Peter Zenger, founder of the independent *New York Weekly Journal*, was tried for libel in 1735 (defended by

the Scotch-Irish Andrew Hamilton), and made the first great fight for the liberty of the press in America. Still earlier in the New York colony, in the seventeenth century, the prominent merchant, Jacob Leisler, born in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, during an interregnum was elected the first people's governor of New York, called the first congress of American colonies in May, 1690, and suffered martyrdom for his independence and public spirit when overcome in 1691 by his enemies.

Later immigration. During the nineteenth century German immigration outdistanced all others and reached its highest peaks as follows: 1846-1854, the period before and after the German revolutionary years of 1848-1849. During those nine years almost 900,000 Germans arrived, an extremely large number for those days. Over half of these came in 1852-1854; the banner year was 1854 with 215,009. Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas were then the pioneer sections toward which many directed their course. There was another high wave between 1866 and 1873, with a general average of 100,000 annually. Then again there was an upward bound after 1880, with the record of 250,630 in 1882. After another rise in 1891-1892, when 244,000 arrived within two years, there was a steady decline, owing to more prosperous conditions at home and the disappearance of free or cheap land in the United States. An average annual German immigration of 20,000 diminished steadily until it reached the vanishing point during the first World War. Immigration began again in the 1920's and continued almost to maximum quota. From the beginning of World War II to June 30, 1943, 80,022 Germans, largely refugees, were admitted. This number is 31 per cent of all immigration during this five-year period and is more than four times that of any other country except Canada.

Contributions to American Life

Industrial development. In the industrial history of the nineteenth century the Germans became pre-eminent in all those branches that required technical training. They had had the advantage of technical schools at home, while similar institutions had not yet been founded in America. Above all we see the Germans leading as engineers. John A. Roebling built the first great suspension bridge over the Niagara River, and followed it by his Brooklyn Bridge. Just as prominent in another type of bridge-building, Charles C. Schneider, with his cantilever bridge over the Niagara River, demonstrated that this type was superior for carrying heavy railway traffic. Gustav

Lindenthal was consulting engineer and architect of the Hell Gate steel arch bridge over the East River; and these examples might be multiplied. The only peer of Edison in electrical engineering was Charles P. Steinmetz, the wizard of Schenectady; and in mining engineering the name of Adolf Sutro, constructor of the great tunnel under Virginia City in Nevada, will never be forgotten. Albert Fink, expert railway engineer, was the originator of through traffic in freight and passenger service, while Count Zeppelin made his first experiments in military aviation in this country during the Civil War.

In the nineteenth century, however, the Germans led not only in the engineering branches, but in many others requiring technical training and the ingenuity of the expert. Thus, in the chemical industries and manufacture of drugs, German names were outstanding: Rosengarten, Pfizer, Dohme, Vogler, Meyer, Schieffelin, Lehn, and Fink; in the manufacture of pianos and musical instruments: Steinway, Knabe, Weber, Sohmer, Wurlitzer, Gemünder, and others; optical instruments: Bausch and Lomb; textiles: A. Dodge, Deimel, Thun, Janssen, Oberlaender, Horstmann, Fries, and so on; tanning: Foerderer, Schoellkopf, Carl Schmidt, Schieren, Groetzinger, Pfister and Vogel, and others; wagon and car manufacturing: Studebaker, Brill, Wagner; agricultural machinery: Aultman, Miller, Seiberling, Buchtel, Landis, Crouse; iron and steel manufactures: names too numerous to mention, from Baron Stiegel and Hasenclever in the eighteenth century to Frick and Schwab of the nineteenth; metals: zinc—Mathieson and Hegler, Heckscher; aluminum—Koenig, Vits, Werra, Wentorf, and others; manufacture of enamel ware: Kohler, Kieckhefer, and so on; in the manufacture of food products: Hecker (flour), Ziegler (*Royal* baking powder), Schumacher (rolled oats); sugar: Spreckels, Havemeyer; salt: Ruffner, Goessmann; starch: Piehl; chocolate: Hershey, Heide; canning and preserving industry: Heinz, Lutz and Schramm, Schimmel, Bosman and Lohman, and others; brewing: Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, Schlitz, Uihlein, Blatz, Seipp, Ruppert, Ehret, and so on; furniture: Herrmann, Wernicke; lithography: Prang, Bien, Hoen, Gugler, Ringler, wire manufacture; Roebling, Schoenberger.

The Germans of Jewish extraction have been very prominent as bankers (Schiff, Warburg, Speyer, Goldman, Rosenwald, and others). They have made certain lines of business their own, as clothing manufacture and department stores. John Wanamaker, however, the original founder of the department store, was of Pennsylvania-German descent.

The Germans of the latter half of the nineteenth century produced many captains of industry: Frederick Weyerhaeuser, forest and lumber magnate; Henry Steinway, piano manufacturer; A. Schoellkopf, tanner and leather manufacturer—his sons, leaders in hydraulic power and aniline colors; George C. Boldt, manager and proprietor of the Waldorf-Astoria and other hotels; Rudolph Blankenburg, importer, in municipal politics—"the War Horse of Reform." A little later Ferdinand Thun, Henry Janssen, and Gustav Oberlaender made textile machinery and manufactures (Reading, Pennsylvania), and were outstanding also for their benefactions: the Wyomissing Foundation (humanitarian), the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (cultural), and the Oberlaender Trust (cultural).

All of these men, born in Germany, were worthy successors, in industry and trade, of John Jacob Astor, born at Waldorf, near Heidelberg, who in the beginning of the nineteenth century laid the foundations of a great fortune by his monopoly of the fur trade.

In the wars of the United States. Bancroft, the historian of the American Revolution, and Gould, the statistician of the Civil War, testified that the Germans volunteering in those wars exceeded in proportion that of the natives and all other foreign elements, a wonderful tribute to their loyalty and courage.

At the very opening of the Revolutionary War, in 1776, the Continental Congress established by vote a German regiment which was recruited in Pennsylvania and Maryland and which distinguished itself in the New Jersey campaigns and in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians. Under General Greene were the two reliable German brigade commanders, Peter Muhlenberg and George Weedon (Wieden), whose regiments were composed mainly of German settlers in the Valley of Virginia and elsewhere. Other famous leaders in the Revolution were General John Kalb (Baron de Kalb), General Herkimer, and Inspector-General Frederick William Steuben (Baron Steuben), drillmaster of the American forces and identified with all American military interests, the planning of West Point, the fortification of New York City, and the writing and rewriting of the *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, commonly called *Steuben's Manual*, which remained the guide for American military discipline for more than a generation. On his statue, which stands in Lafayette Park across the street from the White House, is the inscription, "Erected by the Congress of the United States in grateful recognition of his services to the American people in their struggle for liberty."

Gould, in his general summary of enlistments of the foreign element in the Civil War, gives the number of volunteers born in Germany as 176,897; those in Ireland, 144,221, and in England, 45,508. When we remember that the number of persons of both sexes born in Germany and residing in the United States in 1860 was only 1,276,075 (about 72,000 lived in the South, but as many came to the United States during the war years to live in the North), and compare this figure with an enlistment of nearly 200,000 in the northern army, we realize that the percentage of Germans volunteering was one of the largest in history. The actual enlistment of the Germans was 58,415 *above* that called for in proportion to population.²

No account has been taken above of men of German descent; among them were General Stricker, defender of Baltimore in the War of 1812; General Quitman, one of the principal fighting generals of the Mexican War; General Custer, the dashing cavalry leader of the Civil War and famous Indian fighter; and Admiral Schley, commander of the fleet that destroyed Cervera's squadron in the Spanish War.

A similar record of active participation of German Americans could be given for World Wars I and II, but space does not permit. It is sufficient to state that despite language and even blood ties, they have, with surprisingly few individual exceptions, been Americans rather than Germans.

In politics. The common impression is that the influence of Germans in this department has not been commensurate with their numbers. Though this must be frankly admitted, their influence for good in American politics has been very much greater than is generally understood. The Germans never entered politics for a livelihood. In the history of the country, however, when there existed a real and important issue, the German voter did not shirk. He formed his own opinion about the situation and acted in accordance with it. As he did not want any public office or rewards for fidelity to any party, he voted independently. This was true even in the days of Benjamin Franklin, who, recognizing that he had lost control of the German vote, fell into a rage and condemned it as un-American. If the word *hyphenates* had been invented at that time, he would have found much satisfaction in using it. Independent voting, never popular with political leaders, has now become quite American and is the safe-

²B. A. Gould, *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers*, p. 28, Table IV. New York: United States Sanitary Commission, 1869.

guard of the people, though the despair of the professional politician.

Outstanding was the position of the German element on the question of Negro slavery, which shook the nation to the depths. The earliest protest against Negro slavery in American history was that of the Germantown settlers of the year 1688. The document, still preserved, was drawn up in the handwriting of the German colony's leader, Franz Daniel Pastorius, signed by him and a group of representative German colonists, and addressed to the monthly meeting of the Quakers, who passed it on to their annual meeting for consideration. The German Salzburgers of Georgia, the Germans of the Valley of Virginia, and the Moravians of North Carolina³ resisted the keeping of Negro slaves as long as was possible. It was by no means an accident that the chairman of the congressional committee who drafted and put through the bill for the prevention of the importation of Negro slaves to the United States, after 1808, was a man of German parentage, Major George Michael Bedinger, the noted Kentucky hero of pioneer and Revolutionary fame. When the time came for the great struggle in 1856-1866, the large German element of the northern states stood solid against slavery, joined the new Republican Party, and contributed practically as a unit to the election of Lincoln.⁴

Why is Carl Schurz held in highest esteem by Americans of German lineage? He was a man of great positive achievements, yet he is admired just as much for what he tried but failed to accomplish. Carl Schurz was one of the greatest of the antislavery orators and was a strong force contributing to the Republican victory of 1860. Lincoln appointed him minister to Spain in recognition of his services, but Schurz resigned at the outbreak of the war to join the Union Army. He distinguished himself as a commander in the Battle of Gettysburg and at Lookout Mountain. Immediately after the conclusion of the war, he was sent to observe the condition of the South, and his report was a monumental document of contemporary history. Elected to the United States Senate by the state of Missouri, Schurz became noted as one of the Senate's most brilliant and effective speakers, an uncompromising idealist, and a caustic critic. Chosen

³ See Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, in four volumes. Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1922-1930.

⁴ The growth of German sentiment in opposition to slavery and its influence in the election of Lincoln can be followed in detail in Volume IV of Hermann E. von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*. Chicago: Callaghan and Company, 1877.

by President Hayes as a member of his Cabinet, he, for the first time in American history, carried out the principles of civil service reform, for which he staked his political existence. While Secretary of the Interior, Schurz also set in motion other reforms: the preservation of forests and the better treatment of the Indians. Schurz was an independent in politics, sounded the note of political reform always, and remained true to his ideals in defeat. His retirement gave him opportunity to write his fascinating memoirs, the life of Henry Clay, editorials for the *New York Evening Post*, and many essays and addresses of historical importance. The memoirs of Gustav Koerner, political leader of the Germans in Illinois, are also invaluable as source material for the background of the Civil War.

Germans have been active in reform movements in American politics, not alone in the civil service, but in party and municipal reform movements, peace congresses, and questions of sound money and personal liberty. Francis Lieber was an authority on international law. Frederick W. Holls was secretary of the American delegation to the first Peace Congress at The Hague (1899). Congressman Richard Bartholdt was president of the American delegation at the second Congress in 1907. Some German reform mayors were: Charles Adolph Schieren (Brooklyn), Adolph H. J. Sutro (San Francisco), General John A. Wagener (Charleston), and Rudolph Blankenburg (Philadelphia).

Educational influence. The highest and the lowest rung of the ladder in the American educational system, the university and the kindergarten, are German importations. These the native American brought over himself, just as he also reproduced the model of the English college. The secondary school felt a German influence when Horace Mann reported favorably on the Prussian school system (1843) and established the normal, or training, school for teachers. The kindergarten is the work of a German lover of children, Friedrich Fröbel, who had both German (the first, the wife of Carl Schurz) and American disciples who introduced in the United States various types of kindergartens: private, those of the public schools in many parts of the country, and the charity kindergartens in the slums of big cities. In the department of higher education, the German influence was pre-eminent throughout the nineteenth century, beginning with George Ticknor and Edward Everett, who were students at Göttingen from 1815-1817. They were the pioneers in the great migration of American students to German universities, which, up to 1860, included two hundred and twenty-five of the brightest young

minds of the American states, among them George Bancroft, G. H. Calvert, William Emerson (older brother of the poet), H. W. Longfellow, J. L. Motley, B. L. Gildersleeve, Francis J. Child, E. T. Harris, G. M. Lane, W. D. Whitney, T. D. Woolsey, G. L. Prentiss, H. G. Smith, F. H. Hedge, W. C. King, B. A. Gould, George William Curtis, and Timothy Dwight. One hundred and thirty-seven of these pioneers of higher education became professors in American colleges, which were aglow with the new inspiration of scholarship. The migration did not stop with 1860 but after the war continued throughout the nineteenth century, when Göttingen shared popularity with Heidelberg, Bonn, Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich.

Postgraduate work—that is, the university proper—was established on American soil by the foundation of Johns Hopkins University, in 1876, under the leadership of D. C. Gilman, who after a tour of Europe pronounced the German university system supreme. Every American university worthy of the name followed the lead of Johns Hopkins University. The graduate department has become the crown of the educational edifice. The state university idea, begun at Ann Arbor, Michigan, also sailed under the star of German influence. The book of the Frenchman, Victor Cousin, a report on the Prussian state school and university system, was accepted as a guide by the founders of the state school system of Michigan, which in turn became a standard for the state university system of other western states. Higher education in technical branches received a new start through the passage of the Morrill Bill (1862) and the founding of Cornell University in 1865, which, through its first president, Andrew D. White, gave German ideas an open door.

Music. If the Germans had done nothing more than the cultivation of music in America, their coming for this alone would be deserving of grateful record in American annals. During the eighteenth century, the Puritans in New England and the Quakers of Pennsylvania checked the development of music. Contemporaneously the German sectarians of Pennsylvania, though equally austere in their mode of life, fondly practiced the art of choral singing. The mixed choir of the brothers and sisters of Ephrata, near Lancaster, and the music schools of the Moravians at Bethlehem, invoked admiration and fostered the sacred flame. Philadelphia with its large German population early began the cultivation of music and gave the first ambitious program of classical music on May 4, 1786. Boston made a good move with the founding of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815. Real progress was made by this association when

in 1854 a professional conductor was called, the great German orchestral drill master, Carl Zerrahn. Gottlieb Graupner had earlier won the distinction of being the father of orchestral music in Boston. The Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia, started in 1820, was constructed on a broader foundation than the earlier society in Boston. It admitted both sacred and secular programs, combined instrumental and vocal music at its concerts, founded a school, built a music hall, and gave assistance to needy musicians. Beethoven's First Symphony was played by this organization probably for the first time in America. New York began to show its mettle about the middle of the nineteenth century with the founding of the Philharmonic Society, and its rival, the famous Germania Orchestra (composed mainly of German refugees of the revolutionary period of 1848-1849), boldly began to make tours, giving during six years of its existence 829 concerts in the leading cities of the East, West, and South (1848-1854). In 1881 was founded the Boston Symphony Orchestra with George Henschel (born in Breslau) as the first conductor, followed after three years by another German, Wilhelm Gericke. It was Gericke who, during successive periods of appointment, made the organization an instrument perfect of its kind, and he was followed by noted German conductors from Emil Paur to Karl Muck, while in New York the names of Anton Seidl and Leopold Damrosch (and his sons Frank and Walter) were famous. No individual had a greater influence on the development of taste for orchestral music than had Theodore Thomas (born in the Prussian province of Hannover, 1835), who, after a successful career in New York and Cincinnati, established his own orchestra in Chicago.

In opera and in other vocal music the efforts of the German leaders and the Männerchöre throughout the country must not be overlooked, nor the influence of music schools established by Germans. Historically the humble German music master labored with unflinching fidelity, without the hope of name or fame, at the task of introducing music into the American home. The radio has supplanted the music master, but it is creditable to American taste, and a development attributable largely to German influence, that the most popular radio hours are those devoted to orchestral music performances, according to statistics gathered from all over the country.

Fine arts. Twice in the history of American painting was there a German influence, the first time through the Düsseldorf school in the 1840's, and again about fifty years later, through the Munich artists. To the first school belonged Emanuel Leutze, best known for his

large historical picture "Washington Crossing the Delaware," which hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Albert Bierstadt introduced the Düsseldorfian manner in landscape painting on large canvases—for example, "Storm in the Rockies," "Mount Corcoran" (Sierra Nevada), "The Yosemite Valley," and so on. The later Munich influence was illustrated by Carl Marr (born in Milwaukee), professor at the Munich Academy, and Gari Melchers (born in Detroit), professor at the *Hochschule f. bildende Kunst* at Weimar, both widely recognized, and C. Schreyvogel (born in New York), a painter of Wild West scenes.

In sculpture there were strong influences on the development of the American art by Charles H. Niehaus, Frederic W. Ruckstuhl, Albert Jaegers (Steuben and Pastorius monuments), Hans Schuler, and many others.

A form of art that was practiced brilliantly by Germans was that of the caricature, resulting in the establishment of comic papers such as *Puck*, which was founded by Keppler and Schwarzmann (1876–1877). "Zim (Zimmermann) drew for *Judge*; "Hy Mayer" for *Life*; "Bunny" (C. E. Schultze) invented the "Foxy Grandpa" series. But the first great caricaturist in American history was Thomas Nast (born in 1840, in Landau, Palatinate), of whom President Lincoln said: "Thomas Nast has been our best recruiting sergeant," showing how deeply Nast could influence public opinion and stir emotion. He was one of the most active forces in the destruction of the corrupt Tweed Ring in New York City. His cartoons of the Republican elephant, the Democratic donkey, the Tammany tiger, Santa Claus, and so on, are immortal productions.

Religion. The Germans founded three major churches in America early in the eighteenth century: the Lutheran, united by the patriarchal Heinrich Melchior Mühlberg; the German Reformed, first organized by Michael Schlatter; and the Unitas Fratrum (United Brethren or Moravian), established under Count Zinzendorf and his son-in-law David Nitschmann at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741. The Moravians were the most successful Indian missionaries (Post, Heckewelder, Zeisberger) in American history, and were noted for their schools. Practically all the sectarians of Germany came to America, mostly to the land of promise, Pennsylvania. The Menonites and Amish, Schwenkfelders, Tunkers (German Baptists, also called "plain people" and, improperly, Dunkards), and others enjoyed freedom of worship in the land of Penn, and these religious sects have survived to the present day. German Catholics came in large

numbers during the nineteenth century and formed a strong organization. Johann Martin Henni was the first bishop of Milwaukee in 1844 and the great pioneer in the Northwest (created archbishop in 1875). Henry Boehm (1773-1875, born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania), at first associated with Asbury on his missionary tours, was the apostle of German Methodism, preaching mainly in German and gaining a large following and church membership in many parts of the country, especially among German settlers. He was for seventy-five years an itinerant preacher, and at the time of his death was the oldest Methodist preacher in the United States.

J. SWISS AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

The earliest Swiss emigration to the United States can be traced indirectly to the Swiss mercenary soldiers serving under Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. After their return home, they disseminated news of the epoch-making discovery by Christopher Columbus with such enthusiasm that many courageous Swiss adventurers resolved to try their luck in the promised land across the Atlantic. The first historical record of a Swiss in America is that of Diebold von Erlach, a mercenary soldier (or officer, judging from his noble title), who died in the service of Spain in Florida in 1562. Although to the end of the sixteenth century there is record of relatively few Swiss in the new world, with the beginning of the seventeenth century their immigration is more numerous. Among the earliest settlers of Jamestown, Virginia, several Swiss names are found.

First Swiss settlement. The first distinctly Swiss settlement is reported to have been established in 1670 near Charleston, South Carolina, under the guidance of the Gènevese, Carteret. As a rule, wherever German immigration took place in earlier centuries, Swiss were to be found in the group. Thus, in 1683, the name of George Wertmuller, a Swiss, is recorded in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, simultaneously with the founding of New Bern, North Carolina, by Christopher de Graffenried.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, many people left the canton of Bern and journeyed northward into foreign parts. Many who went to Alsace, the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany may later have journeyed to America. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by King Louis XIV of France, in 1685, induced many Swiss, particularly of Geneva and Neuchatel, to join the Huguenots

of France, their religious brethren across the border, in emigration to America. These groups settled mostly in the Carolinas.

From their first appearance in Switzerland in the early decades of the sixteenth century, the Mennonites had been the victims of systematic persecution on the part of their Reformed brethren. From time to time single families and individuals fled to the Palatinate, and eventually large numbers of them decided to join their Swiss brethren in the movement that resulted in settling on the Pequea in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. In 1706-1707 a number of persecuted Swiss Mennonites went to England. Queen Anne sent some of them to Ireland, but most of them went to the American plantations. After 1710 considerable numbers of Swiss Mennonites reached Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. In 1732, Puryburg, South Carolina, was founded, against the opposition of the Swiss authorities, who now feared an exodus of their people. At first the Swiss officials had tried to get rid of a pauper element, the homeless *Landsassen*—squatters, not citizens—and the sectarian class, Baptists, Anabaptists, or Mennonites (*Wiedertaufer, Taufer*). These were a source of danger to both church and state because of their refusal to bear arms or hold office, their simplicity of worship, and their communistic tendencies. But soon the officials began to see the danger in continued emigration. In 1719, Franz Anton Karren of Solothurn, against the will of the Swiss Diet, organized a Swiss regiment for French expeditionary services in the new world. Karren's soldiers fought against the British in Louisiana in the French and Indian War.

Social and economic conditions favored an increase in emigration in the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century. Young Swiss noblemen still continued selling themselves and their soldiers to foreign war lords. There were periodic failures of crops, because of hailstorms and floods. The high tide of emigration came in 1734 and 1744, and the emigration fever gave visible signs of becoming an epidemic. The "rabies Carolinae" reached the critical stage in 1734-1750; it affected most of the populous Protestant cantons of Bern, Zurich, and Basel. Decrees against emigration were issued with ever-increasing severity, but the periodic tides of emigration could not be controlled. Overpopulation, coupled with bad economic conditions, compelled it. Furthermore, letters, numerous books, and pamphlets, descriptive of the American colonies, did the rest. During that century many Swiss Mennonites settled in Pennsylvania. A large proportion of the Pennsylvania German Mennonites are descendants of Germans and Swiss from the Rhineland:

From their original settlements in Pennsylvania they have since spread to western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, farther west, and Canada. It is of interest that these early settlers often found that their nonresistant principles served as a better protection against the Indians than did rifles and stockades. There are few records of injury of any kind inflicted upon them by the Indian tribes. It is also interesting that some of the Russian Mennonites who emigrated to America to escape military service in Russia are of Swiss origin.

The American immigration statistics long confused Swiss with Germans and French. Professor Faust estimates that some 12,000 Swiss landed in America between 1734-1744, and some 25,000 in the whole century. The nineteenth century movements fluctuated. Beginning with over 6,000 in 1800, immigration reached a crest of 12,751 in 1883, and from 1880-1886, over 61,000 Swiss arrived in the United States. The immigration consisted of the farming element, attracted by cheap land in America, and of skilled workers and technical experts in industry. In 1940, there were 88,293 foreign-born Swiss in the United States and 77,880 second generation. Swiss descendants can be found in all parts of America.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Any large aggregation of Swiss people is not caused by a tendency to colonize for nationalistic reasons but by employment in some one industry of which a particular locale is the center. Swiss are pre-eminent in the following trades and industries: hotel and restaurant, dairy and cheese, silk, jewelry and watches, grape wine, poultry, and embroideries and laces. The traditional excellence of Swiss watches explains the large number of Swiss engaged in the jewelry, watch, and clock trades. But it is in the silk industry that they have attained the higher importance, and their holdings are rated in the millions. In addition, the Swiss are especially proud of their technical experts, who are usually graduates of the famous Polytechnicum at Zurich where the celebrated scientist, Albert Einstein, a naturalized Swiss citizen, was a student and later a professor.

In language, the Swiss in the United States are divided principally into three linguistic groups: the German-Swiss, the French Swiss, and the Italian Swiss. The German Swiss constitute four fifths of the total. Of the remaining fifth, the French Swiss are somewhat a majority, and the rest are composed of Italian Swiss and Romans from the Grisons.

Many of the Swiss are Mennonites. This group, who are usually

farmers, are settled in all parts of Pennsylvania, but Lancaster County is their chief center. In general, many have retained the manners and customs of their forefathers. Many still dress in quaint garb, the women wearing caps even at their housework. They worship in plain meetinghouses, choose their ministers by lot, and will not take oath or bear arms. Some Swiss, of course, join other American churches, including Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic, but predominantly Zwinglian.

Periodicals. Although united as a nation under a republic and a democratic government that have won the admiration of many political observers, the Swiss to some extent remain socially apart in America, a fact conditioned by their dependence on different languages. This fact is reflected in their newspapers. The *Amerikanische Schweizerzeitung*, the foremost Swiss newspaper in America, published since 1868 in German by the Swiss Publishing Company of New York, is a weekly comprising eight pages and is circulated throughout America. The *Colonia Svizzera* of San Francisco, California, is an eight-page weekly newspaper for the Italo-Swiss on the Pacific coast. The *Schweizer-Journal* of the same city is a six-page weekly in German. The official organ of the North American Schweizer Bund, St. Louis, Missouri, is *Der Schweizer*, a monthly. In the eastern states, the French Swiss read the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, a weekly of New York City. The list would not be complete without mention of the *Green County Herald*, Monroe, Wisconsin, and the *Swiss American News*, of Detroit.

Organizations. Like other immigrant groups, the Swiss have numerous social, benevolent, and other organizations. The most important of these is the *Nordamerikanische Schweizer Bund*, with a membership of about 8,000 and some 88 local branches, which has its headquarters in St. Louis. The Helvetia Association of North America (Swiss Hotel Employees Mutual Benefit Society), the *Nord Amerikanischer Saengerbund* (North American Singers Union), and the Swiss American Historical Society are other organizations national in scope. The *Helvetia Männerchor*, a singing society, was organized as early as 1858. In addition, the Swiss and their descendants have some three hundred local organizations in the form of social clubs, benevolent societies, singing societies, gymnastic and rifle clubs, as well as music bands, in the various communities where their population is large. We thus hear of the United Swiss Society of New York, the *Societa Ticinese* of Paterson, New Jersey, the Chicago Swiss Society, the San Francisco Helvetia Society, the Swiss Benevo-

lent Society of Washington, D. C., the Swiss Mercantile Society of New York, the Swiss Harmony of Hudson County (New Jersey male chorus), and others.

The Swiss societies of all four languages, German, French, Italian, and Romansch, usually join in celebrating the Swiss Independence Day, in commemoration of the Declaration of Independence of the three forest cantons (August, 1291). This occasion is marked by speeches, picnics, outings, and amusements of various sorts.

Several charitable organizations have been formed, including the Swiss Charitable Institution, organized by the Swiss residents in New York as early as 1832; the Swiss Benevolent Society of the City of New York; and the New York Swiss Club. On October 17, 1883, the Swiss Home on Second Avenue was opened.

In spite of the numerous Swiss organizations in America, it is claimed by well-informed Swiss-American authorities that the Swiss are perhaps more readily and rapidly assimilated into American life, thought, and ideals than is any other immigrant group. This may be true because of the traditions and experiences of democracy and republicanism in their homeland and the lack of any powerful memories of recent political, social, and religious struggles and conflicts which, otherwise, would have left them with a tendency to retain their old-country attitudes.

Contributions to American Life

To write in full the biographies of the outstanding Americans of Swiss origin would be to describe their part in the history of the United States from its very beginning. We intimated this in the first paragraph of this section. It might be noted also that in the pre-Revolutionary period, among the British colonial troops, several Swiss took prominent roles, as, for example, the generals Haldimand, Prevost, Bouquet, de Meuron, Karren, and others. Bouquet, commander-in-chief of the British forces on the southern front, conquered Florida and became its governor-general; Augustin Prevost became governor of Georgia.

As Switzerland possesses no distinct national culture and no national language of its own, but is culturally and linguistically divided into German, French, Italian, and Rhaeto-Romansch sections, it was natural that the Swiss immigrants were generally better known to their neighbors as Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians rather than as Swiss. Consequently, the general American public knows relatively little of the important contributions which the Swiss have made to the

building of this great American nation. Numerous, indeed, are the geographical names of cities, towns, counties, rivers, and mountains in the United States that testify to the constructive influence of the industrious element that came from the old Alpine Republic of Switzerland.

The most prominent figure of the long list of outstanding Swiss in America is Albert Gallatin, who, as legislator, secretary of the United States Treasury under Presidents Jefferson and Madison, diplomat, and scientist, was in his time considered the most distinguished of all foreign-born Americans. In his old age he fathered the American Ethnological Society and New York University. Summing up his career as a Jeffersonian party man, Henry Adams said: "That a young foreigner, speaking with a foreign accent, laboring under all the odium of the western insurrection (the Whiskey Rebellion), surrounded by friendly rivals . . . should have at once seized the leadership of his party and retained it . . . down to the last moment of his service, and that he should have done so by sheer force of ability and character, without ostentation and without tricks . . . made a curious combination of triumphs. . . . His power lay in courage, honesty of purpose, and thoroughness of study. . . ."

Among other descendants of Swiss origin who made a success of their political careers mention should be made of Attorney General William Wirt, Emmanuel Philipp, governor of Wisconsin, and Colonel Good, war secretary to President Hoover. It would lead too far to enumerate the long list of Congress members, and the like. Note should be made of such names as Henry Rosenberg, of Claris, at Galveston (Texas) and of George Hermann, of the Grisons, at Houston (Texas), whose extraordinary luck was completely eclipsed by General John August Sutter's magnificent adventure. Sutter was the founder of New Helvetia (now Sacramento, California), the colonizer ruined by the gold of North California, who placed this territory under the sovereignty of the United States. Jules Sandoz ("Old Jules"), the eccentric trapper, surveyor and nurseryman of Niobrara, was in all probability one of the last of the old Swiss settlers in the United States.

Apart from these pioneers, who, as real old Swiss, loved a scrap with the Red Indians, Switzerland provided the United States with a series of officers of outstanding valor: the colonels Henry Bouquet, hero of Bushy Run (Fort Pitt), and Christian Gratiot, the builder of Fort Monroe; General Chatelain (Chetlain), who distinguished himself first in the Black Hawk War and later in the Civil War, together

with his compatriots Gene als Naegeli (Negley), Lieb, Zollikofer and Ammann; not to mention the numerous colonels commanding entirely Swiss forces. After Vice-Admiral Ammann, commanding the navy under President Grant, other "Swiss admirals," such as Edward W. Eberle and R. de Steiguer, have sailed the seas in our own times.

Among industrialists and engineers, the following are selected as representative: the Chevalleys and Meyenbergs (condensed milk); Hersche (Hershey, chocolate); the Hubers and Schwarzenbachs (silk); the Wartenweilers (silver and copper mines); Bernet (railroads); Weber (window-frame maker); the churchbuilder Heer; the famous engineers Noetzli, Sonderegger, and O. H. Ammann, all of whom had studied in Switzerland; the ingenious mechanic John Krusi, who carried out many of Edison's ideas; and the film producer William Wyler.

A large number of churchmen have come from Switzerland at all times. In the eighteenth century, Michael Schlatter and John Zublin were founders and organizers of the Protestant Church in America. In the nineteenth century Philipp Schaff was the most important theologian in the United States. Among Catholics were Father Kundig, the heroic fighter of cholera at Detroit (1843), and the two Milwaukee bishops, Mgrs. Henni and Messmer.

Famous doctors of Swiss origin may be enumerated by the dozen. Dr. Henry Banga was the first to introduce antiseptic surgery to the United States. Dr. Nicolas Senn, the brilliant professor of medicine at Chicago, was chief surgeon to the expeditionary corps sent to Cuba. His pupils of Swiss origin, Doctors Albrecht, Ochsner, and Holliger must still be considered as being in a class of their own, and to those may be added Doctors Dettwyler, Stamm, Nickles, and Steinach. Dr. Carl Voegtlin directed the National Cancer Institute until 1943. The nineteenth century saw the arrival of a series of noteworthy natural scientists, the Agassiz, Guyots, Lesquereux and Pourtales, all from Neuchatel, whereas the great specialists in Indian ethnology, Albert Gatschet and Adolphe Bandelier, came from Berne University. Dr. Walter C. Reusser is head of the department of educational administration at the University of Wyoming.

The Ritz-Delmonico-Tschirggi (Tschirky) trio recalls the fact that the well-known Swiss talent for the hotel industry asserted itself in America, as it did elsewhere. In particular, Oscar of the Waldorf (Oscar Tschirky) was in 1944 one of the noble landmarks of New York.

CHAPTER VI

“New” Immigration: Slavic States

A. RUSSIAN AMERICANS

YAROSLAV J. CHYZ AND JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

THE TERM “Russian American” is used in this section to designate immigrants and their descendants of real Russian (Great Russian) or White Russian stock. The activities of Russian Jews and of Russophile Ukrainians (some of whom call themselves Russians, Little Russians, Carpatho-Russians or South Russians) are included only in cases when they are closely associated with Russian group life. No distinction is made between the Russian proper and the White Russian group.

Immigration

Western immigration. The Russians arrived in America from the west and from the east. The first Russians to land on American shores were probably the group of ten sailors sent out from the ship *Saint Pavel* which explored the northwestern section of the American continent under the leadership of Captain Alexei Chirikoff in 1741. The landing party never returned to the ship, nor did another detachment of six sailors sent in search of the first group. Another landing was made the same year and month (July) from the ship *Saint Peter* under the command of Captain Vitus Bering, a Dane, who shared with Chirikoff the command of that first Russian expedition to America. The islands of Kayak, Kodiak, and others were discovered on that voyage.

For fifty years after the discoveries by Chirikoff and Bering, the Aleutian Islands and the adjoining shore of Alaska were the hunting grounds of Russian adventurers (*promyshlenniki*), who banded together in expeditions to haul the sea otter and other fur-bearing animals. The untold cruelties that they inflicted upon the natives were the cause of many bloody uprisings and massacres by the natives.

In 1785, the first attempt to found a permanent colony on the

island of Kodiak was made by a Russian merchant, Grigor I. Shelikov. In 1794, the first vessel was launched in northwestern America in the Voskressenski harbor. The following year the first Russian Orthodox Church on the American continent was built at Saint Paul, Alaska. In 1804, Sitka was founded by Alexander Baranov (1747-1819), the chief resident administrator of the Russian-American Company, a semi-official corporation entrusted by the Russian government with the trade and regulation of that colony. The company was in charge of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands until 1861. Six years later, the Alaskan possession was sold to the United States for \$7,200,000.

Out of Alaska the Russians sent a handful of colonists and native Aleuts to the region of Bodega Bay in California. They founded there a colony that survived for almost thirty years (1812-1841). The Mexican government did not confirm the right of Russians to settle on its territory, and the colony was sold in 1841 to a Mexican citizen of Swiss descent, John A. Sutter. Through various transactions, the site of the colony, which became known as Fort Ross, became the property of W. R. Hearst and was donated by him to the state of California. It is now maintained as a state park with a few buildings and the old church still standing.

In 1840 the churches and chapels maintained by the Russian Orthodox Mission were organized into a separate diocese, which in 1861 consisted of 7 churches and 35 chapels. Later this Alaskan-Aleutian Diocese was extended over the whole of North America. The present Metropolitans of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America are considered successors of the monk Ioannes (Innocentius) Veniaminof, who was for years a missionary among the natives of Alaska and who in 1840 was appointed, under the name of Innokenty, as the first bishop of the new Diocese.

The main impress left by more than 125 years of Russian occupation of Alaska is today a number of Russian Orthodox parishes and chapels attending to the spiritual needs of the natives, half-breeds, and a few descendants of Russian colonists who chose to remain in Alaska and its adjoining islands.

At the time when exiles and convicts were transported from Siberia into the domain of the Russian-American Company, some of them found a way to escape from there to California, and thence east to adjoining regions, especially the Indian Territory, which later became the state of Oklahoma. In fact, the infiltration of Russians from the west into the United States was constant, although for a long time in small numbers. It consisted mainly of political refugees, who tried

several times to band into societies. Finally the colonies in California, especially San Francisco, grew to a considerable size, especially after the transfer of the See of the Aleutian-Alaska Diocese to that city in 1871.

Eastern immigration. The beginnings of Russian immigration through the ports of the eastern part of America fall in the decade between 1871 and 1880. Up to 1870 the American immigration authorities had listed (for the years 1820-1870) only 3,886 immigrants from Russia. However, the decade of 1871-1880 shows 39,284 persons who came to the United States from Russia. How many of them were Russians and how many Russian Jews, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, German Mennonites, and others cannot be ascertained. The fact is that Russian immigration up to 1905 had been chiefly non-Russian; the Slavs from Russia, the Great Russians, Little Russians, and White Russians, did not emigrate in large numbers until after the revolution of 1905. American statistics do not distinguish between Great, White, and Little Russians, but there is reason to suppose that Great Russians predominated in the Russian emigration up to 1905, while after that year Ukrainians and White Russians emigrated in large numbers.

The first known Russian immigrant to the eastern part of North America was Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, son of the Russian ambassador to Holland, at the end of the eighteenth century. He embraced the Roman Catholic faith and came to Maryland on October 28, 1792. He became the first Catholic priest ordained in America and worked as missionary first in Maryland and then in Pennsylvania. Gallitzin, Pennsylvania, is named for him, and there is a monument to his memory in Loretto, Pennsylvania, with a bronze statue given by Charles M. Schwab, the great steel magnate. Otherwise, little is known about the Russians who lived in the eastern sections of the United States before 1870. Prominent among political emigrés in the seventies and eighties was Vladimir A. Stolishnikoff, former confederate of the well-known Russian revolutionaries Tkacheff and Nechayeff. He was for some time the leader of the Russian progressive colony in New York and made a name for himself as one of the architects who designed plans for the building of the famous Carnegie Hall in New York City. Serge E. Shevich was one of the founders of the American Socialist Party. Peter A. Demyanoff (Peter Tverskoy, Captain Peter Demens) succeeded as an American businessman, colonizer, and railroad builder. He founded the city of St. Petersburg in Florida.

Political and religious persecution was the primary cause of mass emigration from Russia. However, coupled with the religious and political persecution, the economic conditions, mainly in the north-western Russian provinces, caused the departure of many poor peasants. A great mass of landless laborers emigrated to improve their lot.

The years of the first World War stopped the influx of immigrants from Russia almost entirely. The Russian Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the Soviet regime forced many Russians of the old regime to seek refuge in the United States. In contrast to the mass of prewar immigrants, the majority of these refugees belong to the intelligentsia, and therefore their presence in the United States became more noticeable than that of hundreds of thousands of agricultural and industrial workers, who for almost half a century had contributed to America's greatness by the sweat of their brows.

All authorities agree that, because of the complexity of the United States immigration and census statistics regarding Russia, it is impossible to arrive at the correct number of Russians and their descendants in America. According to the 1940 United States census, 585,080 persons registered their "mother tongue" as Russian. After subtracting Russian-speaking Jews, Ukrainians, Georgians, and other immigrants from Russia and their descendants, as well as Russophile Ukrainians and Carpatho-Russians from Galicia, Bukowina, and Carpatho-Ukraine, who registered their language as Russian or "Rusin," the actual figure for immigrants from Russia proper and White Russia and their descendants probably will not exceed 250,000.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Religion. The largest number of Russian Americans belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1876 the first Russian Orthodox parish was organized in New York. Later the Russian Orthodox Mission started proselyting among the Greek-Catholic Ukrainians from Galicia and the northern part of Hungary; it was chiefly because of the influence of that church that a part of the Ukrainian immigrants in America still call themselves Russians. By 1944, some 80 per cent of the membership of the Russian Orthodox Church consisted of former Ukrainian Greek Catholics or Orthodox Ukrainians and their descendants from the territories of the former Russian Empire. In 1936 this organization reported 229 churches and local organizations with 89,510 members.

A large number of Russian immigrants belong to various Protestant

denominations. The most numerous is the group of the so-called *Molokans*. Persecuted by the Russian government for their refusal to conform to the dogmas and rites of the Orthodox Church, the believers in the "milk of word" (milk in Russian—*moloko*), numbering several thousands, settled in 1903-1906 in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other California towns. The members of another Russian sect, the Doukhobors (Spirit-Wrestlers) emigrated at the end of the nineteenth century to Canada, and many drifted in the following years to Los Angeles and San Diego, California, and to Chicago, Illinois, Detroit, Michigan, and to other cities. The Russian weekly of Chicago, *Rassvyet*, used to have a special page for the members of this sect. The Doukhobors tend to settle on farms. The "Old Believers" settled in the vicinity of Pittsburgh (town of Essen).

The largest number of Russians reside in Pennsylvania, with fairly large groups in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Alaska; lesser groups reside in many other states exclusive of the southeastern section of the United States.

Occupations. Most of the prewar immigrants were peasants. But only the sectarian settlements of Molokans and Doukhobors have succeeded in maintaining their farming colonies to a considerable extent. Others farm either singly or in small groups attached to towns and boroughs in South Dakota, Texas, Colorado, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In many of these settlements they live side by side with Ukrainian immigrants, and sometimes with Polish farmers. In 1940, over 33,000 persons who registered their "mother tongue" as Russian were found living and working on farms. The majority of the Russians, however, are occupied in American industries in large cities such as New York, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Gary, and so on. Many of them are employed in coal mines and steel works in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. There are numerous Russian fruitgrowers in Florida and California. Lumber areas of Washington and Michigan, fisheries on the Pacific coast, and such industries as tailoring, house-wrecking, and restaurant work have their share of Russian labor. Many of the postwar immigrants have risen to desirable high social positions.

Organizations. Of all Slavic immigrants, the Russians have shown the least inclination for organized social life. A great majority of their associations have been short-lived. The oldest Russian society in America, the Association of Decembrists (so named in memory of the first liberal Russian uprising in December, 1825) was founded in 1867 by A. Honcharenko, a Ukrainian priest, in San Francisco. Another

short-lived society, the Russian Circle of Mutual Aid, was founded in New York in March, 1872. In the eighties, many societies were founded by Russians and Russian Jews in New York, chiefly for the purpose of helping new immigrants. Out of the Russian Social-Democratic Society, founded in New York in 1891, grew the Russian Federation of the Socialist Party of America, which had forty branches in 1918; the radical faction of it became the Russian section of the Communist Party. The Federation of Russian Workers, an anarchist association, had in 1918 fourteen branches in nine eastern states and among the lumberjacks in Oregon. In 1926 the Russian Consolidated Mutual Aid Society (known as the *Roova*) was founded; it conducts a school for children, owns a building in New York City, and promotes a Russian farm settlement near Cassville, New Jersey. There are two other Russian fraternal associations, the American Russian Fraternal Society, Section of the International Workers Order, and the Russian Independent Mutual Aid Society of Chicago. On January 1, 1944, there were 21,248 members in these three associations, organized in some 150 local branches. The organizations of immigrants who arrived in the United States after World War I, and who were predominantly refugees from the Soviet regime, can be divided into two groups: those trying to preserve the memories of the prerevolutionary Russia (the Society of the Russian Imperial Guard, the Russian Navy Officers' Group, the St. Andrew's Cross Society); and those aiming to promote their occupational interests (the Russian Physicians' Society, the Society of Friends of Russian Culture, the Union of Russian Painters and Artists, the Russian Lawyers' Association, the Fund for the Relief of Men of Letters and Scientists).

The press. The first Russian newspaper in America was the semi-monthly *Alaska Herald*, published by Reverend Ahapiy Honcharenko in San Francisco in 1868-1869 in Russian and in English. Mr. Villchur lists in his *Russians in America* thirty-four publications for the period from 1910-1918, but only a few of them still exist. Today five dailies and fourteen weeklies, semimonthlies, monthlies, and quarterlies are published, some of them on a very high level, with excellent analyses of current events and of contemporary Russian literature.

Contributions to American Life

Together with Americans and other immigrant workers, the Russian immigrants have helped to build this country. Russian and Ukrainian

farmers, furthermore, brought with them numerous varieties of seeds which proved very suitable to American climate and soil and which are now widely used by American agriculturalists: "beardless Fife," "Kubanka," "Crimean," Arnautka," "Kharkov," "Malakhoff," and other kinds of wheat are used extensively in agricultural middle western states. Kherson oats are now planted in Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, and the southern part of Wisconsin. Rye, buckwheat, alfalfa, sunflowers, millet, and other seeds found their way from Russian Ukraine, the Volga and Kuban regions, and from Turkestan to the American prairies of the Middle West, brought by Russian Molokans and Doukhobors, German Mennonites, and Ukrainian "Shtoondisty."

Russian contributions to the American cultural and spiritual life are twofold. Some of them may be considered of an international character and would have been made without the arrival of Russian immigrants in the United States. The music of Tchaikovsky and Glinka, the works of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Gogol, and Chekhov, the scientific contributions of Mechnikoff, Mendeleyeff, and Pavlov would have found their way into American cultural life regardless of Russian immigration. The same can be said of the dancers Pavlova, Nijinsky, and Fokine, the singers Chaliapin and Lipkovskaya, the actors Nazimova, Baklanova, and Balieff, and scores of others who have influenced American art.

On the other hand, the direct influence of Russian immigration cannot be overlooked. The progressive movement in the United States, especially its socialist wing, was to a large degree stimulated in the last two decades of the nineteenth century by political emigrés from Russia, such as Serge Shevich, one of the founders of the Socialist Labor Party, Leo Hartman, and Maurice Hillquit. Later, Leon Trotsky, Nicholas Bukharin, and others laid the foundations for the communist movement in America. Whether or not this is a contribution depends on the reader's political and social opinions.

The persecution by the former Czarist and the present Soviet governments is largely responsible for an extraordinarily large number of Russian scientists and thinkers in America, now on the faculties of many of our universities. Possibly the most outstanding are: M. T. Florinsky, economics, Columbia University; Alexander Petrunkevich, zoology, G. V. Vernadsky, and Michael Rostovtzeff, history, Yale University; Michael Karpovich, history, and S. Menkin, physiology, Harvard University; Paul Studenski, public finance, New York Uni-

versity; Alexander A. Vasileff, ancient history, University of Wisconsin; Stephen P. Timoshenko, architectural mechanics, Cornell University; and Andrew Avinoff, director of the Carnegie Museum and professor of zoölogy, University of Pittsburgh. Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin, head of the sociology department of Harvard University, is the author of a number of outstanding works in sociology; his *Contemporary Sociological Theories* and *Social and Cultural Dynamics* are classics in their fields.

Igor Sikorsky, one of the foremost aeroplane builders in the world, has built with his staff of several Russian engineers some of the sturdiest types of aeroplanes used in American civil and military aerial transportation. Boris V. Sergievsky, a flier and co-worker of Sikorsky, has established several flying records for various types of aeroplanes. Alexander de Seversky's books, articles, lectures, and radio talks contributed greatly to the awakening of military and civilian "airmindedness" in America.

In the music and art of America, Russian names abound. One need only mention Sergei Rachmaninoff, pianist and composer, Ossip Gabrilowitch, composer, Alexander Zilotti, conductor and composer, Feodore Chaliapin, basso, Maria Kurenko, soprano, and numerous others. In films, Nazimova, Baklanova, Ouspenskaya, Akim Tamirov, Gregory Ratoff, Mischa Auer, and, on the stage, Eugenie Leontovitch, made names for themselves. Nicholas Roerich is the famed founder of the Roerich Museum in New York City.

B. UKRAINIAN AMERICANS

YAROSLAV J. CHYZ AND JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants are known in the United States under several names. The United States census of 1910 and 1920 listed them as "Ruthenians," in 1930 as "Ukrainians" and "Ruthenians," and in 1940 as "Ukrainians." The United States Bureau of Immigration registered them as "Ruthenians (Russniaks)" and lately as "Ukrainians." Some writers follow the old Czarist terminology and call them "Little Russians." Certain subdivisions of the group insist on being called "Carpatho-Russians," "Rusins," or "Russians."

Despite the varied names, they belong to the same ethnic group and come from the same country where, according to the *Encyclopedia Americana*, "from the Vislok to the Kuban and from Pripet to the Black Sea the Ukrainian people constitute a uniform anthropological

type." " They speak the same language and have the same cultural background. In the United States they live usually in the same communities, regardless of what they call themselves, often belong to the same churches, and are interested in the same political and religious problems. The various names are either a remnant of the foreign rule under which subjugated nationalities were known by names given to them by their conquerors—in the case of Ukrainians by the Russians, Poles, Austrians, or Hungarians—or are an indication of the political or religious attitude of a section of the group.

In this discussion, the term "Ukrainian" is used for all subdivisions of Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants. Where necessary, particular groups are referred to by the name they prefer to call themselves.

Immigration

Records of first settlers in the American colonies, passenger lists of ships arriving here in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, army rolls of the Revolutionary War, and especially the chronicles of the discovery and settlement of Alaska, register numerous Slavonic names. Many of these names are similar to, or identical with, the names common among Ukrainians of that time. In some cases the bearers of such names are described as being from Poland or from Russia, which between them ruled over Ukraine. It can be assumed, therefore, that Ukrainians were also represented among those early Slavic settlers in America. The tendency to consider the bearers of such Ukrainian names as Russians or Poles would be as fallacious as to assert that all immigrants from recent Poland or Russia are either Poles or Russians.

However this may be, the first known Ukrainian immigrant, Andreas Agapius Honcharenko, an Orthodox priest from Kiev, did not arrive until the year 1865. He escaped from persecution by the Russian government for his revolutionary activities. Three years later he became editor of the *Alaska Herald*, a semimonthly in English and in Russian, published in San Francisco. The paper was subsidized at the beginning by federal agencies for Alaska as a means of instructing the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory about American laws and customs. Later on he was active in helping political refugees from Czarist Russia. He died on his farm, named "Ukraine," in Hayward, California, in 1916. A Liberty ship was named after him in the second World War.

The actual history of Ukrainian immigration begins in the seventies

of the last century, when large groups of Ukrainian peasants from the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains began to arrive. The mountain regions of the Austrian province of Galicia and of northern Hungary, populated by impoverished, land-hungry, overtaxed and overmortgaged peasants, had been an important source of cheap labor for the estates of Polish and Hungarian nobles. At that time American industry was recovering from the depression of 1873-1876. In addition, the American mill and mine owners wanted to break the growing union movement of their workers by importing cheap labor from Europe. Some of the agents, referred to in the preceding chapter, reached the regions on the border between Galicia and Hungary and caused mass emigration despite various countermeasures of the Austro-Hungarian government. The Ukrainian immigrants began to arrive in ever-increasing numbers, first to the coal mines around Shenandoah and Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania, later to all larger American industrial centers. Several hundreds of them were induced to sign contracts that they did not understand and were transported (by way of Cape Horn) to the sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands.

Political and religious persecution was another cause of Ukrainian immigration. Thousands of young men arrived from Austria, Hungary, and Russia, and in the postwar period also from Poland and Roumania, in order to escape punishment for political offenses or to avoid military conscription. Several thousands of Protestant peasants from the Russian Ukraine—"Shtoondisty," a sect somewhat similar to the Mennonites—settled first in Virginia and then in North Dakota, escaping severe persecution of the Czarist government and of the official Russian Orthodox Church during the decade preceding the first Russian Revolution of 1905.

Statistics. The United States census of 1940 lists 83,600 persons who registered their mother tongue as Ukrainian. Probably an equal number of Ukrainians who prefer to call themselves Russians, Carpatho-Russians, or Rusins listed their mother tongue as Russian. With over half a million members of the Ukrainian and Ruthenian Catholic dioceses and some 150,000 members of various Orthodox and other religious bodies, the mother-tongue figures seem to be entirely inadequate as an estimate of the Ukrainian American group. The figure of 700,000 for all Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants, with three fifths of this number comprising those Ukrainian Americans who prefer to call themselves Carpatho-Russians or Rusians, seems to be a fair minimum estimate.

Distribution. The largest center of Ukrainian Americans is the soft coal and foundry region of southwestern Pennsylvania around the city of Pittsburgh. There 153 out of the 374 Ukrainian colonies in Pennsylvania are located. Pittsburgh alone has from fifteen to twenty or more thousand Ukrainians. Another area with a large number of Ukrainians is the hard coal region of Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and Pottsville, also in Pennsylvania, where men work mostly in anthracite mines and women in silk mills. During the second World War, many Pennsylvania Ukrainians, especially from the hard coal region, moved to large industrial centers in other states, especially to northern New Jersey and to Connecticut. The third center in Pennsylvania is Philadelphia, with from ten to fifteen thousand Ukrainians. New York City, with some 35,000 Ukrainians, has by far the largest group in any one city, and large colonies are in neighboring towns across the Hudson River in New Jersey, having come there especially after that region became an important center of war industries. Some 20,000 Ukrainians are in Newark, and large numbers of them are in Paterson, Passaic, Elizabeth, and New Brunswick. Chicago has about 25,000 persons of Ukrainian birth and descent, and Detroit has probably the same number, a result of the boom of its industries during the war.

Occupations. Some 80 per cent of American Ukrainians live in cities and work in coal mines (anthracite and bituminous), foundries, textile mills, automobile and aeroplane factories, restaurants, on railroads, as window cleaners, and in building trades. The rest of them live in rural regions, work in lumber camps and small local industries, and some 50,000 or more of them live and work on farms. Compact farmers' communities are in North Dakota (Kiev, Russo, Max, Butte, Ukraina, Gorham); smaller groups are on Long Island, around Syracuse, Albany, and Saratoga, New York; Holyoke and Deerfield, Massachusetts; Harrah, Oklahoma; Scobey, Montana; Clayton, Wisconsin; Chisholm, Minnesota; with scattered farmers throughout Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey (Nova Ukraina), Florida, and Texas.

Several thousand Ukrainians serve their communities as grocers, butchers, tailors, and undertakers, with a number of them in other fields of business on a larger scale. In the cities, the second and third generations enter all fields of gainful occupation, with thousands of them working as bookkeepers, stenographers, office clerks, public and high-school teachers, lawyers, physicans, college professors, and in other professions.

Political divisions. The conditions in their country of origin and the attitude toward its past and future caused the main divisions among the Ukrainian Americans. They all resented the oppressive political and economic conditions that had forced them to emigrate. They differed on ways and methods by which those conditions could and should be changed and improved.

One group favors development of the national culture, promotion of political organization, and strengthening of economic power of the Ukrainian people so that they can achieve "an equal status of sovereignty and equal measure of independence" with their neighbors, especially Poland and Russia. A large part of that group speaks outrightly about an independent Ukrainian state as the ultimate goal. The supporters of these ideals use the name "Ukrainian" in place of all other local or foreign designations, even those of them who consider the present status of Ukraine in the Soviet Union as fulfillment of this ideal.

The second group used to turn their eyes toward Russia as the traditional enemy of Poland and Austria. They pinned their hopes on cultural and political unity with Russia and manifested their convictions by calling themselves "Russians." In 1944, some of them were trying to transfer their hopes to the Soviet Union, although they still shied away from ties with Soviet Ukraine, the very existence of which, as a separate entity, they had once denied.

The third group is composed mainly of immigrants from former Hungary. Their country became in 1918 part of the Czechoslovak Republic under the name of *Podkarpatska Rus*. After a short period of autonomous existence as Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939, the country was in March of that year occupied by Hungary. For a long period these Ukrainians were dominated by their Magyarized priests, and only after the tragic events in their country of origin did they become more interested in the problems of their kinsmen abroad. Most of them would like to see their "old country" freed from Hungarian occupation, although there is no unity among them as to whether it should rejoin Czechoslovakia, or become a part of Ukraine or directly of the Soviet Union.

The struggle between clericalism and secularism in political life, between conservative nationalism and socialism, between communist and fascist propaganda during the period between the two wars, have played important parts in further political differentiation of the group as to their attitudes toward the problems of Ukraine. In American politics, they divided in the same way as the rest of their co-citizens.

Some of them are Democrats, some Republicans, Socialists, or Communists. Most of those who are workers belong to unions. All of them practice democracy in their organizational life.

Regarding problems arising from the second World War, all Ukrainian Americans are opposed to the enslavement of their country of origin by the Nazi *Herrenvolk* and by Hungarian overlords. They vary as to the further fate of Ukraine. Although none of them wants the return of Polish rule in western Ukraine, and many oppose further union of Carpatho-Ukraine with Czechoslovakia, the various degrees of mistrust toward the Soviet Union find expression in demands of safeguards for their autonomy. A large group, as in the last war, continues to advocate full independence for all Ukrainian territories in Europe.

Religion. Originally all immigrants from Austria-Hungary, with the exception of those from the province of Bukowina, were of the Greek Catholic religion, which acknowledges the Pope as the head of the church but retains Eastern rites, including marriage of clergy. Various circumstances, among them extensive Russian Orthodox (Czarist) propaganda, induced scores of parishes to join that church. In order to put a stop to this movement, a Greek Catholic Diocese with a separate bishop of Ukrainian nationality was created in 1907. Later on, in 1924, another Greek Catholic Diocese was established for the immigrants from Carpatho-Ukraine. Dissensions within those two dioceses brought about organization of two Ukrainian dioceses and one Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese, with several "independent" parishes to both. The Protestant (Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist) missions made little headway among Ukrainian Americans. The "Shtoondisty" of North Dakota, organized in several Adventist, Mennonite, Baptist, and independent congregations, form the largest Protestant body among Ukrainian Americans.

The Ukrainian Catholic Diocese maintains a college, two high schools, and a score of parochial public schools, as well as a museum in Stamford, Connecticut, and two orphanages, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and in Chesapeake, Maryland. The Ruthenian Greek Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, helps to maintain an orphanage in Elmhurst, Pennsylvania, and several parochial schools. Other dioceses take care of the courses for candidates for priesthood. Almost all parishes maintain classes in which the children are taught to read and write in Ukrainian.

Many Ukrainian Americans of Russophile leanings belong to the Russian Orthodox Church in which they form a decided majority.

Organizations. Fourteen fraternal organizations, with more than 180,000 members in close to 4,000 lodges, had at the beginning of the year 1944 almost thirty-two million dollars in their treasuries. The oldest of them, the Greek Catholic Union of Russian Brotherhoods, with headquarters in Homestead, Pennsylvania, was founded in 1892. It was followed by the Ukrainian National Association of Jersey City, New Jersey, founded in 1894. Russophile propaganda among the Ukrainians from Austria resulted a year later in the founding of the Russian Orthodox Catholic Mutual Aid Society of Wilkes-Barre, and the struggle against clericalism gave birth to the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association of Scranton, Pennsylvania. Religious and political divisions caused further splits in then existing associations or the creation of new ones.

Outside of churches and fraternal organizations, the Ukrainian Americans are banded together in many national and local societies and clubs whose aim is to promote social and cultural life or to support some political cause. In more than a hundred communities, Ukrainian or Carpatho-Russian "national homes" are maintained. They usually have a hall for meetings, amateur shows, and concerts, with rooms for evening classes, clubs, and other social activities. Local reading circles, athletic and sports clubs, welfare societies and political groups, have their meeting places in such homes. Almost every community has a "citizens' club" through which American citizens of Ukrainian birth and descent participate in politics. They often succeed in placing their members in municipal and county offices, especially in Pennsylvania. Second-generation Ukrainian Americans won seats in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and other legislatures or state offices in those states. During the second World War, Ukrainian local and regional committees helped to sell tens of millions of dollars' worth of war bonds and collected considerable contributions for the American Red Cross, the United Service Organizations (USO), and for various other forms of war relief.

The press. Over 150 newspapers and periodicals have been started by Ukrainian Americans since 1886, when their first biweekly, *America*, made its appearance in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania; many of them have been discontinued, others merged, so that in 1944 the Ukrainian group was served by twenty-eight publications. Fourteen of them—two dailies, five semiweeklies and weeklies, seven semi-monthlies and monthlies—are printed in Ukrainian with occasional English pages; two are in English; and twelve—five semiweeklies and

weeklies and seven monthlies—are printed in Carpathian dialects of the Ukrainian language or in Russian.

Contributions to American Life

The Ukrainian immigrant, as a worker, contributed to America's development not only by his "sweat and brawn" but also by his honesty and sense of justice. It was this sense of justice and willingness to fight for it that made the Ukrainian and other Slavonic miners of Pennsylvania the mainstay of strikes, which, after four previous failures, resulted at the beginning of this century in the establishment of labor unions in the coal industry. They, with other newer immigrants, played important roles in unionizing the steel, rubber, automobile, and other industries.

Ukrainian Americans also contributed to the material and cultural development of America through the scientific knowledge and artistic talents of their more gifted individuals and by introducing into the American pattern many cultural values of their native land.

Alexander Archipenko's masterpieces adorn the sculptural sections of several American museums. Many of them have been created in his studios in Long Island and California. After conducting several successful tours with Ukrainian choirs throughout the United States, Professor Alexander Koshetz settled in New York, where, until his death in September, 1944, at the age of 69, he occasionally conducted several choirs and at the same time published his own compositions and choral arrangements of Ukrainian songs for American choruses. A set of twenty songs arranged and conducted by him was recently recorded by thankful countrymen in order to preserve his art for posterity.

Composers Michael Hayvoronsky, Pavlo Pecheniha-Ouglitzky, Roman Prydatkevych, and Anthony Rudnický live in or around New York and have made names for themselves in even wider circles. New York opera goers still remember the performances of Adam Didur, a Ukrainian by birth, and Philadelphians the performances of Ivan Steshenko. Movie star Anna Sten is the daughter of a Swedish mother and a Ukrainian father. American-born film actors "Iron Mike" Mazurki (Mazurkevich) and John Hodiak, as well as movie director Edward Dmytryk, are of Ukrainian descent.

Cartoons by John Rosol (Rosolovich) are enjoyed by millions of readers of American and English magazines. Vladimir Tytla assisted Walter Disney in his "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" and in other masterpieces.

In sports, Dr. George Kojac of New York established the Olympic record in back-stroke swimming in 1928. Bronko Nagurski became an all-time legend of the gridiron. Peter Fick and John Trepak rank among the best American swimmers and weight lifters, respectively.

Sabin A. Sochocky's invention of radium paint and the subsequent manufacture of luminous watch hands brought about his untimely death from radium poisoning in 1928. Mirko Paneyko's equipment for acoustic electrical sound reproduction, installed in several of America's largest auditoriums, enables the audience to hear music reproduced without distortion. Volodymyr Dzus invented fasteners which he produces in two factories in the United States and one in England; these are used on all airplanes of the United Nations.

Volodymyr Timoshenko's work on the economics of Ukraine and Russia secured him a professorship, first at the University of Michigan and later at Stanford University, California. Alexander Nepritzky-Granovsky is professor of entomology at the University of Minnesota.

Ukrainian melodies inspired many compositions of George Gershwin, among them the well-known song "Don't Forget Me" from the operetta *Song of the Flame*. Lively Ukrainian dances popularized in America and Canada by Vasil Avramenko not only helped to revive interest in folk dancing in general, but also are finding their way, as Allen H. Eaton in *Immigrant Gifts to American Life* predicted, "into the stream of our culture." Many steps and figures in dances of modern American youth can be traced directly to Ukrainian "Arkan," "Kozachok," "Metelytzia," or "Zaporozhsky Herts." American cakes, macaroni, and pastry are made from well-known Ukrainian kinds of wheat, such as "Kubanka," "Crimean," and "Kharkov," which have been found very suitable for the climate and soil of the American and Canadian prairie states. Such dishes as "borshtch," "kasha," "blintzi," and "vareniki," popular in Jewish and Russian restaurants in America, are the usual dishes of the farmers of Ukraine and were brought here by Ukrainian, Jewish, and other immigrants from that country.

C. POLISH AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Although the Polish Americans, just like most other central-eastern European immigrants, are considered only recent arrivals, Poles have played an important part in the building of America since colonial times. They were among the settlers led by Captain John Smith at

Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and staged what was doubtless one of America's first strikes until they were permitted to vote like the English for members of the House of Burgesses.

Peter Stuyvesant, recognizing Poles as valuable farming and fighting colonists, induced them to settle in New Holland (New York). As early as 1662, Dr. Alexander Kurcyusz founded in New York one of the first institutions of learning in America. John Sadowski set up a trading post in 1735 that was the forerunner of the busy industrial city of Sandusky, Ohio. His two sons were companions of Daniel Boone in many of his exploits.

Poles were generously sprinkled in the thirteen colonies at the time of the Revolution and contributed to the ultimate freedom of America. They had been in Delaware as early as 1650, and William Penn numbered them among his loyal settlers. Most famous of the early Polish Americans was Kosciuszko, who joined the army of the Revolution in 1776, rose to the rank of colonel of artillery, and became General Washington's adjutant; Congress awarded him American citizenship, a pension with landed estates, and the rank of brigadier general. Pulaski was another noted Pole who aided the youthful United States.

Immigration

Polish migration on a large scale did not begin until about 1832, after a political uprising in Poland. In that year, in 1848, and in the 1880's, economic and political disturbances in the old world gave impetus to emigration. By 1860, Poles were found in all the states in the Union, the greatest number of them being located in New York, Texas, California (attracted there by the gold rush in 1850), Wisconsin, and Michigan. The first large Polish colonies were organized in Texas, and in 1854 the foundation of the towns of Panna Maria and Czechstochowa, still in existence, were laid. Other groups founded the towns of Polonia, Wisconsin, and Parisville, Michigan, near Detroit. A Polish family from West Prussia settled in Portage County, Wisconsin, one of the most prosperous rural communities of today.

The unsuccessful revolt of 1863 brought another group of the nationalistic Poles to this country. Many came to Chicago, and a great many of these settled in a single area on the West Side, from Seventeenth to Twentieth streets, between Faflin and Hoyne Avenues. Bismarck's Prussianizing policy of 1870 gave an impetus to further immigration. The great tide of Polish immigration began in the

eighties, and was motivated, in general, and in contrast to previous immigration, by economic rather than political conditions. After 1885 many Poles, who had been engaged in industrial pursuits in the cities, were attracted by advertisements of cheap land and settled on farms in Wisconsin and the Dakotas. The Russian economic crisis of 1901-1903, and the effects of the revolutionary troubles of 1905, increased the immigration from the Polish districts of Russia. In the decade and a half just preceding World War I, the volume was the greatest. This inflow concentrated in the new industrial cities, along the Great Lakes, in the mining and industrial districts of Pennsylvania, and on the northeastern coast of the United States. The Jewish element went mostly into the sweat-shop industries in their homes, and especially the tailoring business in New York. Most of some two million Jews of New York are of eastern European (and thus also Polish) origin.

Today there are about 4,000,000 Poles widely distributed over the United States. About 80 per cent of them are naturalized.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

According to the 1940 census, Chicago has the largest Polish population of any city in the United States, with about half a million; it is the second largest "Polish" city in the world. Detroit, next in rank, has approximately 300,000, and New York City has about 200,000. These figures include native-born Poles and inhabitants of Polish descent.

Other large cities that have considerable Polish settlements are Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Jersey City and Newark, New Jersey, Cleveland, Ohio, and Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. In general, nearly half of the Poles live in the Middle Atlantic states, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; about one third in the East North Central division; and one tenth in New England. They have given Polish names to a number of minor settlements. Thus we find Ponan in Illinois, Polishville in Iowa, Wilno in Michigan, Pulaski and Krakow in Missouri, Krakow and Pilzno in Nebraska, Warsaw in North Dakota, Czestochowa, Panna Maria, Kosciuszko, and Polonia in Texas, and Krakow, Polonia, Pulaski, and Sobieski in Wisconsin.

Occupations. Most of the immigrants from Poland were landless peasants, laborers, and small tradesmen in the old country. While Polish farmers are to be found in states from coast to coast, only one out of ten Poles in the United States tills the soil. The largest number of Poles are employed in industry, particularly in sugar refineries,

cotton mills, furniture factories, mines, steel mills, automobile plants, and in the lumber industry in the Northwest.

Wherever the Polish settlers started farming, they have been nearly uniformly successful, especially when they took up farms abandoned by Americans and coaxed out of them a good living. This is particularly pronounced in Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the Poles have taken over a large part of the Connecticut River Valley. But the largest number of American Poles is employed in sugar refineries, agricultural implement and vehicle establishments, cotton mills, furniture factories, bituminous coal mines, slaughtering and meat packing, and leather manufacturing industries, in the textile mills of New England, the mines and steel mills of Pennsylvania, the steel works of Gary, the great Ford factories, and the lumber camps of the Pacific coast.

Organizations. There are some 10,000 Polish dramatic, literary, singing, social, religious, and athletic societies in America, such as the Alliance of Polish Literary and Dramatic Circles of America, the Polish Army Veterans' Association, the Pulaski Legion of America, and the Polish Associated Federal Employees. There are also various national Polish organizations to which belong approximately 750,000 members. The Polish Roman Catholic Union in America was founded in 1874 and has now some 180,000 members and around thirteen million dollars in reserve funds. The Polish National Alliance, organized in 1879, has 275,000 members and 2,300 branches in twenty-six states, and is the largest organization of any immigrant group in the United States. These and other organizations have local lodges, which, especially those affiliated with the parishes, usually have mutual benefit provisions as their main purpose, together with musical, educational, charitable, gymnastic, agricultural, industrial, and purely social departments.

Religion. The Roman Catholic Church has functioned more largely than any other one organized force in keeping alive the national aspirations in Poland. The Polish Americans, at least a majority of them, retain this attitude and remain at heart Roman Catholics. Most of the philanthropic and social societies are, in fact, affiliated with the church, which is also a tremendous educational institution. There are 830 Polish Roman Catholic parishes and eighty-three Polish Roman Catholic Missions in the United States, fourteen orphanages, three seminaries each for men and for women.

A comparatively small minority of Poles belong to the Polish National Catholic Church. A convention of independent congregations

was held at Scranton, Pennsylvania, in September, 1904, under Reverend Francis Hodur, who was elected bishop of the new group. The church maintains its own theological Savonarola Seminary at Scranton and has its weekly organ, the *Straz*. In 1944 this church had 146 parishes in four dioceses, 148 priests, and the membership, in round numbers, of 95,000 families (about 400,000 persons). The Right Reverend Hodur is Primate Bishop. There were four other bishops in America and one in Poland (imprisoned by Germans in a concentration camp). From the Catholic point of view the Polish National Church is regarded as Protestant and of negligible importance.

The Protestant work among the Polish Americans is rather insignificant. American Protestant churches—Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians—support home missions among the Poles. Of course there are many Poles not affiliated with any religious organization.

Considerably more than any other Slav group in America, the Poles support a surprisingly large number of educational institutions of learning. The situation in Chicago, described above, may be taken as typical. In the United States there are 560 Polish Roman Catholic parochial schools with approximately 300,000 children and over 5,000 teachers. On the secondary school level there are twelve Polish Catholic high schools for girls, nine Polish high schools for boys, and nineteen Polish coeducational schools, all conducted by parishes. In addition, the Poles support some twenty-seven seminaries, normal schools, and other institutions of learning, conducted by different religious orders, and several colleges, including St. Stanislaus, Chicago; St. Mary's College, Orchard Lake, Michigan; the Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania; and St. John Kanty College, Erie, Pennsylvania. The Polish National Alliance College, founded in 1912, belongs to this nonsectarian organization. A great deal of educational work is carried on also by the Kosciuszko Foundation, established in 1925, which promotes cultural and intellectual relations between Poland and America and arranges especially for exchange scholarships.

The press. Before the depression, the Polish Americans were represented by some 100 periodicals. By 1930, there were fifteen dailies, one semiweekly, sixty-four weeklies, four biweeklies, forty-one monthlies, and three quarterlies; during the depression, the number of dailies dropped to eleven. The oldest Polish daily is the *Kurjer Polski*, founded in 1888 in Milwaukee. Most of the periodicals serve the interest of various organizations, others propound the political

leanings of various groups, and the remainder serve the interest of a locality. Nearly all Polish periodicals contain material in English for the younger generation. Sports articles lead in space here set aside for English material. This is due to the fact that Poles are well represented in practically every line of sport, and especially in football.¹

New York and Pennsylvania have fourteen Polish publications each, Illinois ten, Michigan nine, and Wisconsin six. The location of the Polish-language press in the key states indicates the importance that the Polish vote might have in the presidential elections.

Political activities. Because of their gradual assimilation, Poles are beginning to play an increasingly important part in American politics. In the coal regions around Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, they have been able to dominate some municipalities, in some cases with unfortunate results—characteristic of minority groups which suddenly come to power. Hamtramck, Michigan, is almost exclusively governed by Poles.² In and around Detroit and Chicago the Poles hold numerous state and county positions.

When Hitler's threat against Poland appeared on the horizon, the Polish Americans, as during World War I, offered their help to the cause of the homeland. Universally they were eager to avenge what the Nazis did to Poland. But with the changing fortunes of the war, when Russia eventually became one of the allies of England and the United States, the four largest Polish fraternal organizations refused to take part—at the beginning, at least—in the American Slav Congress, partly because they suspected the Slav Congress of left-wing endeavor, partly because they opposed United States aid to Russia. Yet all four organizations, and the superimposed Polish American Council, were loyal in their support of the United States war effort and hated the Nazis fanatically. But while Russia's former Polish war prisoners in the meantime formed new army divisions, eager to fight the Germans even under Russian command, minority factions of the United States Polish community had the somewhat quixotic notion that their decimated people could still afford to count both Germany and Russia among their enemies. When Polish Prime Minister Sikorski tried to make the Polish Americans understand his conciliatory attitude toward Russia, he met with some opposition.

A poll organized in the summer of 1943 by United States govern-

¹ See "Steelworker's Boy," *Time*, XLII, 22 (November 29, 1943), p. 21, which describes the football career of Casimir John Myslinski of West Point.

² See "Trouble in Hamtramck," *Time*, XLI, 20 (May 17, 1943), pp. 22-23.

ment agencies to determine the political attitudes of Polish Americans toward the problem of Poland brought to light some extremely interesting indications: nine out of ten Polish Americans believed that they should do everything they could to help Poland; 41 per cent felt that the United States should guarantee a fair territorial settlement for Poland, "even if it meant fighting Russia"; only one third declared that they would be satisfied with Poland's prewar boundaries. The majority were in favor of "Bigger Poland."

The poll revealed, according to Andre Visson, that "American Poles seem to have a sentimental rather than practical political approach to the problems of Poland, which they remember with a certain nostalgia and which they do not want to forget even when they are integrated into American national life."³ On May 29, 1944, Americans of Polish descent organized the Polish-American Congress. Its twofold purpose is to give expression to their "undivided service, love, and attachment," to the United States and to give their "full support and aid to the Polish nation."

The pro- and anti-Russian attitude split the Polish Americans during 1943 and 1944. The left flank—headed by the Polish-American Communists, a very insignificant group, by the way—criticized the Polish government for what they considered to be its too unyielding attitude on the problem of Polish-Soviet boundaries. Then there was a group of Polish-American intellectuals—mostly Socialists—headed by Socialist Oscar Lange (former lecturer at Cracow University), at the time professor of economics at Chicago University, which favored the "Curzon line." Early in November, 1943, another group that urged agreement and collaboration with Soviet Russia appeared in Detroit as the Kosciuszko League (the name emphasized its solidarity with the Polish Kosciuszko Division fighting in the Soviet Army).

At the same time, violent attacks against Sikorski's government and its policy of rapprochement with Russia were carried on by Colonel Ignaci Matuszewski, one of the prominent figures in the Pilsudski regime, who, after his arrival in America in the fall of 1941, started animating the Polish-American press by his journalistic talents and his supernationalistic ideology. He became the political writer of *Nowy Swiat*, a Polish-language paper published in New York by a wealthy prewar importer of Polish hams, Maximilian Wegrzynek,

³ Andre Visson, "Poland Enlists U. S. 'Polonia' in Border Disputes," *New York Herald Tribune*, January 9, 1944. See also Visson, "New Group of Poles in America Seeks Better Russian Relations," *Ibid.*, January 16, 1944.

who, incidentally, also was a publisher of a supernationalistic Hungarian paper. In June, 1942, Węgrzynek founded the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent; under its Polish abbreviation, *Knapp*, it became well known and active. Its policy was to see pre-war Poland restored and expanded at the expense of Germany and if possible also of Russia. It wanted to retain Teschen, the Czech territory Poland seized when Hitler dismembered Czechoslovakia. Incidentally, Czech President Eduard Beneš was considered by Knapp as its enemy Number 2—enemy Number 1, of course, being Stalin.

Acculturation. In contrast to other immigrant groups, the Polish American has been able to retain to an unusual degree the Polish culture pattern within the American civilization. This is due to the persistence with which the Polish immigrant clings to memories of his nationality, the strength of the Roman Catholic Church, the unselfish willingness with which the Polish American supports his own institutions in America, the continued interest of the Polish government displayed in its compatriots in America, and the activities of such organizations as the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum and the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America.

Contributions to American Life

The Poles have made their contributions to American culture in three ways. First, it is quite obvious that the contributions made by Poland to our civilization are an inseparable part of the intricate and complex culture of America. Such great names as Nicholas Copernicus, Paderewski, Sienkiewicz, Joseph Conrad, Helena Modjeska, Marie Skolkowska-Curie, and numerous others are known to all, and are their contributions not only a part of Polish culture but also of America's culture? Is there a music lover in America who, for instance, does not know the music of Chopin?

Second, the Polish American has impressed his personality on American culture as a group. This fact is well expressed by Thaddeus Hoinke: ⁴

There is an item of the Polish contribution usually entirely overlooked. . . . This is the cumulative contribution of the four million Poles in this country. This human item is the greatest gift that Poland has given America. Someone may remark that the American Poles, as a class, have been mostly laborers and farmers. True enough. But they

⁴ Thaddeus Hoinke, "The Polish Contribution to America," pp. 74-75, in *Poles in America*, Tomczak, Anthony C., Editor. Chicago, Polish Day Association, 1933.

arrived in this country, like the Polish carpenters and pitch makers of Virginia and the Polish soldiers of the Revolutionary time, at the crucial moment in the development of the American Commonwealth—at the time of laying the foundations of the new industrial empire. . . . This great army of labor, in which the Poles play an important role, has won for this nation the first place in the industrial life of the world. Only by means of their humble but indispensable qualities, because of their sweat and titantic work, could this country achieve such an unprecedented level of prosperity and might. And not only because of that—this great army of peaceful fighters had actually paid with its own blood for the comfort and higher standards of living in this country. In 1925, 10,537 men died as a result of industrial accidents. . . . Much of this was Polish blood.

In the third place, the Poles have furnished several outstanding, even world-famous, names in the purely cultural field. In the opera, the Poles are proud of Jean de Reszke, Adam Didur, and Ina Burskaya. Carole Landis, a Hollywood star, born a Ridste, comes from one of those large Polish families which has many widely scattered relatives. The late Richard Boleslawski directed several outstanding Hollywood films. Jan Kiepura, a young Polish tenor, appeared in 1935 opposite Gladys Swarthout in "Give Us This Night," a Paramount film, and starred in "The Merry Widow" on Broadway in 1943-1944. Leopold Stokowski, formerly with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra and engaged later in his fine experiment to acquaint the masses with great music, is one of the greatest of America's conductors. Dr. Arthur Rodzinski is a conductor of long experience and famed as "an orchestra builder and repairer."⁵ In 1933, he developed the Cleveland Orchestra into one of the Middle West's two finest musical organizations (the other, the Chicago Symphony). He was picked by Arturo Toscanini in 1937 to organize and train the NBC Symphony. In 1943 he became the new "boss" of the New York Philharmonic Symphony. The son of a Polish army surgeon, he was born in Spalato on the coast of Dalmatia. He studied law at the University of Lwow. Severely wounded in World War I, he resumed his law studies in Vienna and took his doctor's degree, which had no connection with music. Eventually he got a job at the Warsaw Opera, where Leopold Stokowski met him in 1925 and offered him an assistant conductorship in Philadelphia. The names of Paderewski and Josef Hoffman are too familiar to be more than noted.

⁵ "Purged Philharmonic," *Time*, XLII, 16 (October 18, 1943), p. 24.

The Poles have also made contributions to many other fields—in painting and sculpture, in politics, and in the sciences of engineering, medicine, and so on. Only a few can be mentioned. Professor F. Pawlowski, head of the department of aeronautical engineering of the University of Michigan, is a pioneer in aeronautical education. Leopold Julian Beeck laid plans for the first polytechnic institution in the United States and was a member of the faculties of the University of Virginia and the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Oskar Halecki, one of the greatest of Europe's historians, now heads the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York City. Dr. Ralph Modjeski, one of the best-known engineers in the United States, is chairman of the Board of Engineers of the San Francisco-Oakland bridge and served as consultant on the Manhattan bridge over the East River, New York, and the Mid-Hudson bridge at Poughkeepsie; he is the son of the famous Polish tragedienne, Madame Helena Modjeska, who died in 1909. A monument to her was unveiled in 1935 in Anaheim, California.

The late Bronislaw K. Malinowski, Bishop Museum visiting professor of anthropology at Yale University (who died in 1942), was recognized as one of the great social anthropologists of modern times. He developed a new way of looking at primitive cultures. He came to anthropology in the days when the greatest emphasis was centered on recording and classifying the peculiar antics of savage peoples and attempting to reconstruct the evolutionary histories which would lead back into a prehuman animal world. Malinowski was the first to state the necessity of participating directly in the lives of savages; it was his technique to observe a primitive people from within, through its own language and the eyes and sentiments of its members. In his numerous studies he became the founder of a new approach in that field, now known as functionalism. This approach emphasized the functional interrelationships of all cultural phenomena in the structure of society. Dr. Joseph Jastrow, on the other hand, was a psychologist, professor of psychology at the University of Wisconsin for thirty-nine years. Long a valiant tilter at man's absurdities, he wrote fourteen books and numerous articles, and from 1935 to 1938 lectured regularly on the NBC network. Dr. Feliks Gross, a well-known sociologist, founded the Central and Eastern European Institute during World War II. Staff Sergeant Sylvester Frederick Duxey of Philadelphia received the *Virtuti Militari* for heroism while gunner on a Polish Wellington bomber.

D. CZECHOSLOVAK AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

When the time came to celebrate the twenty-first birthday of the Czechoslovak Republic on October 28, 1939, Prague was restlessly silent under the watchful eyes of German police, while thousands of Czech and Slovak Americans and their friends in the United States were organizing again, as during the first World War, for the restoration of this republic which had been established in 1918. They recalled that Professor Thomas Garigue Masaryk signed the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia on October 18, 1918, in Washington, D. C., and that many had rallied around the exiled diplomats who displayed the red, white, and blue ensign of Czech sovereignty on the Legation in Washington, the Czechoslovak pavilion at the World's Fair in New York in 1939-1940, and numerous consulates. These citadels of independence survived when the United States refused to recognize Germany's protectorate.

Immigration

Contrary to the popular fiction that the Czechs are "new" immigrants, the Czech element has appeared in the American mosaic from the start. Possibly the very first naturalized American was the Czech, Augustine Herrman, who reached New Amsterdam in 1633 and received "denization" in 1664. Sent to arbitrate a boundary dispute between the Dutch colony and Maryland, he mapped Maryland and Virginia with passable accuracy for the first time. Lord Baltimore rewarded him with a 20,000-acre estate on Maryland's Eastern Shore peninsula, where he cut the first roads through "New Bohemia" and gave his homeland's name to Bohemia River. He has been credited with introducing tobacco culture into northern Virginia. His great grandson, Richard Bassett, was one of the signers of the Constitution of the United States. The "merchant prince" Philipse (Frederick Filip), whose manor house is now a museum in Yonkers (New York), came from Bohemia. A descendant of his was the pretty Mary, described in Cooper's *The Spy*, who rejected George Washington to marry Captain Roger Morris. One of the Paca family who, in 1776, signed the Declaration of Independence for the state of Maryland, is believed to have been of Bohemian descent.

After a seventeenth century edict banned all non-Catholics from

western Czech (Bohemian) lands,¹ Protestants migrated or perished in numbers that reduced the population by three fourths. Among the religious refugees were the Moravian Brothers (also known as *Herrnhuters*), many of whom, together with the German converts to the Moravian Church, reached America by way of Germany and settled in Georgia, North Carolina, and in Pennsylvania. In Penn's colony they founded Bethlehem in 1714. Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, in Pennsylvania, and Salem, in North Carolina, were organized in colonial times as exclusive Moravian villages, after the model of the Moravian communities in Germany, England, and Holland. The Moravian Seminary and College for Women at Bethlehem (Pennsylvania), founded in 1749, was the second girl's boarding school in the United States. "The Moravians were among the first groups in the new world to become interested in Negro education and to make a definite and concrete attempt to organize a Negro school and develop a program of Negro education."² Bohemian relics and books still exist at Bethlehem, sermons dealing with John Hus and Comenius are still preached there; and there is also an interesting cemetery, where an Indian lies beside a white man—the first example of the democracy of which the Americans are so proud. A Herrnhuter, Matthew Stach, a Moravian by birth, became an apostle to the Eskimos in Greenland and labored among them from 1733 to 1772. It is also interesting to note that the last bishop of this United Church, the famous John Amos Comenius (Komenský), who died at Amsterdam in 1670, has exercised tremendous influence on American education. Like so many of his fellow countrymen, Comenius was driven into exile in 1628 because of the vindictiveness of the victors against the Czech people. He unfortunately did not accept the invitation to become president of Harvard University. Nevertheless, he has gained a world-wide reputation through his educational activities and writings directly, and indirectly by his influence on such educators as Francke, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi. He is often referred to as the father of modern education. Few Americans who attend thousands of Masonic lodges in the United States know that Comenius is the spiritual founder of modern Masonry, for his pacific ideas are embodied in his work *About the Betterment of Human Affairs*, which

¹ The term *Czech (Bohemian)* is here used to include Moravians and Silesians. The Carpatho-Ruthenians are dealt with in the section dealing with Ukrainian Americans.

² V. F. Calverton, *The Awakening of America*, p. 186. New York: John Day Company, 1939.

in 1717 served James Andersen when he compiled the statutes of Freemasonry. In this work, Komenský invites humanity to unite in the building of a new Solomon's Temple as an abode of justice and love, peace and progress.³

The first Slovak to visit America was, it is said, the king of Madagascar.⁴ For services rendered, the natives of Madagascar chose a Slovak, Count Mauricius Augustus de Beniovsky, as king. He came to Baltimore about 1785 to raise money and ammunition for a war against the French, who opposed his claim to the throne. He returned on the ship *Intrepid* to Madagascar and shortly afterward was killed. A brother of Count Beniovsky served as an officer in Washington's army. Several Slovaks served in the Civil War.

Immigration

The bulk of the Czech and Slovak immigrants came on two waves of the nineteenth century immigration. As refugees from Austrian politics, the Czechs poured in for the two decades following 1848. As sturdy farmers, they "homesteaded" free land in America's expanding west, as described by Willa Cather in *My Antonia*. In 1852 the first Czechs settled in Chicago, now their American "capital." Those coming from Bohemia and western Moravia settled chiefly in the northern states, but some from northeastern Bohemia and nearly all from eastern Moravia went to Texas.

Near the end of the century came immigrants from Slovakia, mainly for economic reasons. Finding most of the frontier land already taken, they settled chiefly in the industrial eastern states among mines and mills to forge the steel sinews of America's mechanized strength in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio. Their "capital" is Pittsburgh. Other centers are Cleveland, Chicago, New York, and Detroit, but practically one half of the million Slovaks in America are residents of Pennsylvania.

The Czechs usually brought with them their families, intending to anchor here permanently. The Slovaks, on the contrary, usually left their families in Slovakia and returned to them as soon as they had made enough money to be considered rich in their home communities. Their waves of immigration corresponded to the demands

³ See: J. S. Roucek, "Freemasonry in Czechoslovakia," *The Builder*, XV (February, 1939), pp. 45-48; (March, 1939), pp. 79-83; (April, 1939), pp. 111-114, 129; also "The Pioneer and Founder of Modern Masonry, Jan Amos Komensky," *Square and Compass* (Denver), XXXVIII (December, 1929), pp. 28-38 ff., with documentary pictures.

⁴ Slovak Committee, Foreign Language Information Service, *Slovaks Under the Stars and Stripes*, p. 7. New York, 1930.

for labor in American markets. When muscles were needed, they responded to the need for laborers; when the downward curves of business cycles discouraged them, they packed their meager belongings and filled the steerages of the ships heading for Europe. Eventually, however, this seasonal migration was stopped, or radically limited, when the new and stricter immigration laws of the United States were put into effect.

Statistics concerning the number of Czech and Slovak immigrants in America are uncertain. For example, many who were reported as Slav, Slavic, Slavish, Slavonian—the 1910 census registered 35,195 such—should have been credited to Slovaks. Many were registered on their arrival as Germans, Austrians, or Hungarians. The census of 1930 states that there were 491,638 foreign-born Czechoslovaks and that the native born of Czechoslovak parentage was 890,441. Therefore, the official total was 1,382,079, although the most reliable estimates are that there are some 1,750,000 Czechs and Slovaks and their descendants in America. During the decade 1931–1940, 14,393 Czechoslovaks were admitted, the number being exceeded only by Germans, Italians, and Poles. One fifth of the Czechs live in the cities of Chicago, New York, and Cleveland. Chicago's Mayor Čermák, like a score of other mayors of his time, was a Czech; a plaque on his birthplace in Kladno (near Prague) bears his last words, "I'm glad it was me instead of you," spoken as he lay dying of wounds an assassin intended for President Roosevelt.

The states with the highest Czech and Slovak population are, in order, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Texas. Czech Americans have constituted one fourth of the population of Cedar Rapids, Iowa; one seventh of Cleveland; one eighth of Gary, Indiana, and of Omaha. In general, Slovaks are massed in industrial states and Czechs predominate in farming states, and both are grouped in the same urban centers—Chicago, Cleveland, and New York. As farmers, the Czechs outnumber all other Slavs and are found principally in Nebraska, Texas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Oklahoma.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Organizations. The Czech and Slovak fraternal organizations play a very important part of the immigrant culture pattern. Not only have they provided financial assistance in times of death, stress, and sickness, but they have also appropriated considerable amounts for specific movements in our national life, business undertakings, peri-

odicals, libraries, and schools. Their numbers constantly vary, as some are formed within each decade and some, again, disappear or fuse with others. In 1933 there were, for example, eighteen fraternal organizations of the Czechs in America—ten Catholic and eight “Free-thinking.” The Slovaks are represented by some forty fraternal organizations, mostly religious, whose membership is limited to Roman or Greek Catholics or Protestants; only five or six are of “national” character, accepting members from various Christian denominations; some are purely local. Several American fraternities permit the use of the Czech or Slovak language in their lodges, among them the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Elks, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Knights of America, Eastern Star, Masons (as the *Klub Dobrovský*, Bohemian Masonic Club of Chicago).

The first Czech benevolent and educational society, called the First Czecho-Slavonian Society in America, was organized in 1850, with headquarters at 14 City Hall Place, on the site of the present municipal building in New York City. It disbanded a year or two later. The second fraternal society, best known under the abbreviated letters ČSPS (the Czecho-Slovak Protective Society), founded three years later in St. Louis, Missouri, has survived until today as a nonsectarian and liberal organization, although it has merged (after its existence of seventy-nine years), with four other similar, though smaller, brotherhoods, under the name of the Czechoslovak Societies of America (ČSA).

Peter V. Rovnianek organized, in 1890, the first Slovak fraternal organization in America, the National Slovak Society of the United States. It has become the model for all other Slovak organizations, as well as for those of the Ruthenians and Yugoslavs, and proudly affirms that it was first among all foreign societies of the United States to adopt a paragraph in its bylaws to the effect that every person who has been a member for six years must become an American citizen. It counts altogether some 50,000 members and represents the more liberal sections of the Slovak immigrants.

The Catholic Slovak organizations, especially the First Slovak Roman Catholic Union (*Jednota*), with some 100,000 members, has given birth to many religious schools, literary and dramatic societies, sports clubs, and the like. The Slovak organizations number nearly 300,000 members, adults and children, males and females, in thousands of subordinate units of assemblies, and command assets totaling forty million dollars. In fact, every third American Slovak is a member of one or more branches of such organizations. The Protestants are

grouped around the Evangelical Union of Pittsburgh, the Independent National Slovak Society of New York, the Slovak Calvinistic Presbyterian Union of Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, and other such organizations. It is of interest that the Czech Protestants have no fraternal organizations such as the Slovaks.

Communal life. The impact of the process of "Americanization" has been the least effective among the Czech Americans of Texas, where many of them, although of the third American-born generation, can still speak Czech. A careful picture of this situation has been provided by Dr. Henry R. Maresh:⁵

There are approximately 300,000 Czechs in Texas; first, second, and third generations, perhaps equally divided, from Bohemia and Moravia, and less than one per cent from Slovakia. About seventy per cent are Catholics, twenty-five per cent Protestants, and the rest Liberals or Free-thinkers. There are 252 Czech communities, a community designated as such has a local lodge of some benevolent organization, or a parish, or a church. In these communities there are 101 Catholic churches; 20 churches and 41 congregations and missions of the Evangelical Unity of the Czech Moravian Brethren. The Southwest Bohemian Presbytery has 9 churches and 4 other congregations. The Freethinkers have a state charter; the supreme lodge is in Houston and there are four other local lodges. There are several benevolent, insurance and protective organizations. The largest is the Slavonic Benevolent Order of the State of Texas (*SPJST*), with 162 local lodges. Then there are the Catholic Union of Texas Women (*KJZT*), the Catholic Union of Texas (*KJT*), The Catholic Worker, The Society of St. Isidor, The Fraternal Union of the Czech-Moravian Brothers and the Slav Mutual Insurance Society. The Czech newspapers are: *Texan*, *Svoboda*, *Nový Domov*, *Našinec*, *Czechoslovak*, *Věstník*, *Texaský Rolník*, *Bratrské Listy*, and *Husita*.

We have in Texas an enormous number of Czechs who are highly respected in the state. In the Old Country these people belonged to the middle-class and most of them were land-owners and they still are land-owners here. They came here in the decades beginning with 1850, to and including 1900. They left their land of birth primarily on account of religious and political oppression. From these immigrants we have a vast number of native born, first, second and third generations. Texas was then and still is essentially a rural country, distances are great and people live far apart. These people were neither colonizers nor adventurers. Their code was based on the principle of tending to your business and letting the other man tend to his. However, if one of them was convinced that he was in the right, he would defend his conviction or else die fight-

⁵ An extract from material prepared for the forthcoming *Ready Handbook of Texas*, Texas State Historical Association, 2 vols. See also E. Hudson and H. R. Maresh, *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest*, Dallas, Texas, Southwest Press, 1934. R. T. Kutak, *The Story of a Bohemian-American Village*, Louisville, Kentucky, 1933, is a good study of social persistence and change in a Czech settlement in Nebraska.

ing for the principle. Thus we may say that as these people were made of suitable material and were planted in the right kind of soil, they became typical Texans.

With the exception of the Bibles and prayer books, and of these they brought plenty, they were cut off from all sources of information, current events, as well as all facilities of education. In seeking freedom, they came to a free country, but a country totally undeveloped. They were unfamiliar with the language, nobody understood them and neither did they understand anyone. Consequently, they had to learn their deeds by roots from the pages of experience and history.

With no tangible means for enlightenment and defense, the natural tendency was to grouping and isolation, and many of these people changed their names to read as those of other nationalities. From these isolated groups sprang the benevolent organizations. All the social development was centered around and emanated from these organizations. In one sense, this influence was profoundly beneficial, in that it tended to preserve the inherent qualities of these people, namely, conservation of soil, thrift, industry and stability—the essential qualities of any people who help to build a state. It is estimated that ninety-five per cent are homeowners. In another sense, this grouped isolation hindered initiative and fostered educational dormancy. However, we know from experience that it takes more than one generation to change the basic qualities of an individual. This is evidenced by the native-born generations who are noticeably drifting into the white collared and professional classes and are unobtrusively interwoven with and are designated as Americans. This entire group has maintained to the present day, a period of ninety years, an economic and social order based upon the freedom of all individuals to think, to work, and to express themselves as they desire—an order in which each individual is free to improve his own circumstances through his own efforts so long as he does not in so doing transgress the rules of fair play or encroach upon similar rights of others. They are more concerned that men shall be free than they are that men shall be equal. From a sociological standpoint, it is evident that these people received from, as well as contributed to, the social and economic structure of democratic Americanism.

Religion and education. Dr. Čapek estimates that 50 per cent of the Czechs in America have seceded from their old-country Catholic faith. It cannot be inferred, however, that the Czechs are irreligious. Hussitism, Protestant traditions, and the resentment against the Austro-Hungarian oppression in which the church participated are the underlying causes. When the more liberal-minded Czechs landed here, they eagerly grasped the opportunity of giving up all pretensions to Catholicism, for, while at home, their economic and social positions were frequently based upon outward conformance. Upon their arrival in America, these Czechs drifted into a kind of irreligion, known as "Free Thought." Today some 480,000 Czechs are Free-

thinkers, and the early fraternal organizations referred to above were also the first freethinking organizations. When these Freethinkers had difficulties with the Catholic clergy about their burials, they founded in 1877 their famed Czech National Cemetery in Chicago (Crawford Avenue), which covers 130 acres. The organization has also become one of the main supporters of the cultural activities of the Czechoslovak immigrants in America, donating during the fifty years of its existence more than \$120,000 to the Czech Freethinking schools and for other cultural and humanitarian purposes. It also maintains a Czech orphanage in Chicago. The League of Freethinkers, founded in 1907, unites the state committees and local organizations. The Slovaks followed this inclination to markedly less extent. Some 300,000 Slovaks are Catholic (with 180 churches), 57,000 Protestants (130 churches), 60,000 Greek Orthodox, and 160,000 "without confession."

The Czech and Slovak educational agencies in America are divided between freethinking and religious institutions. Most of the freethinking ("without confession") schools (some eighty-eight Czech and eight Slovak) are attended by pupils after their school hours in public schools. The majority of Catholics, on the other hand, support their own parochial schools. In either type of school the Czech or Slovak language is a required subject.

Nevertheless, Catholicism still claims at least 50 per cent of the American Czechs. There are some 120 Czech parishes, with 104 parochial schools, most of them located in Texas, Illinois, and Ohio. The weekly, *Friend of Children*, published by the Czech Benedictines in Chicago, is used in many of these schools. Some parishes have two-year commercial schools of junior and senior high schools. Nearly all Slovak schools belong to the Catholics; nearly 41,000 Slovak Catholic children are attending 118 parochial schools, taught by Sisters of the Order of Cyrillus and Methodius of Danville, Pennsylvania. The Slovaks can also boast of three high schools, all founded since 1922: the Slovak Girls' Academy, housed in a fine building in Danville, Pennsylvania; the Benedictine High School for Boys, Cleveland; and the Girls' Academy at Pittsburgh. The Czech Catholics support the St. Procopius College at Lisle, Illinois, administered by the Czech Benedictines of Chicago, the only Czech College in America, and three academies, one in Chicago, one in Omaha, and one in Shiner, Texas. Especially successful have been the efforts of the Chicago Catholics to teach the Czech language in three-hour weekly lessons by radio. The Protestant churches also conduct their church

schools during the weekdays, or on Saturdays or Sundays, and in some cases during the summer. The Slovak Lutherans can even boast of their own day schools in Cleveland, Minneapolis, and St. Louis.

It is also of interest that the Czech language is taught, as a regular subject, in two public high schools of Illinois (Chicago and Cicero), as well as in a number of Texas public schools, by the pupils of Professor E. Miček who has taught Czech and Czech literature in the University of Texas for a number of years. The Council of Higher Education of Chicago, founded in 1902, helps the students of Czechoslovak origin to finish their college and university studies by lending them money without interest.

The Sokols. One of the finest adult education organizations, which has been imitated and adopted by numerous other immigrant groups, is the Sokol Gymnastic organization. Sokol (the falcon), according to the interpretation of the leaders of the movement, is the bird which by its swiftness and energy symbolizes the active, vigorous, strenuous Spartan life—the ideal of Sokol societies. The falcon, flying high in the free skies, is also the symbol of freedom, and every Sokol dreams of the permanent national freedom of Czechoslovakia. This twofold symbolism characterized its philosophical foundation in nationalism and its practice—the development of physical grace and strength. Annual conventions and public performances are held. The Czech Gymnastic Union, founded in Chicago in 1878, has its branches in nearly every Czech settlement in America, a number of which also boast of their own Sokol houses. Recently, the Czech and Slovak Unions have united to form the Sokol Gymnastic Federation of America. The *American Sokol* is published monthly for all members. In addition, there are Catholic Slovak Sokols, Catholic Czech Sokols, Slovak and Czech “Orel” (Eagles), Workingmen’s Sokols, and one communist Federation of Czechoslovak Workingmen’s Gymnastic Unions. The influence of these organizations on the development of the immigrant mentality and communal relations cannot be overestimated.

The press. The first Czech weekly publication in America was issued in Racine, Wisconsin, in 1860, and was followed later by the first Slovak periodical, the *Amerikánsko-Slovenské Noviny* (*American-Slovak News*), of Pittsburgh. In 1944, the Slovaks had four daily papers and the Czechs six; some forty-four were weeklies or semiweeklies, and some twenty, fortnightlies or monthlies. Two thirds of them were published in Czech and the rest in Slovak, though some printed articles in both Czech and Slovak.

The Slovak press is concentrated in the East, with fourteen periodicals, chiefly in Pennsylvania, while the Czech press flourishes chiefly in the Middle West. Other publications, not included here, are devoted to special causes or interests such as: agriculture, athletics, collegiate life, education, religion, or fraternal societies. In general, the Czech and Slovak press is split along religious and fraternal lines. In the case of the Slovak press, however, this dividing line was complicated by the opposition of some Slovak periodicals toward the constitutional form of Czechoslovakia up to 1938, and subsequently by their support of the "free" Slovakia under Germany, a matter which really has nothing to do with conditions in America but represents a kind of activity characterizing many of our immigrants burdened with a marked "inferiority complex" and anxious to overcome it by trying to influence the course of politics in the "old country."

Political divisions. The "autonomist" group of Slovak Americans contributed, partly at least, to the downfall of Czechoslovakia by their continued agitation and by their help to the Slovak Catholic separatists who eventually turned to Hitler for the realization of their aim of "complete" independence of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia. The agitation hinged on the Pittsburgh agreement, dating back to 1918, when the first World War was already approaching its end. The representatives of a number of American-Czech societies met at Pittsburgh, June 30, together with the representatives of several Slovak-American societies. They invited the chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, who was then staying in the United States, to the meeting. The representatives of *American Czechs* and *American Slovaks* expressed their opinion as to the structure of the future Czechoslovak state in a protocol, known as "the Pittsburgh Agreement," signed by Dr. Masaryk as a political program. The Slovak autonomists of America and of Czechoslovakia, however, regarded the Pittsburgh agreement as a constitutional act. This wing of American citizens considered itself justified in its organized interference in the internal politics of Czechoslovakia. These divergent viewpoints on the current of European politics are still much in evidence. The efforts of Czechoslovakia's president, Dr. Eduard Beneš, to organize the American Czechs and Slovaks during World War II (as did his predecessor, Professor Masaryk, at the end of World War I) for the restoration of Czechoslovakia, was supported by the Czech National Alliance, the Slovak National Alliance (mostly Protestants), and the National Alliance of Czech Catholics. These organizations united in April,

1939, in the Czechoslovak National Council of America. The organization was ably administered by Joseph Martínek and Vojta Beneš, but was bitterly opposed by a small but vociferous dyed-in-the-wool group of "autonomists" fused in the Slovak League of Pittsburgh, and dominated by Catholics and by its president, Josef Hušek, who preferred, as they claimed, "Hitler to Beneš."⁶

Contributions to American Life

It is not enough to mention only the outstanding names of Czechoslovak Americans. It is important to remember that there are hundreds of thousands of immigrants whose names will never be mentioned in print but who, like the "unknown soldier," deserve to have monuments built to them. Is there a steel building in America built without the direct or indirect help of a Czechoslovak worker, whose sweat, brawn, skill, and manual labor—raw perhaps, but fresh, vital, strong—have helped to build America? How many acres of land in Texas, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Iowa, the Dakotas, Minnesota, and other states have the Czechs cleared and cultivated? How many of these "hewers of wood and drawers of water" have sacrificed their bones and lives in industrial accidents and thus helped to advance our civilization? By their contributions these immigrants have proved their right to a place in the sun by their tenacity and accomplishment. After all, why should not the Czech be sane and strong, with traditions of learning and civil and religious freedom through five centuries?

Indissolubly interconnected with their physical contributions are those made in cultural fields. In some cases, the individual immigrants have made their contributions by weaving various aspects of their Czech and Slovak culture into the culture pattern of America. In other cases, they have made their contributions as American citizens and descendants of Czech and Slovak parents. This fact is very important, as it demonstrates that their background was helpful to them in their effort to rise in the social scale of America. The roster of these distinguished individuals is the best proof of the falsity of the arguments of the so-called "Nordic" theorists who proclaim that only the northern peoples of Europe have been valuable and useful to America.

Of the many Czechoslovak Americans who won renown in the field of science, one of the most outstanding was the late Dr. Aleš

⁶ The Czechoslovak National Council was supported in 1944 also by the Carpatho-Russian Council of Cleveland under Jan Dumič.

Hrdlička of the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum, Washington, D. C. His work in the fields of anthropology and related sciences placed him in the front rank of the social and biological scientists. He was honored in 1937 by the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare for his significant contributions to American life.

The Czecho-Slovak strain in the United States racial symphony has contributed drama, music, humor, and education, as well as hard work. Antonín Dvořák's famous symphony, "From the New World," and his "American Quartet," show today's concert-goers and radio listeners what music yesterday's grateful Czech could extract from Spillville, Iowa. Mutt and Jeff packed chuckles into miles of comic strips from the brain of a Czech immigrant's artist son, Bud Fisher. Everyone who whistles a tune from "Rose Marie" and other scores of Rudolf Friml's light operas and compositions pays tribute to the Czech composer whose tuneful melodies are a part of our musical heritage. Frederick Dvornich, Slovak-American violinist and composer, is a member of the faculty of the New York College of Music. Jaro S. Churain's musical abilities make him one of Hollywood's pioneers in musical arrangements for motion picture musical "drops" of Warner Brothers productions. Madame Jarmila Novotná, one of the brightest stars of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, shone also on Broadway in 1944 as the star of "Helen Goes to Troy." Rudolph Myzet has appeared in numberless Hollywood productions since the early "twenties." Vera Hrubá Ralston was starred in such productions as "The Lake Placid Serenade" by the Republic Pictures Corporation in 1944. Frank Drdlik has been associated with Hollywood's best productions as art director from the very beginning.

A Czech architect, Joseph Zvak, raised the Gothic pinnacles of St. Patrick's Cathedral above New York's Fifth Avenue. Czech actors, actresses, and ballerinas have had their day on Broadway and in Hollywood. Thelma Votipka was one of the most frequently featured artists of the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York in 1944. Emil Kosa, Sr., and Emil Kosa, Jr., have been connected with the art department of Fox Motion Picture Company and are outstanding portrait artists in their own right. Fred Sersen's experimentation in "special effects" earned twice for him one of the most valuable prizes of Hollywood—the famed "Oscar." Miss Božena Slabey, as a singer of folk songs, a concert violinist, and a lecturer on Czechoslovakia's peasant art, toured and lectured in all parts of the United States.

One of the best-known Czech sculptors is Albín Polášek, head of the sculpture department of the Chicago Art Institute, whose creations

are scattered throughout the world and who produced four busts for New York University's Hall of Fame. Jan Matulka of New York won one of the Pulitzer prizes as an artist-painter and has illustrated collections of Czech fairy tales.

The list of prominent physicians, surgeons, and other professional men is so long that it can hardly be touched on here. Dr. Henry R. Maresh is one of the best physicians of Houston, Texas, as well as a well-known historian. Dr. Edward E. Novak, of New Prague, Minnesota, is also a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota. F. G. Novy discovered preventive compounds for cholera and typhoid fever.

The Czech-American public was surprised to learn from *Life* in 1938 that Admiral Claude G. Bloch of the United States Navy is of Czech parentage. Franz Werfel, considered one of the greatest German writers and the author of such books as *The Song of Bernadette*, though a German by adoption, was born in Czechoslovakia and prefers today to be known as a Czech.

Dr. Robert J. Kerner, professor of modern history in the University of California, has published numerous studies in the field of Slav history. At the same institution, Boyd A. Rakestraw, associate director of the Extension Division, has promoted all ramifications of public adult education throughout the state. Dean Charles Pergler of the National University, Washington, D. C., was a prominent figure in the movement for Czechoslovakia's independence during World War I. F. E. Hanzlik is dean of the Teachers College, University of Nebraska. In Illinois, Otto Kerner, former attorney general of the state of Illinois, in November, 1933, had the distinction of being the first American Czech appointed to the federal judgeship.

Adolph J. Sabath has been a member of Congress since 1907. Roy A. Vitousek was the speaker of the territorial house of representatives of the Hawaiian Islands. Charles Henry Chernosky was county judge of Fort Bend County (Texas) from 1916-1920 and has done remarkable work as president of the Slavonic Benevolent Order of the state of Texas.

Joseph Bulova, a Czech watchmaker, is known to every radio listener as president of the Bulova Watch Company. The largest independent manufacturer of cigars in the world is a Slovak, Morton Edwin, of New York. F. J. Vlcheck, starting from "nowhere," built up the Vlcheck Tool Company of Cleveland.

Several Czechs head the hierarchy of the Catholic Church—Monsignor Reverend Oldrich Zlamal of Cleveland; J. B. Dudek,

Chancellor of the Diocese of Oklahoma and Knight Commander of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre (also author of numerous articles on Slavic philology); the Right Reverend Louis B. Kucera, Bishop of Lincoln (Nebraska), and others.

Many names of towns in the farming states will testify forever that the Czech pioneers founded them: Moravia, Protivin, Pilsen, Tabor, Varina (Iowa); Hostyn, New Tabor, Pilsen, Palacky, Voda (Kansas); Kalin, Libuse (Louisiana); Beroun, Homolka, Komensky, Moravia, New Prague, Tabor (Minnesota); Jelen, Loucky, Prague, Slovakia, Butka (Nebraska); Malin (Oregon); Jolub, Kovar, Novohrad, Zizkov, Moravia, Pisek, Vysehrad (Texas); Krok, Marek, Melnik, Mount Tabor (Wisconsin); and others. The Slovaks founded Slovaktown (Arkansas) and Slavia and Masaryktown (Florida).

E. YUGOSLAV AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Claims are frequently advanced that among the crew on Columbus's caravels were some sailors from the Yugoslav Dalmatian coast. Although facts to prove the claims are wanting, not so are hopes that the rich library of Dubrovnik might some day yield the substantiating facts. One of the sailors returned, according to tradition, having acquired a large fortune in gold and treasure. He built the palace known from the name of its later owners as the palace of Bonda in Dubrovnik.¹

It can be conjectured from the single word *Croatan*, found on a tree at the site of Virginia's "lost colony," that a Croatian ship calling at this first permanent settlement in America left its name engraved on the tree, or even hurriedly salvaged the entire settlement from the destruction that was taking place. The ship apparently met destruction later, as no trace was ever found of the colonists in question. Whatever the facts, an island in the group off the coast of North Carolina is called Croatan in deference to this historical name. This conjecture constitutes the first recorded history linking America with Yugoslavs or their Croatian branch.

Immigration

The first known mass movement of the Yugoslavs to America dates back to the early eighteenth century. After the unsuccessful and

¹ J. Bjankini, "Yugoslavs in the United States," in A. W. Vanek and J. E. S. Vojan, Eds., *First All-Slavic Singing Festival Given by United Slavic Choral Societies*, pp. 95-99. - Chicago: National Printing and Publishing Company, 1934.

bloody uprisings of the peasants in Croatia and Slovenia against their feudal lords in 1573, and the Reformation movement, ruthlessly crushed by the edict of the Archduke Ferdinand in 1598, many Yugoslavs found refuge in Prussia, having gone there on the invitation of King Frederick William, who favored the Protestants. A century later their descendants decided to find a haven in the new world. During the first half of the eighteenth century they set their sails toward America. One group, composed of 1,200 persons, went to Georgia. There they settled on the right bank of the Savannah River at the confluence of a small creek, which they named Ebenezer. Pastors Gronau and Bolcius led the group. These early immigrants introduced the cultivation of the silkworm in Georgia, an industry engaged in by many in their original native land before they moved to Prussia. Soon after the Civil War the settlement was abandoned, and only the cemetery remains as a monument to this once thriving colony of the first Yugoslav settlers in America.

Dalmatian sailors were world renowned for their seamanship, courage, and love of adventure. Long before the discovery of America, their ships navigated all the known sea routes. It is recorded that a Dalmatian ship sailed to America by way of India at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and we know that Dalmatians were old-timers in California when the first Yankees got there. A vessel from Dubrovnik entered New York harbor around 1790 shortly before the subjugation of the Old Republic.

A port of call for most of the Yugoslavs sailing to the new world was New Orleans. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, this was their chief settlement in America. There they engaged in the oyster industry, controlling it for many a decade. Thence they wandered throughout the length and breadth of the country. When gold was discovered in California, they joined the famous gold rush. Most of the Yugoslav forty-niners set out from New Orleans. They advised their relatives and friends in the old country of the fortunes made in the "shiny metal," with the result that several ships sailed from their native shores carrying new prospectors to the Golden Gates. California has always had a special attraction for Dalmatian immigrants; climatically and topographically it reminds them strongly of their own lovely Adriatic coastland.

Pioneers in California. Yugoslav immigrants are recognized today as the pioneers in apple, grape, and fishing industries in California and along the whole Pacific coast. It is recorded that one "Mark Rabasa, apple dealer," a native of Dalmatia in Yugoslavia, was the first man engaged in the apple business in Watsonville, Pajaro Valley,

in the 1870's. This date marks the beginning of this universally known industry. Jack London, in his novel *The Valley of the Moon*, describes at length and with great admiration the result of the "tenderness and love" that transformed the 12,000 acres of the Pajaro Valley into "one of the most wonderful demonstrations of the United States." He calls the valley "New Dalmatia" and credits "those first rugged Adriatic Slavs" for making it "Apple Paradise."

Missionaries. Meanwhile, other Yugoslav immigrants appeared in other parts of the United States. A Croatian Jesuit, Baron Ivan Taraj, died in New Mexico in 1640, while a missionary among the Indians there. Many others followed, most noted among them being Ferdinand Konscak, who came to Mexico in 1730, and is better known under the Spanish adaptation of his name as Gonzales. Many years of his pioneering work brought him to California, the result being the first known geographical map of lower California. Joseph Kundek, another prominent Croatian missionary, arrived in 1838; he was active in the Middle West and founded there several cities, among which are Ferdinand and Jasper in the state of Indiana. About this time Slovene missionaries were concentrating their work chiefly in the Northwest. In 1830, first among them arrived Frederick Baraga, who devoted his whole life to missionary work among the Indians in northern Michigan and Wisconsin as well as in eastern Minnesota. In 1853 he was consecrated a bishop of the newly founded Marquette Diocese. The state of Minnesota, in honoring him, named one of its counties after him.

The Slovene followers of Baraga were many and of no minor moral and cultural caliber, as not less than four of them achieved the high honor of becoming bishops (Ignatius Mrak, Ivan Vertin, Jacob Trobec, and Ivan Stariha).

Mass immigration. As already noted, the first mass immigration of Yugoslavs was impelled by religious motives. Another stream of immigrants started to flow to the shores of America after 1890. Serbia proper contributed very few, which was true also of Macedonia and Montenegro. The bulk came from the provinces formerly belonging to Austria-Hungary.

Occupations. These Yugoslavs found employment in heavy industries in the East and Middle West, although a majority of them had been agriculturists in their homeland. Gradually some of them changed to various trades; but the majority are still working in mines, steel industries, iron works, and quarries. They are masons, long-shoremen, and lumbermen. Only some Slovenes, located in the

Northwest, chose farming as their occupation. The "old" immigrants, on the other hand, still raise apples and grapes and are interested in fishing. Large fleets of fishing boats in San Pedro, in Monterey, and on the Columbia River alone represent an investment of several millions of dollars and are the property of these immigrants. The largest sardine, tuna, and mackerel cannery in California belongs to the Yugoslavs. Most famous restaurants in San Francisco, until recently, were owned and operated by them.

Numbers. According to Yugoslav authorities, there were in 1944 not less than 700,000 Yugoslavs in the United States who were either born in Yugoslavia or were of the second generation. The figure reaches 1,000,000 if we add the third generation, the original immigrants accounting for somewhat less than one third of this total.

Of this total, again, the Croats number about 500,000, or somewhat more; the Slovenes about 300,000 or somewhat less; and the Serbs the remaining 200,000. They settled in almost every state in the Union, but chiefly in Illinois, Minnesota, California, Nebraska, Iowa, and Colorado.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Religious divisions. Because of religious differences—the Croats and Slovenes being Roman Catholics, the Serbs, Eastern Orthodox—and of slight differences in the spoken language—the Serbo-Croatian being slightly different from the Slovene—as well as to an intense tribal consciousness, each of the subdivisions of Yugoslavs leads its own independent social and cultural existence. The Roman Catholics, under the jurisdiction of their respective bishops, were separated early into Croatian and Slovene groups. The remaining parishes are not many. The Serbian Orthodox Church was under the jurisdiction of the Russian bishops in America until after World War I, when it was organized as a separate diocese with a bishop of its own for the United States and Canada, who was nominated by the Patriarch of the same church in Belgrade. The see of the Serbian Orthodox Bishop is Libertyville, Illinois.

The first Yugoslav church was founded in Brockway, Minnesota, in 1871, by Slovene farmers. At present there are about seventy Roman Catholic and about thirty Serbian Orthodox parishes and churches, maintained by Yugoslavs, in America. The Slovene group, with about forty-five churches, has invested in them and the attached homes for sisters, priests, and schools an estimated amount of \$3,500,000. There are also two Roman Catholic churches of the Greek Rite,

the rites being as in the Orthodox Church, the language used being the Old Slavonic instead of the Latin, and, under certain circumstances, the priests being allowed to marry. The faith and the tenets are exactly Roman Catholic and the supreme head is the Pope in Rome. All these churches are centers of the life of the respective group in the settlement.

This fact can be exemplified by the New York settlement.² Here Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes "have sharply defined cultures." Croats and Slovenes are generally Roman Catholic. The Serbs, few in number and without a church of their own as have both Croats and Slovenes, attend the Russian Orthodox Church, where services are conducted in the ancient Slavonic church language. The Slovenes also have an auditorium. A Croatian school is affiliated with the church on West Fiftieth Street, and others are supported by New York Yugoslav societies, which number more than a hundred and sponsor cultural, political, and mutual aid programs. The holiday most widely observed by Yugoslavs is celebrated on December 1, anniversary of the formation in 1918 of the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The feast of Saints Cyrillus and Methodius, who converted the Slavs to Christianity in the ninth century and translated the Scriptures into Slavic, is observed on June 7 by Yugoslavs of both Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox faith. Four Yugoslav newspapers are published in New York: *Svijet*, Croatian daily; *Glas Naroda*, Slovenian daily; *Srbski Dnevnik*, Serbian daily; *Hrvatski List*, Croatian newspaper issued three times a week.

Educational activities of various nonsectarian types are many. There are some thirty-eight full-time parochial schools in the United States, half of them belonging to the Croatian and half to the Slovene group. Instruction is entirely in English, but the national language is an obligatory subject. Some 13,000 pupils are enrolled (8,000 Slovenes and 5,000 Croats). Only a few nonreligious schools or courses for the teaching of Yugoslav exist; the best is in the Slovene National Home of Cleveland.

Social life. Although New Orleans is the oldest existing Yugoslav settlement in the United States, the first organization, however, was formed in San Francisco, in 1857, as the Slavonian Mutual and Benevolent Society. Only in 1874 the New Orleans Yugoslavs organized the United Slavonian Benevolent Association of New Orleans. The first organization on the Atlantic coast was founded in New York

² Federal Writers' Project, *New York Panorama*, pp. 112-113. New York: Random House, 1938.

in 1880 and is now known as the First Croatian Benefit Society. Two years later the Slovenes organized their first association, the Independent Society of St. Joseph, in Calumet, Michigan. Thus the first four organizations were established in the four extreme points of the United States. Today about 250,000 Yugoslavs are members in fifteen various national fraternal and insurance organizations; about 80,000 of these are in the junior branches, composed chiefly of American-born Yugoslavs. Several hundred independent benefit organizations exist locally in the United States, which, with the 2,700 branches of the national organizations, bring the total up to nearly 3,000.

The Sokol and the literary publishing activities are backed by nearly all of the fraternal and political organizations. The largest in number are the singing societies, of which there are sixty-five, with two federations, a Serbian and a Slovene. About fifty dramatic societies and as many "Tamburica" orchestras are active. Physical culture is mainly under the aegis of Sokol and Orlovi (Eagles) societies. Nearly 200 National Homes are centers of activities in various centers.

Political divisions. During World War I, the Yugoslavs rallied almost without exception under the banners of their leaders in a remarkable fight for the freedom and union of Yugoslavia. Thousands departed to join the Serbian Army, the Yugoslav volunteers, or the American Army. But immediately after the war the masses reverted to petty politics, a tendency that reached its climax even before World War II. The Serbs, represented by the Serbian National Federation of Pittsburgh, and the Slovenes were unwavering in their support of free Yugoslavia. Split Croatian personality produced such odd phenomena as the newspaper *Zajednicar*, official organ of the powerful Croatian Fraternal Union; part was written in English, and it promoted Yugoslav freedom and unity; the other part, edited in Croat, felt surprisingly at ease apologizing for Axis Croatia. A number of Croatian organizations, as the *Hrvatski Domobran* (Croat Home Defense), with headquarters in Pittsburgh, strongly favored Dr. Pavelich's fascist government. Yet a substantial number of United States Croats were anxious to coöperate with Yugoslavia's government-in-exile—a desire that was not fully reciprocated by the Serbs. Outraged by Pavelich, who aimed at extirpation of Serbs in Croatia, many Serbs insisted on collective Serb responsibility and suggested excluding the Croats from Yugoslavia's resurrection. These lines of division were further intensified by the activities of Louis Adamic, typified by his thesis in *My Native Land*

(1943) that the government-in-exile was represented by the reactionary elements, unworthy of the cause of Yugoslavia represented by Marshal Tito.

The press. The first Yugoslav publication in America, the *Slavenska Sloga*, appeared in San Francisco in 1884 and was followed by the *Napredak* of Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1891, and by the *Amerikanski Slovenec* of Chicago in the same year. The latter is still in existence, having combined with the local *Edinost*. Over 200 publications appeared among the Yugoslavs, lasting from a single issue to forty-three years of existence. In 1944 there were some forty-five Yugoslav periodicals in the United States with circulations varying from 1,000 to 60,000 copies. The Slovenes have to their credit fifteen, the Serbs seven, and Croats the remainder. Of these, eight are dailies and most of the rest are weeklies. English pages and sections are devoted to American-born readers, and three are published in English only. Most of the newspapers are either organs of political organizations or movements, or organs of fraternal organizations, and some of the fraternal organizations are also primarily grouped on a political, religious, or socio-political basis. Various "Almanacs" are a regular yearly feature of most of the newspapers. The press is mostly occupied with European politics.

Contributions to American Life

The immigrant Yugoslavs have contributed in no small measure to American progress, particularly in the fields of science, invention, education, and literature. The late Dr. Mihailo Pupin of Columbia University is well known for his inventions in long-distance telephony and wireless telegraphy.³ Nikola Tesla is the inventor of polyphase induction motors and alternating power transmission system, developed by the Westinghouse Electric Company. Science accords to him seventy-five original discoveries, and all electrical machinery using or generating alternating current was made possible by him.⁴ Dr. Eduard Miloslavich, one of the foremost pathologists in the United States, was formerly professor in Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The late Dr. Henry Suzallo, who died in 1933, was one of the foremost educators in the United States, president

³ See his autobiography, *From Immigrant to Inventor*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. See also A. E. S. Beard, "A Serbian-American Scientist—Michael Pupin," in *Our Foreign Born Citizens*, pp. 283-289. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1939.

⁴ See J. J. O'Neill, *Prodigal Genius: The Life of Nikola Tesla*. New York: Ives Washburn, 1944; Beard, "An Electrical Wizard—Nikola Tesla," *op. cit.*, pp. 284-288.

of the University of Washington from 1915 to 1926, and then president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.⁵ Dr. Vecki Victor of San Francisco is considered one of the outstanding specialists on venereal diseases in the world of medical science. Frank Jaeger, professor of agriculture in the University of St. Paul, Minnesota, has revolutionized the field of the honey industry with his contributions.

Louis Adamic, born in Yugoslavia in 1899, ran away from home at the age of fourteen to come to America. Making a living as a sailor, ditch digger, and factory hand, he spent his spare time in study. After three years he had learned enough English to take a position with a newspaper. During World War I he enlisted and saw service with the American Army in France. Thereafter he turned to writing, and has since become one of the most discussed literary artists in America. In 1932 his *Laughing in the Jungle* won him a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation that resulted in *The Native's Return*, a moving story of the peasant life and of the author's impressions of his country. *My Native Land*, published at the end of 1943, created a series of international discussions with its stand on the controversy between the forces moving Marshal Tito and General Mikhailovich in occupied Yugoslavia. Another literary luminary of Yugoslav origin is Stoyan Pribichevich, who was forced to leave Yugoslavia in 1932 because of his activities against the dictatorial government of King Alexander. He has written numerous articles as a member of the editorial staff of *Fortune*. His *World Without End* remains one of the most readable introductions to the background of Balkan and central-eastern Europe.

Dr. Paul R. Radosavljevich, professor of experimental pedagogy in New York University, is best known for his classic *Who Are the Slavs?* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1919), and his introduction to Lay's *Experimental Education* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1936). These names, however, do not exhaust the contributions of the Yugoslavs to American culture. Prominent in the field of education are: Professor Francis Preveden of the universities of Chicago, De Paul, and now Minnesota, on philology; Professor Emil Weise, formerly of the Zagreb University, now of Loyola University, on pathology and bacteriophage; Professor John Zvetina, Jr., of the De Paul and Loyola universities, on history of law; Dr. Hugon

⁵ According to the report of *The New York Times*, September 26, 1933, "his father was a former sea captain of Czechoslovak birth,"—a mistaken assumption.

Bren, professor of theology, formerly of Ljubljana and now with the Slovene Theological Seminary of Lemont, Ill.; Professor Zivkovic of Chicago University; Professor Krunic of the University of California; Professor Tomic, Dr. I. Altarac, and many others.

In the field of literature, Ivan Zorman, M. Sojat, Reverend Alexander Urunkar, and Vinko Ujcic (pseudonym Georges) are leading in poetry, and Dr. A. Biankini and Ivan Mladineo have contributed to the knowledge of the American Yugoslavs and their history. Francis A. Bogadsk, Dr. F. J. Kern, and the late George Schubert were compilers of dictionaries.

In art, Harvey Gregory (Perusek, a Slovene), Macanovic with his yearly exhibits on the Pacific coast and in Chicago, Tanasko Milovic, Mr. and Mrs. Gosar, and Vuk Vucinic, among the artist-painters of Chicago, are well known. The world-famous Ivan Mestrovic has contributed the two monumental Indian statues at the entrance of Grant Park in Chicago.

As composer, Maestro Alexander Savine Djimic has obtained world notice; as conductor, Arthur Rodzinski of the Cleveland Symphony is prominent. The pioneer organization in presentation of chamber music in America, the famous Kneisel Quartet, had as its original member the late Louis Svecenski, also a Yugoslav. In singing, the famous Milka Ternina of the Metropolitan Opera, at the beginning of the century, created an unexcelled tradition in the rendition of Wagnerian roles in America. Zinka Milanov, "Yugoslavia's gift to the Metropolitan Opera Company" in 1943, entered the ranks of opera under the sponsorship of Arturo Toscanini; she is the wife of Predrag Milanov, noted Yugoslav actor and director. In the modern art of cinema, among several members of the actors' guild we find Laura La Plante (Laura Turk) and John Miljan, and Vorkapic, one of the outstanding authorities on the technique of cinematography.

The father of the oil industry in Texas was Captain Anthony F. Lucas, a native Yugoslav, who was the first to strike oil in that state. World War II brought to America's shores numerous other outstanding individuals, particularly Dr. Bojiaar Stoyanovich, international lawyer and diplomat, and Dr. Svetislav Sveta Petrovich, whose series of short-wave broadcasts out of Boston took the country by the ears just before Yugoslavia squirmed out of the Nazi net for a brief period of time. A veteran journalist with a captain's commission in the Yugoslav Army, Dr. Petrovich has harangued his country from across their borders ever since 1939. Dr. Nicholas Mirkovich, an economist and sociologist, was on the faculty of the University of California,

and another Yugoslav sociologist, Dr. Dinko Tomašić, was a member of the staff of several American colleges and universities; both have published sociological studies in leading American periodicals.

Dr. John Slavic was mayor of Cleveland in 1942. The first Gold Star mother of World War II was Mrs. Jennie Dobnikar of Cleveland (1941), a Slovenian American, whose son died in action aboard the destroyer *Kearny*.⁶

F. BULGARIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

The Bulgarians, who are of Asiatic origin and came from the region of the Azov Sea, succeeded in establishing themselves in Moesia (present northern Bulgaria) in the second half of the seventh century. They found many Slav tribes there and combined them in one powerful political unit. In the course of time, however, they were themselves assimilated by the Slavs; but although they adopted the Slav language and customs, the country and the people took the name of the Bulgarians. Thus, the Bulgars consist ethnically of mixed European and Asiatic elements. Many of them have settled in Macedonia, now divided among Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece.

The nationality of the Macedonian population is the subject of endless disputes and has a definite relationship to the problems agitating American Bulgarians. The name "Macedonia," when we are not speaking of the time of Alexander the Great, came into use about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Balkan nations were engaged in their struggle for liberation from Turkish rule, and more particularly since 1903. European Turkey was officially divided into "vilayets," and the territory now currently understood under the term of Macedonia comprised the vilayets of Kossovo, Monastir (Bitolia), and Salonica. Not only the territory but also the nationality of the Macedonian population is disputed. The nationality of the Slav of Macedonia can be determined on the basis of language, domestic customs, religion, or existing national sentiment.¹ The matter is complicated by the fact that the racial traits and the dialect of the Macedonian Slav resemble those of the Bulgars as well as of

⁶ See *Life*, XI, No. 19 (November 10, 1941), p. 38.

¹ J. S. Roucek, *The Politics of the Balkans*, Chapter VIII, "Macedonians," pp. 138-151. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939; Christ Anastasoff, *The Tragic Peninsula*, pp. 259-266. St. Louis, Mo.: Blackwell Wielandy Company, 1938.

the Yugoslavs. The present chapter assumes that the Macedonians are Bulgars.

Immigration

The beginning of the Bulgarian immigration to the United States dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century. With the foundation of a college in Philippopolis by the American (Congregational) Board of Foreign Missions in 1860, and the establishment of Roberts College in Constantinople in 1863,² a number of educated Bulgars were induced, around 1875, to come to America to study, usually as Protestant students. Many of these returned, however, to their native country in 1878-1879, after the liberation of Bulgaria.

In considering the Bulgarian immigration situation, we must, however, bear in mind that the Bulgarian immigrants have originated mainly from two separate Bulgarian regions. About 10 per cent of these American Bulgarians came from the principality, later the kingdom, of Bulgaria, and 90 per cent from the unredeemed province of Macedonia.³ The immediate cause was the Macedonian revolution of 1903 and the extensive massacres that accompanied its suppression in that year. In fact, up to 1910, most of the Bulgarian immigrants came from Macedonia. But before 1913 the Macedonian Bulgars arrived in the United States as Turks, and after the division of Macedonia in 1913, as Greek, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian citizens.

The bulk of the Macedono-Bulgarian immigrants came from one small district, the revolted Vilayet of Monastir of southwestern Macedonia, where the fiercest fighting took place in 1903. Every one of the stone villages there was wholly or partly demolished by Turkish cannons. With the crushing of the rebellion, thousands of refugees fled to Bulgaria and Serbia, and only a very few, if any, dared to pass through Greece on their way to the United States, since the Greeks had actively assisted the Turks to crush the insurrection. The exodus was encouraged not only by the letters of the first refugees, but also by the revolutionary Macedonian leaders (otherwise opposed to any emigration), who liked to have somebody speak for them in America, and who expected help from those proposing

² R. H. Markham, *Meet Bulgaria*, Chapter XIX, "American Uplifters," pp. 357-373. Published by the author, Sofia, 1931; C. Stephanove, *The Bulgarians and Anglo-Saxondom*. Berne: Hapt, 1919.

³ There is little systematic literature on Bulgarian-American immigrants, with the exception of the *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Congress, 2nd session, Senate Doc. #633, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911, Vol. I, "The Bulgarians at Home," pp. 47-48, and *passim*.

to go there. Almost all the villages were depopulated; the women were left under the care and protection of the elderly men who remained.

The news from America spread soon to Bulgaria proper and then to Eastern Rumelia, and other emigrants followed. The district about Tirnovo had long been overpopulated, and emigration began across the Danube into Rumania, where the Bulgarians first came into contact with Macedonian refugees and were incited by them to leave for America. In addition to the economic reasons, the continued persecution by the Greek Church and the closing of Greece as a market for Macedonian labor also had their effect.⁴

The continued Macedonian troubles and the unsatisfactory local conditions were bringing in new immigrants. The Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 produced another wave. On the other hand, when the war broke out in 1912 in the Balkans, thousands of Macedonian volunteers gathered in New York on their way to Macedonia, where they joined the Macedonian Legion of the Bulgarian Army, hoping to liberate their country. But as the Bucharest Treaty did not make Macedonia free, a number of them, who found themselves now under the new Greek and Serbian domination, again crossed the ocean. To them must be added some hundreds who had entered and were to enter this country illegally, not only from these regions, but also from Bessarabia, Dobrudja, Banat, and Thrace.

Not so many returned home, however, when World War I broke out. Only several hundred sailed to join Bulgaria's colors. Those who remained, and especially those who had not become citizens, did not fare well in America. Their continued opposition to Serbian and Greek rule in Macedonia was looked upon with distrust, and the Greek and Serbian colonies also conducted their campaigns against them. In 1918, a large Macedonian conference was held in Chicago, and resolutions were passed in favor of the liberty of Macedonia.

In 1918 there were only a few Bulgarian colonies in America, and most of these were in central and eastern states and in Ontario

⁴ This complicated question is intimately connected with the whole nationalistic problem of the Balkans under Turkey. At first the Bulgarians maintained autonomy of their national church under the Turks; in the eighteenth century, however, they were made subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople—a Greek. The Turkish government granted autonomy again to the Bulgarian Church in 1870, and immediately thereafter sought to create dissensions in the activities of the Greek and Bulgarian churches in Macedonia, hoping thereby to weaken them. The Exarch of Bulgaria claimed spiritual authority over all Bulgaria, including Macedonia. The Greek clergy and consuls stimulated hostility among the followers of the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Greek Patriarchate.

(Canada). For the most part the people were unskilled laborers, some 10,000 of them finding employment in building the railroad lines to the west. But neither the Bulgarian nor the Macedonian came here to stay. The Macedonians thought of the day when their country would be free again; the Bulgarians centered their hopes on returning to their huts and their families with some ready cash.

Total immigration to June 30, 1943, according to the report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, was 66,006, of whom 61,813 arrived between 1901 and 1920. As implied above, these figures mean little, since emigration has been large, and since 1931 has exceeded immigration. More important are the figures for mother tongue. In 1910 we had here 18,341 people who gave Bulgarian as their mother tongue, 12,835 in 1920, and 66,009 in 1940. These figures, from every point of view, are inaccurate and too low. This can be explained by the fact that hundreds landed here illegally; others were registered according to their passports, which might have been issued by Serbia, Greece, Turkey, or Roumania, or according to their religion, which perhaps indicated that they belonged to the Greek group. All in all, the Bulgarian authorities compute that the real number of the Bulgarian Americans, including the Macedonians, immediately after World War I was about double the American official figures.

The most reliable report is that 60,000 Bulgarians in both America and Canada was a maximum figure at any time, and that the United States today has more than 35,000 Bulgarians, including those born in Macedonia, Dobrudja, and Thrace. In every case, these figures include also the second generation, whether born in America or abroad.

Distribution. The Bulgarian Americans today are chiefly found in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, New York, and Illinois. They tend to settle in the cities of over 100,000 (Detroit, Rochester, Gary, Toledo, Akron, Cleveland, Columbus, and Chicago).

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. In general, according to their occupations, Bulgarians are divided into four groups. Only about 500 of them are farmers, especially around Sofia, New Mexico (where about a dozen families are left), and in Utah, Texas, Michigan, Montana, and Tulsa, Oklahoma. It must be noted that approximately 80 per cent of the foreign-born Bulgars, mostly laborers and unskilled workers, lived in urban areas in 1940. A third group of the Macedonians are

small businessmen, owners of small and general stores. Although nearly all Bulgars are manual workers, in proportion to their total numbers they have an unusually large number in the fourth group, namely physicians, journalists, engineers, and bank clerks.

Literacy. It is surprising to learn that in the question of literacy the Bulgarians stand rather high, considering especially the background of the Macedonians, who had not had much chance for education under the Turkish rule. Out of 9,325 Bulgars ten years of age or over, 1,006 (10.8 per cent) were illiterate in 1930. In this respect, a higher rate of illiteracy is shown by the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, Russians, Lithuanians, Greeks, Albanians, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Armenians, Syrians, Turks, Mexicans, and the immigrants from the Azores. This paradoxical phenomenon is explained by the facility with which the Bulgar, like the Russian, can learn the alphabet of the English language, the efforts of the Bulgar churches and preachers, and by the agitation of radical organizations which used to give out printed literature in their meetings.

Religion and education. More than 80 per cent of the people of the kingdom of Bulgaria belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church, headed by the Bulgarian Exarch. The Bulgarian people had to fight for their national church not only under the Turks but also against the opposition of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople; hence it is no wonder that the Bulgar is a strong follower of his faith, which he identifies with his nationalism. However, the influence of the American environment has lessened the religious fervor of the Bulgarian immigrant. The Macedonian Bulgars are far more faithful to the Eastern Orthodox Church than are the Bulgarian Americans from the kingdom of Bulgaria, and it is believed that at least three fourths of the Bulgarian Americans are still "good believers." Of interest is the observation of a former Bulgarian religious leader that some 75 per cent of Bulgarian-American mothers are strong supporters of their Bulgarian church and that the "bachelors are reckless." The first Eastern Orthodox Bulgarian Church, the Church of St. Cyrillus and Methodius, was organized in 1909 in Granite City, Illinois. Since then, churches have been built in Granite City, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Indianapolis, Indiana; Steelton, Pennsylvania; Madison, Illinois; and Lorain, Ohio. In addition, congregations have been organized at Akron, Youngstown, and Canton, Ohio; Duquesne, Pennsylvania; Syracuse, New York; Fort Wayne, Indiana; and other places.

With the exception of the Madison, Illinois, church, all these churches are owned, controlled, and managed by Macedonians and are closely affiliated with the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada. From 1922 until 1938, the churches were administered by the Most Reverend Dr. K. Tsenoff, head of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Mission in the United States and Canada, who died November 21, 1938. In that year, the Bulgarian Holy Synod created a bishopric for North and South America. Bishop Andrey Velitchky was sent to administer the newly created diocese. However, in appointing the bishop, the Holy Synod (and the present Bulgarian government) did not reckon with the wishes and disposition of the American-Bulgarian church congregations, and the latter refused to recognize him as their spiritual leader. Of the seven Bulgarian churches in America, only two acknowledged Bishop Velitchky as head. Some of the reasons for rejecting the bishop are that the canon laws of the Bulgarian Holy Synod specifically prescribe the methods of electing a bishop to a vacant or new diocese. Andrey Velitchky was not submitted as a candidate for election, and was, therefore, "imposed" on the American Bulgarian church congregations by the Holy Synod "under pressure by the present Bulgarian regime." Furthermore, the bishop is suspected by the Macedonian Bulgars "of being an agent of the present dictatorial government, wishing to transplant among the Bulgarian immigrants the aims of the Bulgarian regime," and by a special resolution of the seventeenth annual convention of the Macedonian Political Organization held in Buffalo in 1938, Velitchky was rejected as head of the Macedonian-Bulgarian churches of America.

A minority of the Bulgars are indifferent to religion, and the "radicals" are opposed to it. From 5 to 10 per cent of these Bulgarian Americans belong to the evangelical churches, supported by the American organizations. These Protestant groups are interconnected with the missionary work carried on by the American missionaries in the Balkans. The first attempts to extend this work among the Bulgarian Americans were made by P. D. Vassileff, who started an evangelical mission among them in Chicago under Methodist auspices (the Tract Society) in the Methodist Church, Monroe Street, Chicago, around 1905. He organized some fourteen or fifteen Bulgarian families and eventually had his group hire a house in which they rented out rooms and lodgings, held school, and loaned books. The same mission still carries on, although Mr. Vassileff now owns a steamship agency in New York City. In 1944, five Congregational,

Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist missions existed in the United States: Granite City and Madison, Illinois; Chicago and St. Louis, Missouri; and Battle Creek, Michigan; and three in Canada.

The tendency of American-born youth to give up the cultural background of their parents is quite strong. The Bulgarian Americans try to preserve their culture pattern by supporting evening schools in Steelton, Pennsylvania; Granite City and Madison, Illinois; Indianapolis, Indiana; Detroit and Battle Creek, Michigan; Toledo, Cleveland, and Lorain, Ohio; Homestead and Johnstown, Pennsylvania; and Lackawanna, New York. There is only one Bulgarian church school—in Steelton, Pennsylvania.

The press. The mortality of the Bulgarian-American newspapers is as high as among other immigrant groups. Up to 1927 twenty-eight newspapers had been started, but only four kept up their precarious existence. The Bulgars themselves explain this fact by the economic crisis since 1930, the slackening of interest in reading in Bulgarian, especially by the younger generation, the Bulgarian factionalism, and the growing apathy for the Bulgarian cause.

The first Bulgarian newspaper was the socialist biweekly *Borba* (*Fighting, Struggle*), founded in Chicago in 1902, which expired a year later. It is interesting to note that the editors of the present four newspapers are all Macedonians. The *Narodna Volya* (*People's Will*) is a communistic sheet appearing irregularly in Detroit. The *Robotnicheska Prosveta* (*Labor Education*), a weekly since 1911 in Madison, Illinois, is expounding the principles of the Socialist-Labor group. The *Naroden Glas* (*National Herald*), published twice weekly in Granite City, Illinois, has really no editorial policy, but aims to unite all factions and discontented elements and is a forum for personal letters of accusation, denunciation, and various expressions. The *Macedonian Tribune*, a weekly published at Indianapolis, Indiana, is the official organ of the Macedonian Political Organization, and as such surpasses by far the total number of the other three Bulgarian papers in circulation and subscriptions.

Organizations. Only a few Bulgarian mutual benefit societies exist, in such towns as Pittsburgh, Detroit, New York City, and Chicago; but for social purposes, these immigrants have twenty-nine societies. The groups from particular villages and districts form their own organizations, named after their birthplaces in Bulgaria or Macedonia; thus we hear of the Dumbeni Society or Kostur Society of Madison, Illinois. In Homestead, Pennsylvania, where there is a beautiful National Bulgarian Home, we find the Father Paisi Society

(named after the first herald of Bulgaria's awakening), in addition to others. There is no national organization that unites all local organizations, although several attempts have been made in that direction. These organizations gather from time to time for their national celebrations and social evenings (*vecerinkas*), where they revive their national dances, sing their native songs, eat their native dishes (such as *paprikash*, *geuvetch*, or *piperki*—potroast with vegetables) and renew their boyhood acquaintances.

The Macedonian issue. Probably more than 70 per cent of the Bulgarian Americans from the kingdom of Bulgaria do not get excited about any cause, except their localistic interests in the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist missions in the United States and Canada. The rest, and especially the quasi-intelligentsia, are divided between the "radicals," opposed to organized religion and to the monarchical form of Bulgaria's government and the various factions of the proponents of the Macedonian cause. But the situation is somewhat different in regard to the Macedonian Bulgars, over 80 per cent of whom—as estimated by Mr. Anastasoff—are interested in the Macedonian cause. Since 1935 there has been hardly a convention of the Macedonian Political Organization (M.P.O.) without the attendance of from five to six thousand participants. The M.P.O., however, must be distinguished from the Macedonian Peoples' League, an outright communistic organization, interested in the Macedonian problem only as a means to an end—that is, to spread communist tenets among Macedonian Americans.

The Macedonian Political Organization was originated in 1922 at Fort Wayne, Indiana, by a few of the existing Macedonian societies. Other cities where the Macedonians have substantial colonies organized their locals and were admitted to the Union; it is registered under the laws of the state of Indiana with a charter of July 6, 1925. In 1927, in Akron, Ohio, the Women's Auxiliary was established and still later the Young Macedonians' auxiliaries appeared. During the first three years, the headquarters of the M.P.O., which affiliates thirty-four local organizations in the United States and Canada, was at Fort Wayne; since then it has been at Indianapolis. At the head of this organization is a National Committee elected every year at the annual convention, and a Research and Information Bureau maintained at 4060 West Pine Boulevard at St. Louis, Missouri. The aims of the M.P.O. were at first "to work in a legal manner for the independence of Macedonia, where all of the nationalities will have equal rights and duties." After 1931, especially after 1933, more and more

influence of the extremely nationalistic faction of Mihailoff was apparent—Mihailoff, the leader of the deadly secret organization, the IMRO (The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), which carried on its revolutionary activities in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece, as well as in other parts of Europe, before the Bulgarian dictatorship, inaugurated on May 19, 1934, decided to take steps against him. Mihailoff, convicted of several murders, escaped to Turkey; he represents the wing of the Macedonians who believe that they will achieve their aim by “means of arms, bombs, and so on, because there is no peaceful means left in Macedonia under Servian and Greek rule otherwise to accomplish its purpose.”⁵ At any rate, the American Macedonians are sympathetic with the IMRO and consider Mihailoff as the champion for Macedonian freedom and independence. While in 1933 the M.P.O. still claimed that “there is much confusion in the minds of even well-informed Americans concerning (our) Macedonian organizations” because “they are often falsely identified with the illegal I.M.R.O.,” in 1934 the M.P.O. extolled the IMRO as the “most powerful guardian of the Macedonian ideal and undefeatable defendant of our oppressed country. Because of the fact that the Macedonian people are deprived of all their human and national rights, the IMRO is forced to use revolutionary (armed) means—the only right which the governments of Belgrade and Athens cannot usurp, namely, the readiness of the Macedonians to sacrifice their lives for the salvation of their Fatherland. . . . The final goal of the struggle of all Macedonians is the creation of a Free and Independent State of Macedonia—which is now divided among Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria.”

Bulgarians and World War II. The course taken by World War II stunned the Bulgarian Americans, and particularly the Macedonians. The latter, always hoping for the liberation of their country, saw its occupation by the Bulgarian Army, headed by the king fighting on the side of the Nazis. But the hopes of the leaders were raised again by 1944 when the victory of the United Nations was in sight, and thus also in sight the possibility that the principle of the “Four Freedoms” might allow the formation of an independent Macedonia. The chance, however, was only a slim one, for the granting of the independence of Macedonia would automatically mean the denial of the demands of the two allied nations—Greece and Yugoslavia.

⁵ Anastasoff, *op. cit.*, p. 278. Let us recall that a Macedonian, Vlade Georgieff Tchernozemsky, who murdered King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles, was a member of the IMRO; see Roucek, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Contributions to American Life

Although the Bulgarians are really the "late" arrivals in this country, they can boast of a surprisingly large number of professional individuals, of whom only a few can be mentioned here. Dr. Radoslav A. Tsanoff, a graduate from Roberts College, has been professor of philosophy in Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, since 1914, and is considered the most prominent Bulgarian-American intellectual. In the same state lives Vangel K. Sugareff, professor of history in the A. and M. College of Texas. George Dimitroff is in charge of the Harvard Observatory. Professor Ivan Dosseff is a member of the faculty of engineering of the University of Minnesota, while Professor Popoff teaches chemistry in the University of Iowa. Stoyan Christowe's short stories and articles have appeared in leading American periodicals; he has also published several books of his reminiscences and of the Macedonian movement. Alexander Georgiev invented the condenser used in radios and electric motors. R. S. Gerganoff, a prominent architect, resides in Ypsilanti, Michigan. Agop Agopoff, New York sculptor, has won several first prizes in the American Academy of Design and is the creator of the Will Rogers and Firdausi busts. Atans Katchamakoff, a Bulgarian sculptor, collaborated in the preparation of Monica Shannon's novel *Dobry*, which was awarded the John Newberry Medal in 1935 "for the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children in 1934." Nor can we omit mentioning Victor Sharenkov, of the New York Public Library, and Boris T. Majdrakov, noted art photographer of New York City. Christ Anastasoff's *The Tragic Peninsula* (St. Louis, Mo.: Blackwell Wielandy Co., 1938), is the best presentation of the Macedonian case, covering a history of the Macedonian movement for independence since 1878. Peter Atseff, secretary of the Macedonian Political Organization, is a well-known intellectual of the movement. Peter Gruptcheff is a well-known figure in Hollywood circles as secretary to one of the pioneer directors and stars of Hollywood, Paul Hurst. Assen Jordanoff, a former Bulgarian war ace and "world's foremost aviation authority," long ago established an outstanding reputation as an aeronautical engineer and for many years has been the consultant of prominent aircraft manufacturers and airlines as technical advisor. He is the undisputed ace of aviation writers. His books have been sensationally successful, have sold hundreds of thousands of copies all over the world, and have been bought in quantity by the United States government, the Canadian

R.A.F., the British R.A.F., the Australian R.A.F., and the Russian Air Force. Often imitated, never equaled, these have become international best-sellers: *Flying and How to Do It* (1932), *Your Wings* (1937), *Through the Overcast* (1938), and the more recent *Safety in Flight*, *The Man Behind the Flight*, *Illustrated Aviation Dictionary* (published by Funk & Wagnalls Company and Harper and Brothers).

Our study would be incomplete without noting the war efforts and patriotism of Macedonian Americans. The resolution of the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada, adopted on September 2, 1941, endorsed the Atlantic Charter as the basis of European settlement—an important step, considering that the Bulgarians are officially at war with the United States. Attention should be also directed to the determined war bonds purchase of the Macedonian Political Organization. For example, the M.P.O. maintained a qualified issuing agency with the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, and the *Macedonian Tribune* featured war bonds and war savings stamps advertisements in every issue. By the end of 1944, the value of war bonds bought by M.P.O. members had passed the \$1,000,000 mark.

CHAPTER VII

“New” Immigration: East European States

A. LATVIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

LATVIA is a young country politically, but the Latvians are by no means a young nation; they have an interesting history and traditions and a rich folklore of their own. They are neither Teuton nor Slav. Their language, together with the Lithuanian, derives directly from Sanskrit and is classified in the Balti branch of the Indo-European family of tongues. After World War I, Latvia became one of the new republics of the Baltic Sea, having seceded from Russia already in 1917, after the Bolshevik overthrow. The Latvian National Council was established in Walka on November 17, 1917, and on November 18 the council proclaimed Latvia's full self-determination and decided to elect a constituent assembly for the country.

It is important to note that the Latvian nation achieved its statehood as a result of a vigorous economic, cultural, and political development in the nineteenth century, and for about two years after the armistice had to struggle for its independence. The Latvians rebuilt their country after World War I without outside help. It is also to be noted that the Latvians achieved considerable progress, particularly in the field of agriculture and inventions (for example, the smallest candid camera in the world, the Minox), and that they are also good seafarers and mechanics.

Immigration

It appears that the first Latvian came to America with the Swedes, for in the seventeenth century Livonia was a province of Sweden. At the end of the nineteenth century, more Latvian immigrants came to the United States. This group belonged to the seamen who happened to land on the shores of this country and decided to stay. The new world appealed to them with its wealth of new opportunities. To some extent, the economic domination and exploitation of the

Latvians by greedy German landed proprietors was another cause, as well as political and religious restrictions by the Russians. The Latvians were filled with a bitter hostility against the German-Balts, who constituted an insignificant portion of the population and yet were the foreign masters of their soil. They were also hostile to their political rulers, the Russians, who sought to "Russify" them, especially after the rule of Alexander III (1881-1894), whose government followed the policy of "one Czar, one faith, one language, one law."

The main stream of the Latvian immigrants came here, however, after the Russo-Japanese War. Toward the close of 1905 a violent revolution broke out in Riga, where a great industrial population had recently sprung up. Spreading rapidly to the country districts, it assumed, at least in part, the form of an anti-German war, directed primarily against the German squires. On the other hand, international socialism rather than Latvian nationalism was the strong factor in the revolt. Latvian nationalism could find its expression only in socialism, which at that time was striving for liberation of oppressed nationalities. The uprisings were put down, not without much bloodshed and atrocities on both sides. A great many of the active Latvian leaders—nationalists and socialists—were compelled to leave their country. Some were accused, and justly so, of being revolutionists, socialists, and radicals; others wanted to escape the military service enforced by Russia.

It is hard to estimate the prewar figures of the Latvian immigrants. Like the Ukrainians and others, they came here under the classification of German, Russian, or Lithuanian. From the Latvian point of view, the number now in the United States is possibly as high as 50,000.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Settlements. Contrary to the usual tendency of other American immigrants, the Latvians did not tend to form large settlements, although they became concentrated in certain states and cities. Nearly 50 per cent of the total may be found in five cities: New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and 75 per cent are in six states: New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and California.

Occupations. Most of the Latvian immigrants were seamen, mechanics, peasants, laborers, and workers of the lower classes, although, following the revolution of 1905, numerous educated Latvians joined their ranks in America. In spite of the farming background of a

majority of these immigrants, the Latvians showed no marked tendency to follow that calling here. This tendency is shown by the fact that out of 8,744 foreign-born Latvians in 1930 only 672 lived on farms in rural areas, and 1,257 lived in small towns or villages below 2,500 population scattered throughout Massachusetts, Maine, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The farming settlements that exist are rapidly vanishing. We find, for example, a small Latvian community near Easton (in Bucks County), Pennsylvania, which supports its Baptist congregation. We find another minor Latvian farming settlement between Amsterdam and Albany, northwest of Albany, New York, and still another in Wisconsin. The settlement near Petersburg, Virginia, has only four or five Latvian families left.

For the most part, the Latvians in America are good mechanics, piano makers (a profession that offers hardly any occupation at all today), craftsmen (mostly carpenters), bricklayers, or iron workers. Many Latvians have learned the painting trade here, and quite a number of them are superintendents of buildings and houses, tailors, builders (contractors), and wood-workers. Again, contrary to the experiences of most other immigrant groups of eastern Europe, there are some foreign-born Latvians in the professions, in addition to the usual sprinkling of pastors, physicians, and surgeons, all of whom, however, belong to the group of better-trained people who came here following the revolution of 1905.

Another interesting characteristic of the Latvian immigrants is the ease with which they tend to assimilate. It is true that they retain to some extent their Latvian traditions and sentiments; but with the exception of the radical faction, the Latvian Americans do not interfere with or criticize the political conditions of their native country so extensively as, for example, do the Czechoslovak or Yugoslav immigrants, whose attitude in some cases is extremely bitter and hostile. The tendency favoring rapid assimilation is apparent from the official United States figures pertaining to the American citizenship acquired by the Latvians. In 1930 (the statistics for 1920 are intermixed with those of Russia and Estonia), out of 20,673 foreign-born Latvians, 12,590 (60.9 per cent) had been naturalized, 2,178 had their first papers, 5,405 were aliens, and there were about 500 of whom nothing was known. This rate of naturalization surpasses that of immigrant groups from most of the eastern and southern European countries, as well as of groups from Asia, and even from the Americas.

There are several explanations for this interesting characteristic. As indicated, the Latvians more or less scatter and form no such large

colonies as do the Czechoslovaks or Poles. As was pointed out, many are of a high intellectual level and assimilate easily, especially in respect to the English language. Furthermore, a considerable number of them arrived here with liberal convictions and, as a matter of principle, were international in their outlook.

Organizations. The trend that favors rapid assimilation is also reflected in the lack of national Latvian organizations. The American National Latvian League of Boston is the only survivor of the national organization that originally had branches in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia; it was founded at the end of World War I for the purpose of helping the cause of Latvia's independence. It was held together mainly because of the personality of Mr. Jacob Sieberg of Boston, one of the most respected of Latvian immigrants. The promotion of Latvian cultural background is also carried on by the New York Latvian Society. There is also in New York the Joint Latvian Committee of representatives of different Latvian organizations, headed by J. Lenow. The Society of Free Latvians in Philadelphia is one of the oldest Latvian organizations in the United States, as is also the Latvian Club of Chicago, and the Latvian Mutual Aid Society of Chicago. However, nearly all Latvian organizations are mutual aid societies. The Latvian Educational Society of New York represents the Latvian radicals who lean toward communism. As a counterpart to the radicals in New York, there exists a Latvian Organization of Christian Men.

Divisions. In general, in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago, the Latvians usually divide themselves socially into four groups. The radicals are imbued with socialist and communist notions and resent the American "capitalistic ways"; they are composed of moderates and extremists, who again are subdivided into a wide variety of factions. They change their allegiances to their "isms" from time to time, and as is usually the case with such immigrants, they are accustomed to stand always on the opposite side of any established order. They also bitterly oppose the clergy. But since the depression, they have been rapidly losing their membership as well as financial support which, it is believed, came from international sources. The second group consists of purely social organizations which meet infrequently for the purpose of renewing old friendships and talking over old times. Third are the organizations that cultivate background by means of lectures, theater performances, musicales, and debates. The fourth and possibly the strongest group consists of the religious organizations.

Latvians and World War II. After the absorption of Latvia by Russia, the leadership of the independence movement was assumed in America by Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, Latvian minister to the United States, a member of the trio of Baltic ministers who retained their posts in Washington. A "radical" faction, of minor numbers but of noisy representatives, opposed his activities and favored the "Russification" (that is, the "Sovietization") of Latvia.

Religion. The background of religious strife in their homeland retains its influence on Latvian immigrants. The majority of Latvians in America are Lutherans, although their organization is not so strong as is that of the Baptists which started as a missionary movement in Latvia, supported by American and British sources, about 1860. Among the Latvians there are also Catholics, Bohemian Brothers, and a few Greek Orthodox.

Periodicals. In line with their tendency to assimilate quickly, the Latvians in America can boast of but one Latvian newspaper, the *Amerikas Latweetis* (*American Latvian*). In Boston appears also a monthly Latvian magazine *Ausma* (*The Dawn*), published by the Baptist pastor, J. Daugmanis. In New York appears the monthly *Drauga Vests* (*Friends Message*), published by the Baptist pastor, C. Purgailis. In the past, five other periodicals were published for brief intervals, but all have gone out of existence because of lack of support by their Latvian constituency.

There are no Latvian schools in America, although the Latvian churches teach religion in the Latvian language, a process which, however, is rather ineffective because of the rapid assimilation of the American-born Latvians. In literacy, the Latvians rank higher than do most of the immigrants from the countries of central and southern Europe. This, too, is because of their ready assimilation, together with the selective character of their later immigration.

Contributions to American Life

In proportion to their numbers, the Latvians in America have contributed their share to the upbuilding of America, not so much in the field of culture, but rather in the field of honest work, which was so needed during the period of economic expansion. It is interesting, however, to note that a Latvian, Martins Bucins, of Liepaja or Libau, was one of the first to be killed in the Civil War. Among the leading American Latvians was Karlis Ulmanis, the last president of Latvia, son of a Latvian farmer, who came to America in 1907. During his five-year stay here, Ulmanis was employed in

different agricultural and dairy establishments, studied at the State University of Nebraska, and was offered the post of lecturer in agriculture. In 1913 the Russian Czarist government passed an act of amnesty for all those implicated in the revolutionary movement in 1905, and Ulmanis was able to return to his country, which he helped to liberate at the end of World War I. He proclaimed Latvia's independence on November 18, 1918, in Riga, as the first Latvian Prime Minister. In 1934 he was commissioned by President A. Kviesis to reform Latvia's constitution on a basis of national unity and coöperative economic equality, and in 1938 he became president.

Alfred Kalnins, composer and organ virtuoso, studied in St. Petersburg and was known before World War I in Russia and in his country as a composer, musician, and conductor for various singing and other musical organizations. He came to America in 1927 and served as organist at Christ's Lutheran Church in New York City. He returned to his native land in 1932. Kalnins is known as a composer of several operas, among them "Banuta," and "The Islanders."

The Reverend John Kweetin, who conducts the Welfare Library for the American Tract Society on Ellis Island; Dr. J. Eiman, a pathologist, director of the department of pathology at the Abington Memorial Hospital, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Emily Podin of the International Y.W.C.A. of New York City, worked for the cause of Latvia's independence during World War I and were decorated with the Three-Star decoration by the Latvian government for their efforts, as were J. Sieberg, pastor J. Graudin, pastor K. Selmer, pastor K. Podin, J. Lenow, Charles Carol, and others. For prominent cultural activities, decorations were also given to H. Lielnors, former president of the Baltic-American Society, and the Baptist pastor, J. Daugman, in Boston. G. Danzis is a well-known social worker in New York and was for years president of the Lutheran Parish Council. Alexander Siemel, the son of a bootmaker at Liepaja, who started his career in a Chicago department store selling women's stockings, became field director of an expedition to the wilds of Matto Grosso, Brazil, and filmed the native and animal life of the comparatively unknown jungles, with sound effects. Julian Duguid tells Siemel's life story in *Green Hell* and *Tiger Man*. Samuel Chugerman, born in Latvia, who is, according to his own statement, "what may truthfully be described as a slum product," published in 1939 *Lester F. Ward, The American Aristotle*, an illuminating introduction to Ward, the prophet if not the founder of American sociology.

Other Latvian Americans engaged in the professional fields in-

clude: Professor Charles Maltador Purin, Professor P. Lejins, Dr. J. M. Essenberg, Professor J. Ackerman, Dr. August Kymmel, Professor A. E. Murniek, Dr. Michael Kasak, Miss Elsa Busch, Mrs. Marina Karklina, Mrs. Elza Zebranska, opera singer, Mr. Richard Hermanson, Professor Alexander Borovsky, a famous pianist, Mr. Peter Kihss, on the editorial staff of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Dr. Nicholas Michelson. John Dored is a prominent reporter-cameraman of the *Paramount News*, New York. J. M. Plesums, a former Latvian Navy officer, is an inventor. J. Chucan was an engineer in the building of one of New York's bridges.

Several Latvians are occupied in the American Merchant Marine as captains: J. Jordan, N. Grinins (a former commander of a submarine), A. Skerberg, and A. Kirschfeldt. Many are mates and engineers.

B. LITHUANIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Although claims have been made that the first Lithuanians arrived in New York in the seventeenth century,¹ the first major Lithuanian immigration began about 1868.

In 1850 the present territory of Lithuania was seized by famine, and a former priest, Petras Svoteilis, headed a company of Lithuanian immigrants to America. The exodus became more marked after the second Polish-Lithuanian insurrection of 1863, which was followed by bitter persecution. The famines of 1867 and 1868 and poor economic conditions led to the migration of other groups. Some of the immigrants settled on New England farms, while many others were lured by the agents of the railway companies into Pennsylvania. In 1868, four Lithuanians settled in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, and were soon followed by others. The newcomers spread to Danville, Sunbury, Mount Carmel, and other mining towns in Pennsylvania. Although in 1871 and 1872 Danville had the largest Lithuanian colony in the United States, numbering about 200 persons, Lithuanians were shortly afterward found scattered throughout the whole of the anthracite region, especially in Schuylkill, Luzerne, and Lackawanna counties, and in all the towns of the Wyoming Valley.

¹ According to Simon Daukantas, the Lithuanian historian, the Duke of Courland colonized groups of Letts and Lithuanians, who had fled to Courland to escape serfdom, upon the Spanish island of Guadalupe in 1688; later the English disbanded the settlement and transported the colonists to what is now New York—as reported by *Saule*, Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, July 26, 1938.

In 1874 the Czarist government introduced compulsory military service, and many young men came to America; in addition, both the abolition of serfdom and the policy of bitter religious, political, and national oppression pursued by the Russian authorities contributed to swell the stream of immigrants. The influx into America increased after the early 1890's and was strengthened by the fact that during this period Lithuanian rye, wheat, and flax could find no markets abroad. Books and newspapers published by Lithuanians in America and smuggled across the German border were passed from hand to hand in the Lithuanian towns and villages and attracted considerable attention. The revolution of 1905 and renewed Russian oppression gave a further stimulus to immigration, and many Lithuanian socialists and revolutionaries sought refuge in the new world.

Lithuanian writers estimate that, before 1899, 275,000 Lithuanian immigrants had arrived in the United States. In that year a separate classification was established by the American government. Between 1898 and 1914, 252,294 more Lithuanians entered the country. After 1914, the number was small: 1921-1930, 6,015; 1931-1940, 2,221; 1941-1943, 337.

Settlements. The Reverend A. Kaupas estimates that in 1904 about 50,000 Lithuanians were living in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania; 25,000 in West Pennsylvania and West Virginia (Pittsburgh, its vicinity, and near the soft coal mines); 10,000 in Philadelphia and Baltimore; 15,000 in greater New York (almost exclusively in Brooklyn and Long Island City) and its environs (Yonkers, New York; and Jersey City, Elizabeth, Newark, and Paterson, New Jersey); 25,000 in New England (Boston, Brockton, Lawrence, Worcester, Waterbury, Union City, Hartford and Bridgeport); 10,000 in Ohio and Michigan (Cleveland, Detroit, and Grand Rapids); 50,000 in Illinois and Wisconsin (Chicago 25,000-30,000, Spring Valley, Westville, Connesville, East Saint Louis, Waukegan, Ashland, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee); and that several thousand were scattered over the states of Missouri, Kansas, Montana, Colorado, and Washington. The southern states were practically untouched by Lithuanian immigration.

At the outset, the Lithuanians lived in close relations with their coreligionists and nearest European neighbors, the Poles. In many districts, such as Shamokin, Mount Carmel, and Shenandoah in Pennsylvania, they united with the Poles to form parishes and societies and joined the same benevolent societies. But a trend toward separatism

became apparent in 1885, and these differences came to a head in 1889 when the Poles refused to acknowledge Father Alexander Burba as the priest of the local church in Plymouth, Pennsylvania.² In 1892 the Lithuanians of Shamokin separated from the Poles and established their own parishes at Mount Carmel and elsewhere in Pennsylvania.

With the foundation of a free Lithuania, some thirty or forty thousand Lithuanians elected to return to their native country. But when the rouble and the mark fell in value, only about 10,000 remained in their native land and the rest returned to America.

We learn from official United States statistics that in 1920 there were 135,068 foreign-born Lithuanians in America, in 1930, 193,666, and in 1940, 165,771. In addition, there were in this country in 1940, 229,040 native-born persons of Lithuanian stock ("native white of foreign or mixed parentage"). But these figures are open to certain objections. Lithuanian critics claim that many persons listed as Poles, Russians, and Germans were really Lithuanians. The Lithuanian convention held in New York City in March 1918 adopted 750,000 as the minimum estimate; but these figures made no allowance either for those who had returned to their country (about 10 per cent) or for those who had died, and the figure is therefore too high. Dr. Kemesis estimated in 1924 a total of 455,000 Lithuanian Americans. The discrepancies between the American and Lithuanian estimates are more evident when we discover that only 272,680 persons registered Lithuanian as their mother tongue in the census of 1940. There is some connection between this fact and the proportion of Lithuanian Jews, who numbered 25,886, or 2.1 per cent of the Lithuanian immigrants.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. Only a minority of Lithuanian Americans are farmers. Some are found in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, New Jersey, and Connecticut, but most of them associate farming with the ruinous taxes and unprofitable drudgery they experienced in the home country, and so they have turned to industrial pursuits instead. They are found as foundrymen in western Pennsylvania; as weavers in the cotton mills of New England and the silk mills of Paterson, New Jersey; as tanners in Philadelphia, hatmakers in New York, dockworkers in Cleveland, tailors in Brooklyn, Baltimore, and Chicago. Many are employed in the packing houses in Chicago, in the oil and

² Kaupas, "L'Eglise et les Lituaniens aux Etats-Unis," *Annales des nationalités*, XI, pp. 232-234.

sugar refineries around New York, and in the shoe factories in Binghamton, New York, and Brockton, Massachusetts. In general they belong to the lower working class. The second generation, however, tends to enter the professional class.

Religious divisions. The majority of Lithuanian Americans are Roman Catholics, but there are a number of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Freethinkers. The Roman Catholic Church bulks large in the life of the members of every Lithuanian parish, as most of their social organizations are connected with it. In 1871 the Lithuanians of Shenandoah, at the request of the Archbishop of Philadelphia, invited the Reverend Andrew Strupinskas, M.I.C., to take care of the Lithuanians in that community and its vicinity. A year later, the Reverend Juškevičius organized a Lithuanian and Polish parish in Shamokin, Pennsylvania. In 1892 the split with the Poles led to the formation of an independent Lithuanian parish in that city. In 1886 Lithuanian parishes had been established in Brooklyn, Mahanoy City and Hazelton, Pennsylvania, and in 1887 in Baltimore. In all, 118 parishes were organized between 1886 and 1929. In 1944 there were about 120 Lithuanian parishes in the United States.

The first Lithuanian National Catholic Church was founded in 1914 by the Lithuanians of Scranton, Pennsylvania, with the help of Bishop Hodur, head of the Polish National Catholic Church of America. S. B. Mickievicz, who was appointed its pastor, was succeeded by J. Crittenas. Mickievicz subsequently organized several Lithuanian congregations in Chicago under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Carfora of the Old Roman Catholic Church. At a synod held by the Polish National Church in 1924, Crittenas was elected bishop of the Lithuanian churches. But the group seceded from the Poles to be headed by Archbishop Geniotis. These Lithuanian churches accept the first four general councils of the Roman Catholic Church and use the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed. The liturgy is Lithuanian. The supreme authority is vested in a synod. There are parishes in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and in Scranton, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

Social divisions. The religious background is also intimately connected with the factions among the Lithuanian Americans, which are based on religious ideas rather than on economic, class, or intellectual tendencies.⁸

⁸ See V. M. Palmer, *Field Studies in Sociology*, pp. 257-265. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928, for an account of the Lithuanian colony at Canalport, Chicago. R. E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, pp. 52-54. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922, describes the nationalizing and denationalizing influences of the church among Lithuanians.

Before the first World War, the three largest Lithuanian associations in America were the Society of Lithuanian Patriots, the Lithuanian Alliance of America, and the Union of Roman Catholic Lithuanians. Each body published at its own expense books for gratuitous distribution in Lithuania. The rest of the Lithuanian immigrants were split into three distinct groups. The Social Democrats comprised the "radical" faction, and many eventually drifted into communism. The Clerical group voiced its policies through the medium of three weekly publications, especially the daily *Draugas* (*Friend*). The National Party represented the Lithuanian patriots; they were less interested in Catholicism but were enthusiastic nationalists.

Organizations. The tendency of the Lithuanians to form compact settlements enables them to organize their social life through social, literary, religious, benevolent, and coöperative societies, which imitate as far as possible their social institutions at home. These activities were suppressed in prewar Russia, with the result that they have found strong expression in America. There is an organization for almost every purpose, and sometimes several of them.

It has been estimated that there are over two thousand Lithuanian charitable and mutual-aid organizations in America. The largest fraternal organizations are the Lithuanian Alliance of America, New York, founded in 1886,⁴ and the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance, Wilkes-Barre, founded in 1901 when it separated from its parent organization, the Lithuanian Alliance of America.

The Lithuanians have had to fight a particularly hard and long battle for their national independence, and this may explain in part the fact that Lithuanian immigrants do not quickly become assimilated. Even though so many Lithuanians were driven from their homes and forced to shift for themselves as best they could, their country has retained its spell over them. The Lithuanian American is proud of the tenacity with which he has preserved his language and his traditions. The national spirit has been strengthened by frequent contacts with the home country and by numerous cultural activities. In every colony a marked interest is still taken in Lithuanian literature, drama, painting, and other forms of art. Lithuanian parishes frequently organize dramatic performances, where they sing their old *dainos* and dance their traditional dances. Lithuanian radio programs are broadcast intermittently in most of the larger Lithuanian colonies.

⁴ According to its secretary, the Lithuanian Alliance of America in December 1937 had 375 lodges with a membership of from 15,000 to 25,000. Its assets as of that date exceeded \$2,100,000.

Despite the strong and successful efforts of Lithuanian Americans to preserve their Lithuanian culture pattern within the American pattern, the Americanization process is making more and more serious inroads into their ranks, especially where the American-born generation is concerned. The Lithuanian language used in this country is already sprinkled with words that are understandable only to the Lithuanians living in America, words that would be a foreign language to the Lithuanians living in their native country. We hear such words as *jardas* (yard), *strytas* (street), *oranzis* (orange), *ame* (ham), *auzas* (house), *dortas* (dirt), and so on.⁵ The hold of Lithuania on her sons in America, however, is still very strong. It is beautifully expressed in the following confession of a Lithuanian American:⁶

I am now a broken old man, physically. The best years of my life were spent in the steel blast furnaces of Pennsylvania. There I helped with my muscle to complete the work which nature started.

My wife has gone to her just reward these many years past. Her grave lies amongst these hills. Flowers will barely grow upon it. The dust that is in my lungs, and which gives me and my friends no peace, also covers her grave.

My children have grown up. They are educated, and the education given them by America has taken them from me. I speak English only as an untaught alien can speak it. But my children know all the slang phrases. They speak differently, they act differently, and when they come to visit me they come alone. They do not explain why they do not bring their friends, but I instinctively sense the reason. They should not fear. I would not cause them any embarrassment. But they too look upon their father as an inferior, an alien, a bohunk.

So my only consolation is my memory. And strange as it may seem to you, my experiences in America are not the ones that crowd my thoughts. No, it is the memory of my childhood days, spent in far away Lithuania. I remember the folklore and the great green forests.

Once I asked my mother to explain the noises that we heard coming from the heart of the forest after sundown. And my mother said the sounds were the songs of joy uttered by the spirits of departed animals that had lived freely. The heart of the forest, she said, was their heaven. After I had learned that story the heart of the forest and all natural fastnesses were always holy places to me.

So now these simple memories are with me, not the thought of America's greatness. Maybe it is because I was so strong in body when I left Lithuania, and am now a broken old man. And the forest did not take my health and my children away from me.

⁵ An excellent and scholarly study of this problem is A. Senn, "Einiges aus der Sprache der Amerika Litauer," *Studi Baltici*, II, pp. 35-58, Rome, 1932.

⁶ *His America*, a pamphlet made up from a letter written to the Foreign Language Information Service, New York City.

Naturalization and literacy. The tendency of the Lithuanians to assimilate less rapidly than do other immigrant groups is reflected in the low rate of naturalization—55.8 per cent in 1940, the lowest among European immigrants. Originally higher education was practically unknown among the Lithuanian immigrants, but the situation in this respect is rapidly improving and there are now a considerable number of Lithuanian physicians, priests, surgeons, lawyers, actors, professors, and the like. Yet, in 1930, it was estimated that 24.5 per cent of foreign-born Lithuanians (10 years old and over) were illiterate, a very high rate surpassed only by the immigrants from Italy, Portugal, Syria, and the Azores. But it should be remembered that before 1914 there were no Lithuanian schools in the home country and private teaching of the native tongue was strictly forbidden by the Russian government.

Education. The first Catholic Lithuanian school in America dates from about 1895. It was founded in Chicago and instruction was in the hands of non-Lithuanians, usually sisters of the Polish congregation of the Nazarene Sisters. The first purely Lithuanian educational establishment was founded at the Parish School at Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania, in 1907, under the control of the Sisters of St. Casimir. In 1933 the Sisters of St. Casimir operated twenty-two schools with a staff of 170 teachers and a total attendance of 5,527 Lithuanian children, of whom all but 10 per cent were native born. In 1936, the Catholic parishes conducted forty-eight parochial schools, attended by over 10,000 pupils.

The Lithuanian Catholics also support a number of other educational institutions. The Marianapolis College and High School, Thompson, Connecticut, was founded in 1931 by the Marian Fathers, though the origins of this foundation date back to 1926. Its Lithuanian-American Students and Professional Association publishes a well-edited monthly *Studentu Zodis* (*Students' World*) in Lithuanian.

The press. An important role in the life of the Lithuanian Americans is played by the press. In 1879, Tvarauskas issued the first Lithuanian-American publication, a Lithuanian-English dictionary, but it was not finished. In the same year he started to publish in New York City a Lithuanian newspaper, *Lietuviszka Gazieta* (*Lithuanian Gazette*). The first Lithuanian newspaper in pure text was the *Vienybe Lietuivninku* (*Lithuanian Unity*), which appeared in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, in 1884. This paper, later transferred to Brooklyn, is now published as the *Vienybe* (*Unity*). In 1885, Dr.

John Šliupas inaugurated publication in New York City of the nationalist *Lietuvos Balsas* (*Lithuanian Voice*). In all, some thirty-one Lithuanian periodicals were being published in America in 1940.

The majority of the Lithuanians are Catholic and their views are represented by the Chicago daily *Draugas* (*Friend*) and the weekly *Garsas* (*Sound*). The Lithuanian Nationalists, on the other hand, are represented by the Brooklyn daily *Vienybe* (*Unity*), the Cleveland weekly *Dirva* (*Field*), and the Worcester weekly *Amerikos Lietuvis* (*American Lithuanian*). All of them heartily support the Lithuanian national government. The Socialists maintain the Chicago daily *Naujienos* (*News*) and the Boston weekly *Keleivis* (*Traveller*). The Communists publish the Brooklyn daily *Laisvė* (*Freedom*) and weekly *Naujoji Gadyne* (*New Era*) and the Chicago *Vilnis* (*Wave*).

About 1890, certain educated Lithuanians began to publish newspapers and books, and a book-publishing society, the *Tevynės Myletojų Draugija* (Lovers of the Fatherland), was founded. Writers and publicists prominent in the liberal and national movement in the United States were Šliupas, the poet Jonas Jilius, the Reverend A. Burba, V. Dembskis, J. Sernas (Adomaitis), Kaledu Kauke (K. Jurgelionis), Karolis Vairas (V. K. Rackauskas), J. Sirnydas, and others. In all, several hundred Lithuanian books were printed in America and smuggled into Lithuania, together with Lithuanian newspapers. Beyond doubt, the contact between those who had remained at home and those who had emigrated was a major factor in arousing the national aspirations of the Lithuanians under the reactionary Russian rule.⁷

Many Lithuanian organizations were formed during World War I. Their primary purpose was to aid Lithuanian war sufferers and to assist Lithuania to secure autonomy and independence. November 1, 1916, was named Lithuanian Day and about \$200,000 were raised and turned over to the American Red Cross on condition that the money be spent in Lithuania. On June 8-11, 1919, a Lithuanian convention was held in Chicago, where the Lithuanian Liberty Bell, now in the War Museum in Kaunas, was rung for the first time.

When the independence of Lithuania was finally proclaimed on February 16, 1918, a group of over two hundred ex-service men from the American Army went to Lithuania to join the Lithuanian military and air forces. At the head of this group was Captain Stephen Darius,

⁷ For a list of the 1914 Lithuanian-American periodicals, see F. S. Kemesis, *Co-operation among the Lithuanians in the United States*, p. 12. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1924.

who, with Lieutenant Stanley Girenas, made the ill-fated trans-Atlantic flight in July, 1933. In February, 1920, the Lithuanian Financial Mission came to America to raise a loan for the needs of the new state—the Lithuanian Liberty Loan. Over a million and a half dollars were subscribed by American Lithuanians. America formally recognized the new state on May 31, 1921.

American Lithuanians and World War II. Even before Pearl Harbor, the American Lithuanians began to show their fears for their homeland when, in March, 1939, Lithuania was forced to cede the Memel territory to Germany. But the real blow came when, on June 14, 1940, Russia presented Lithuania with an ultimatum charging her with violating the mutual-assistance pact of October, 1939; and on June 15, Russian troops swarmed into the country. A new pro-Soviet government was formed in the country, and President Smetona and other leaders had to flee. The election for the new Parliament was interpreted by the Soviet authorities as a plebiscite in favor of joining the Soviet Union, and Lithuania was incorporated into the U.S.S.R.

Antanas Smetona, first president of Lithuania and its president-in-exile after the Russians invaded it, came to the United States as a guest of the United States government and intended to return to Lithuania after the war. He lived in Pittsburgh and Chicago and led the fight for restoration of the freedom of his country, making frequent speeches and urging an end to the type of aggression in Europe which smothered Lithuania. He died on January 9, 1944, in a fire that swept the home of his son in Cleveland.

The movement continued to be headed by P. Zadeikis, minister of Lithuania to the United States, who continued to retain his post in Washington.⁸ The Lithuanian-American Council of Greater New York addressed a memorandum on November 30, 1943, to the United States government in which it expressed anxiety for Lithuania's future in connection with the declarations made at the Moscow Conference. The Council urged the restoration of complete independence to Lithuania after the war.⁹

Over three hundred Americans of Lithuanian descent from Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, and other localities in the twenty-one

⁸ See P. Zadeikis, "An Aspect of the Lithuanian Record of Independence," p. 49, in "A Challenge to Peacemakers," *Annals* (of the American Academy of Political and Social Science), March, 1944.

⁹ The *Lithuanian Bulletin*, published by the Lithuanian National Council, 73 West 104 St., New York City, since 1943, contains summaries of these activities.

states representing the League to Liberate Lithuania, the American Friends of Lithuania, and the Federation of Eastern Lithuanian Organizations, held a convention on February 5-6, 1944, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, for the purpose of presenting the case for Lithuanian independence to the American public and to launch a \$5,000,000 war-bond drive among American Lithuanians. A petition was sent to President Roosevelt for aid in the restoration of independence of the republic of Lithuania. During the month of February, 1944, as in previous years, gatherings observing the anniversary of the Lithuanian Declaration of Independence were held in many Lithuanian-American centers. The communistic forces among the Lithuanian Americans held the so-called Lithuanian-American "democratic" conference in Brooklyn on December 18-19, 1943.¹⁰

Contributions to American Life

The Lithuanian Americans are not far behind other nationalities in providing leaders in the arts, education, business, and sports.¹¹ Thus, Mikas Petrauskas, composer of a large number of popular Lithuanian songs, about twenty Lithuanian operettas, and a Lithuanian opera, was the first musically trained Lithuanian to work among his people in America.¹² In addition to writing music, he did much to popularize Lithuanian folk dances and was an able organizer of Lithuanian singing choirs. He maintained at different times three conservatories of music—in Brooklyn, Chicago, and Boston. With the exception of his opera, "Eglė-Žalčui Karalienė," presented in Boston in 1924, his compositions were of a light, popular character, utilizing extensively motives from the numerous Lithuanian folk songs. There are other well-known musical leaders. Anna Kaska, contralto, was one of the first singers to be chosen from radio auditions for stardom with the Metropolitan Opera Company. Professor Joseph Žilevičius, composer and former director of the Conservatory of Music at Klaipėda, now lives in America. Among other prominent Lithuanian

¹⁰ For a pro-Soviet attack on the forces favoring the liberation of the Baltic states, see Gregory Meiksin, *The Baltic Riddle*, p. 208. New York: L. B. Fischer, 1943.

¹¹ The best work in this field is *Susivienijimo Lietuvių Amerikoje, Auksinio Juvilejaus, Albumas 1886-1936*. New York: Lithuanian Alliance of America, 1936. Although the principal aim of this *Album* is to record pictorially the fifty years' activities of the Alliance, it nevertheless represents a fair picture of Lithuanian workers in cultural and political activities of America. The work contains portraits of many outstanding Lithuanian Americans and of some prominent leaders in the re-establishment of the independent state of Lithuania.

¹² Petrauskas was born in 1873 and died in Lithuania in 1937. He first came to the United States in 1907, but after a concert tour of Lithuanian settlements returned to Italy for further studies. He came back to America in 1909.

musicians in the United States are Alexander Aleksis, formerly of the Conservatory of Warsaw; the violinist, Professor J. Židanavičius; Anthony Pocius, director of the Beethoven Conservatory of Music of Chicago; and Helen Mickunas, a radio, concert, and opera star. M. J. Sileikis is connected with the Chicago Art Institute. In the field of painting, Ignas Ylekis of Chicago stands out and Jonas Szileika was awarded a first prize by the Chicago Art Institute while he lived in America.

The Lithuanian-American group is rich in talented literary men. Dr. M. J. Vinikas, secretary of the Lithuanian Alliance of America, is the author of *Economic Relations of Lithuania* and *Diplomatic Relations of Lithuania* (theses, American University, Washington, D. C., 1933, 1934). In the field of education are the Reverend Joseph Vaitkevičius, Dr. J. Navickas, Reverend Michael Civulskis, Dr. J. Raymond-Rimavičius, E. Žiurys, and Lieutenant P. Moncius. In civic and political affairs, Casimir Kriauciūnas (Kay) is judge of the Superior Court of Seattle, Washington. John T. Zuris is a Chicago municipal judge, and Frank Mast, formerly counselor of the Lithuanian Legation, was assistant district attorney of Chicago. Dr. A. Velybus and A. Janušatis (Janushat) are members of the Pennsylvania legislature, K. Paulauskas of the New Jersey, J. De Righter-Deraitis of the Ohio, and Nadas Rastenis of the Maryland legislature. W. J. Wimbiscusis is judge of the Cook County Circuit Court of Chicago, and J. P. Uvick, judge of the city of Grosse Point, Michigan. J. Kairis, mayor of Seatonville, Illinois, Anna C. Lakawitz, mayor of Linndale, Ohio, and J. Vansavage, mayor of New Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, are others who have achieved prominence in civic affairs.

In the field of athletics, the three who are probably the best known are Jack Sharkey (Juozas Žukauskas), the former world's heavyweight champion; Billie Burke (Vincas Burkauskas), golfer; and Jack Goodman, golf champion.

Miss Anna Bernatitus (Bernotaite), of Lithuanian parentage, who served on Bataan and Corregidor as a navy nurse, was the first person in the United States naval service (in 1942) to receive the award of the Legion of Merit.

C. ESTONIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

There is no accurate information about Estonian immigrants before World War I; but it is stated authoritatively that the first Estonian

immigrants landed in the United States around 1870. The first more or less definite wave in immigration began around 1890. We cannot ascertain its strength, because most of those coming here carried Russian passports and thus were counted as Russians. On the other hand, those who passed through other European ports on their way to America were undoubtedly counted as members of those nationalities. In fact, even the United States census of 1920 grouped the Estonians with the Latvians and Russians.

The first news of Estonian farmers here was received through Finnish mediation. Information sent by Finnish clergy in America to Dr. Oscar Kallas, who was later Estonian envoy in London, appeared in *Postimees* of November 20, 1896. A significant portion of this news referred to seven Estonian farmer families in Dakota, who had arrived there some years earlier from Crimea. Later, to these immigrant farmers who looked for better farming opportunities in America were added industrial workers and artificers. But the main flow of immigrants commenced only after the abortive Russian revolution of 1905. The largest number arrived between 1905 and 1908, although the flow of immigration remained fairly steady until 1914. It was a chaotic and unorganized movement that took Estonians to America, and the chief reasons for it were the narrow economic conditions that prevailed at home under the Czarist regime and the fable of easy life across the ocean. Other factors were letters from friends and relations who had settled earlier in the "land of plenty," and the propaganda of shipping lines.

The first arrivals settled usually in the seaports of America; thus, New York and San Francisco became particularly the places of their abode. The farmers from Crimea, on the other hand, followed their calling. The largest group settled near Irma and Gleason in Wisconsin, where even today some fifty families can be found. The next largest settlement was near Tacoma and Spokane, Washington. Many of these immigrants crossed the continent to find homes, because of the fact that some Estonians had landed on the Pacific coast, settled there, and induced these later arrivals to come west from New York. There were few skilled workers, few professional men or merchants among the immigrants. The few who were better educated and got better jobs were not outstanding among their compatriots.

Not until February 2, 1920, did Estonia sign a peace treaty with Soviet Russia. Consequently, it was not until 1921 that the postwar Estonian immigration began and that accurate figures were available.

In contrast to the prewar immigration, these individuals all came through the port of New York, and very few of them decided to take up farming. A majority were laborers, and quite a substantial group was composed of the intelligentsia, who had suffered during the war and who wanted to escape the difficult times that Estonia had faced from 1918 to 1920. Most of them had some ties with former emigrants, and nearly all of them remained in New York City. There they became small businessmen and tradesmen, a majority of them engaging in the building trades involving carpentry work and painting.

It is extremely interesting to compare the census figures with the unofficial estimates of Estonian leaders in the United States. According to the census, we received officially 765 immigrants from Estonia in 1924, 1,576 for the period 1924-1930, and 506 from 1931-1940. But the statement that, according to their mother tongue, there were only 138 individuals in 1910 who spoke Estonian, and that the number was 1,024 in 1920, and 2,908 in 1930, unquestionably does not give the complete figures. The same criticism applies to the official census figures of 1940, which inform us that in that year there were 4,178 foreign-born Estonians and 1,480 native white Estonians—a total of only 6,658 Estonians and their children. On the other hand, Consul Kuusik and other leaders believe that 60,000 Estonians and children is a reasonable estimate.

If we use again the American official census for the distribution of Estonian foreign-born immigrants, we see that they live mainly in the middle Atlantic states and California, more than 50 per cent living in New York City. It is interesting to note that Estonians in North America have grouped in northern sections comparable to the climatic conditions of their homeland.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

In the Atlantic section of the United States, the majority of the Estonian Americans are located in the four large cities—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. In the environment of New York can be found, especially on Long Island and in New Jersey, a number of Estonians living on small vegetable and chicken farms and working in their spare time at outside jobs in neighboring towns. In New Jersey, the Estonians settled in most of the cities in the northern part of the state. Some 2,000 Estonians are located in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, in addition to approxi-

mately 1,000 in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. Similar small groups are found in Pennsylvania and the Virginias.

In the Lakes region, as in the Atlantic group, the Estonians live mostly in the cities. In fact, in all lake-shore industrial cities, Estonians can be found as sailors on lake ships and workers in factories, mines, and log and lumber camps. In small cities they are usually locksmiths and mechanics. In Wisconsin, they are located around the towns of Irma and Gleason, the only large Estonian colony in the midwestern and western states of the United States. They live in close proximity to one another, mainly on dairy farms.

On the west coast there is a settlement in Portland, Oregon, which was founded as early as 1878. The ships of the Russian Navy visited Portland for coal and provisions, thus giving the Estonian sailors a chance to desert. Some few moved out into other cities or formed farming communities in both Oregon and Washington. The same process was carried on in California, San Francisco remaining the second largest colony of Estonians in the United States; but some moved out into the agricultural areas.

Religion. If we notice that Estonia proper has 78.2 per cent Lutherans, 19 per cent Greek Orthodox, and less than one per cent of Adventists, Methodists, Evangelists, and other Christian denominations, we have an indication of the religious divisions of American Estonians. About 80 per cent are Lutherans, and the remaining percentages remain about the same as in the home country. As is usually the case with Protestant immigrants, the interest in their faith weakens in this country. On the other hand, this is less true among the American Estonians than among many other national groups.

Organizations. The majority of the prewar immigrants lacked patriotic feelings. Of their former homeland, oppressed under a foreign yoke, they remembered only poverty. In America also many were used as temporary laborers, who found employment in boom years and were unemployed during depressions. Employers were mostly American born. The Estonian immigrant at best worked up to the position of foreman or overseer. All in all, the immigrants' social and cultural positions were such that they inevitably felt their inferiority.

The same factor operated in political life. The majority of Estonians did not take out American citizenship and, consequently, had no vote. Political leaders did not have to consider them; moreover, they were few in number. Their children came to underrate their

fathers' homeland which, until after World War I, did not exist politically. The only tie that these immigrants had with their homeland was the Estonian press, but this was ineffectual, since few settlers subscribed.

A sudden change in the attitude of Estonian Americans was brought about by the Estonian War of Liberation in 1918-1920. The victorious conclusion of the war and the establishment of the Estonian Republic helped to cure this inferiority complex and raise their pride in their national background. Estonia was no longer the country of poor emigrants but of victorious soldiers. Estonians in America suddenly discovered with a certain pride that they were Estonians also. National reconstruction and the achievements at home, with which the immigrants keep informed through participation every five years in the Congress of Overseas Estonians, tended to increase this pride. Estonian Americans, revisiting their former homeland, found their country changed, and returned to America with different views. A new spirit has been developed by recent immigrants from independent Estonia, most of whom belong to the educated classes and are naturally more culturally conscious than were the earlier unskilled workers. And by now many of those earlier settlers have risen on the social ladder.

There is a mutual-benefit organization among the American Estonians. The first social Estonian society was formed in New York in 1898. Today there are nine Estonian-American societies: The Estonian Educational Society, New York City; Arendaja, Cleveland; Kodu, Detroit; the Chicago Estonian Club; the Estonian Society of Southern California, Los Angeles; the Estonian Society of San Francisco; the World Association of Estonians, founded in 1940; the Boston Estonian Society; and the Baltimore Estonian Society.

In contrast to other immigrant groups, the Estonians are not so extensively subdivided into factional sections. The work of the Estonian Educational Society of New York, arising in December 1929 from the fusion of several organized groups of Estonians existing at that time, may be taken as typical. It hires its own rooms, which are kept open every night, arranges frequent socials, participates in folk-dance festivals, has its own choir, celebrates Estonia's national holidays, and its members enjoy the privileges of the library, restaurant and bar, billiard room and dance floor; it also has its own dancing troupe and broadcasts from time to time on the radio. Its remarkable success in attracting the American-born generation to participate in its cultural activities is possibly due to the very able leadership of the society and

the ability of the organization to give these young people "good fun"—as expressed by an Estonian authority. No doubt, the small number (comparatively speaking) of New York Estonians is also a factor in their strength.

The press. Two Estonian newspapers were started before World War I, but soon went out of existence. The *Ameerika Eestlane* (*American Estonian*) experienced the same fate in half a year's time. Today, the only Estonian periodical is the *Meie Tee* (*Our Path*), a monthly, published in New York City by the Estonian Educational Society, which sets a high standard of immigrant journalism.

Education. There is only one Estonian school in America, and that one is in New York City, where the Estonian Educational Society holds classes every Friday night for adults and for children. It is not a school in the real sense of the word, but tries, rather, to develop itself as such on the basis of its teaching of the language, folk dances, and national songs. There are no Estonian church schools.

Contributions to American Life

The Estonian Americans, although one of the smallest American minorities, are not without outstanding names to which they point with pride. Professor Theodor A. Wiel is a member of the department of history and political science of the American International College (Springfield, Massachusetts); Professor George Valley is a member of Yale University faculty; Dr. Linda A. Tischer is physician at the Cleveland Hospital; John Torpats has published several books on economics; William Zimdim is a prominent businessman at Elsinore, California; Andrew Winter is a prominent artist-painter; John Okelman heads the Estonian Educational Society of New York City; Ludwig Juht, an outstanding contrabass soloist, is a member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

D. FINNISH AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

The first Finnish immigrants to America accompanied the group of Swedes who in the seventeenth century established a colony in what is now the state of Delaware, near the present site of Wilmington. Gustavus Adolphus, famous Swedish warrior king, was the original sponsor of this colonization project. He foresaw the advantages to be derived from establishing trade outposts in the newly discovered America, and in 1626, urged thereto by Willem Usselinx, a Nether-

lander, he formed a commercial company for that purpose. War in Germany in 1630 interrupted his plans, and the funds of the company were arbitrarily used for the war. After the death of Gustavus, however, the Swedish government revived the colonization scheme, and as a result the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip* sailed up Delaware Bay, in the spring of 1638, with the first group of Swedish settlers.

There were numerous Finns in Sweden in our colonial period who were offered inducements to emigrate to the new colonies; such of them as were found guilty of offenses were forced to emigrate. In consequence, when in July, 1641, the *Kalmar Nyckel* again sailed from Gothenburg for New Sweden, a large proportion of its passengers were Finns. The same held true of the thirteen other expeditions that came from Sweden to Delaware before the Swedish colonies were captured by the Dutch in 1655. Finns who had prospered in the new country urged their friends and relatives to join them, and soon there were more Finnish volunteers than the ships could carry. The emigration of Finns even created international complications. After the Dutch had taken possession of the Swedish settlements in the new world and the direct flow of immigrants from Sweden had thereby been stopped, a group of Finns made their way across Norway to Oslo, where they embarked for Holland. Over the objection of the Swedish government they were shipped to America by the Dutch.

Some ten years later, in 1664, the Swedish settlements passed into the hands of the British. The Swedish and Finnish colonists were dissatisfied and rebellious, and in 1668 and 1669 open insurrection broke out. The leader of the movement was a Finn who claimed to be the son of Count Koenigsmark, a famous Swedish general, and who sometimes used the name Koenigsmark (or Coningsmarke), but more generally was known by the names Marcus Jacobsen or the "Long Finn." The rebellion was unsuccessful and the Long Finn and many of his Finnish and Swedish associates were captured. Most of them were let off with heavy fines, but the Long Finn and some of his most important men were deported.

These Finnish and Swedish colonists soon turned the land upon which the cities of Wilmington, Philadelphia, and Chester now stand, from a wilderness into cultivated farmland. In time, some of them migrated to southern New York state. Many names in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and southern New York testify to the presence of Finns in those states, and recent historical research has disclosed that a number of the oldest and best-known families in Philadelphia and Delaware Valley trace their descent from these early Finnish immi-

grants. John Morton, for example, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was proud of his Finnish ancestry. William Penn bought land from the Finnish settlers and has left written testimony as to the cleanliness of their home life and their thrifty and industrious habits. He was impressed by the fact that in nearly all Finnish families there were from ten to twenty children.

Immigration

After this first period of Finnish colonization there was a long period during which, so far as is known, no Finnish immigrants came to America. The next notable immigration of Finns was directed to Alaska. Prior to 1867, it will be recalled, this territory belonged to Russia, which used it mainly for trading purposes. Russian ships carrying on such trade were largely manned with Finns, at that time Russian subjects. Many who came as seamen remained as settlers. Finnish immigration to Alaska was actively promoted by Arvid Adolf Etholen, a Finn, who for a while was governor of Alaska. Several hundred Finns settled in the territory between 1835 and 1865; they constituted the majority of the Europeans who had come to Alaska to live during the Russian rule. As fishermen, hunters, and foresters in the Sitka district, the Finnish settlers prospered greatly. They were accompanied or followed by a number of pastors, among whom was the late Uno Cygnaeus, who was to become famous as the founder of the system of primary education in Finland.

The discovery of gold in California brought an influx of Finns to that state. Several hundred came as seamen to the Pacific coast in 1849 and afterward settled there. In 1855, during the Crimean War, some Finnish sailors who had enlisted under the Russian flag remained in America in order to avoid being captured by the British on the high seas. They settled in New Orleans, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. In 1861 more than a hundred Finns enlisted in the United States Navy and served during the last years of the Civil War. They settled subsequently in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Finnish immigration on a large scale did not, however, begin until 1864. A number of Finns came to the copper country in upper Michigan with some Norwegians who had been engaged by the Quincy Mining Company of Hancock to work in the Houghton County mines. A group of Finns emigrated from Tromsø in Norway, in the spring of 1864, to St. Peter, Minnesota. Another small group sailed from Hammerfest somewhat later with Red Wing, Minnesota, as its destination. A fourth group came from Vadso in

the same summer. Some found work in lumber camps; others took up homesteads in Cokato, Holmes City, and Franklin, Minnesota. Duluth, Minnesota, became the capital for Finnish immigrants in that part of the country. Many Finns served with the Union Army during the Civil War. After the war, they settled in different parts of the United States, but mainly in the Middle West. Many returned to farming or worked in the newly opened mines of Michigan.

In the eighties and nineties immigration increased greatly. The majority of the immigrants went to Michigan, Minnesota, and other northern states where the climate most closely resembled that of their native land. They worked in the railway gangs that helped to build communication across the continent, in the logging camps of the Northwest, and in the iron and copper mines. They soon gained a good reputation as miners in Michigan, Minnesota, and Montana; most of the pioneer Finnish miners in the upper peninsula of Michigan had gained their experience in the mines of Northern Sweden and Norway. Finnish immigrants also settled in New England. Finns came to Boston as early as 1860 as sailors. By correspondence and visits to their homeland, they spread news of America among their friends and relatives, thus stimulating immigration. Finns in New England are located now principally in Gardner, Fitchburg, Worcester, the suburbs of Boston, Quincy, and the Cape Ann district, where they have slowly and methodically rehabilitated abandoned farms.

In the early days, Swedish-speaking immigrants from Finland outnumbered the Finnish-speaking ones three to one. Later the proportions became more nearly equal, but even then the loss of population was relatively greater among the Swedish-speaking group. After 1870, the percentage of those who spoke Finnish as their mother tongue increased, resulting in a corresponding increase in the percentage of Finnish-speaking immigrants.

The first Finnish immigrants left their homes because their country, being industrially undeveloped, consisted chiefly of large families and small farms, and it seemed more feasible to break up the former than the latter. A failure of the crops in Norway, Sweden, and Finland in 1867, with a resultant famine in 1868, gave the emigration movement a strong impetus. The shortage of food was felt first in Norway and Sweden and later in Finland. The introduction of compulsory military service in Finland came just at the time when emigration was increasing, and this increase was fostered by the Russification policy of the Czarist government which culminated in the February

manifesto in 1899, whereby the constitutional rights of Finland were revoked. Against this general background, we must consider the economic and social changes produced in the traditionally agricultural community by the industrial and capitalistic revolution. These changes induced the *Pohjalaiset*, the settlers of the prosperous farming province of Vaasa, to provide the bulk of immigrants from Finland. In addition, American steamship companies were promoting immigration in order to attract workers for railway construction.

The result of all these factors was that more than one tenth of the population left its homeland, although before 1914 about 40 per cent of the emigrants had returned.¹

It is difficult to determine the exact number of Finns who emigrated to the United States, partly because, when they entered the country through Norway, they were frequently classified as Norwegians. Similar ethnographical inaccuracies occurred when they came in Swedish or Danish boats or entered the United States through Canada. This is borne out by the fact that the statistics of immigration give only 19,930 Finns coming to the United States, while the 1940 census reports that 284,220 gave Finland as their country of origin and that 117,210 of these were foreign born. Finnish is given as mother tongue by 230,420. The Finns themselves estimate their numbers in the United States as high as 350,000 to 400,000, including the children born in America of Finnish parents.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

The Finns have always sought those regions of the United States that closely resemble Finland. Although there are Finns in every state of the Union, they are found chiefly in the northern states and on the Pacific coast. Michigan in 1930 had the largest Finnish population, followed by Minnesota, New York, Massachusetts, Washington, California, Ohio, and Wisconsin, in the order named.

Occupations. To some extent, the Finns have settled in colonies. The largest Finnish population has always been found in Michigan's Houghton County, with Calumet and Hancock as its chief urban centers. Another Finnish colony in Michigan is found in Marquette County, in the towns of Ishpeming, Negaunee, Marquette, and Republic. Thousands of Finns have moved from Duluth, Minnesota, to the mining towns on the Vermillion and Mesaba ranges. Thousands more have taken up farming in the vicinity of mining

¹ O. K. Kilpi, "Statistics of Population," *Finland, The Country, Its People and Institutions*. Helsinki, 1926.

towns, and St. Louis County contains one of the largest Finnish communities in America. On the western coast, Astoria, Oregon, has attracted Finnish fishermen; one of the chief canning factories there is owned by Finns. From there they have spread to the neighboring farmlands, and many are farmers on the dike lands along the Columbia River. Several thousand Finns are found in Aberdeen, Washington. Many are working in the sawmills of Eureka and Fort Bragg, California, and others as loggers in the California red-wood forests. There is a settlement of raisin growers in Reedley, California. In Wisconsin, Finnish farmers are found mostly in and near the towns of Turtle Lake, Owen, and Phelps. In Illinois, the majority of the Finns live in Chicago, Waukegan, and DeKalb, and work in the wire mills and other factories. In Ohio, many have moved from the coast of Lake Erie to the inland steel mills and farms. Others own land near the manufacturing towns in Massachusetts and make a good living by growing strawberries and other garden produce. Several hundred Finnish farmers live in Maine. In general, though they may work for a time in the factories in large towns or in mines, as soon as they have saved enough money to purchase a piece of land or claim a farm or "homestead," the Finns leave the city and make the farm their permanent home and their main source of income. Many attempts have been made to settle Finnish farmers in Florida, Georgia, New Mexico, Texas, and other southern states, but the men have mostly returned to the north, not being accustomed to the southern climate and forms of vegetation.

The Finns are believers in the coöperative system, and their coöperative creameries in Minnesota and coöperative shops in New England testify to their ability in establishing this method of production and distribution. Even some of the smallest Finnish communities in America have their own *osuuskauppa* (coöperative stores). The first notable coöperative enterprise was the Finnish cannery in Astoria, Oregon, where the famous Columbia River salmon and other fish are packed and canned. Many other forms of coöperative business have since been set up by the Finns, such as restaurants, farms, fire insurance, wholesale and retail grocery stores, newspapers, meat markets, and apartment buildings.

Churches and church organizations. Nearly all Finns in the United States belong to the Lutheran Church. Within that church there are, however, three religious organizations or groups, differing from each other in various ways. The Suomi Synod or Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America is the strongest of the three. This

church's educational work is extensive. In 1926 it held 100 summer schools, the pupils numbering 4,747 and the teachers 105. The educational department of the Synod also includes Suomi College and Theological Seminary at Hancock, organized in 1896.² The history of this college dates back to 1896. Its primary aim is the training of Finnish ministers, the Theological Seminary being opened in 1904. It is the only institution for higher learning in the United States that offers courses in Finnish. In 1932 it was affiliated with the University of Michigan.

At the time of the establishment of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1890, there was, particularly in Calumet, considerable opposition to the new organization; as a result, a separate local church known as the Finnish National Church was founded. As other churches joined the movement, an organization was formed at Rock Springs, Wyoming, on June 26, 1899, and was later incorporated at Ironwood, Michigan, as the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran National Church of America.

Among the Finns who first settled in Calumet were a number belonging to a sect founded by Provost Lars Levi Laestadius of Pajala in Sweden. Disagreements arose between them and other Lutherans, and in December, 1872, under the leadership of Salomon Korteniemi, the Lutheran Society was organized. In 1879 this name was changed to the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Congregation. As other congregations of Finns in Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, and Oregon were organized on the same basis, they came into fellowship with this body under the name of the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church.

Temperance and other societies. The Finns in America have been especially active in the temperance movement. In 1895 the *Pohjan Tahti* (North Star) Temperance Association was founded, and many similar societies arose later. Their names, such as *Koitto* (Morning Twilight), *Onni* (Luck), *Hyva Toivo* (Good Hope), *Sade* (Ray) and *Soihitu* (Torch), indicate how idealistic was their nature. They coöperated with the Anti-Saloon League in carrying on the fight against the sale of intoxicating drinks, and they also served as social centers. At one time there were 160 Finnish temperance societies possessing halls for meetings, and the Finnish National Brotherhood Temperance Association had a membership of over 10,000 in 1904. In recent years the temperance movement has lost force. The revoca-

² The following information is based on several articles written by John Wargelin and others for *The Daily Mining Gazette*, Houghton and Calumet, September 5, 1936.

tion of the Eighteenth Amendment has deprived the temperance organizations of their chief purpose, and in the process of Americanization many of their entertainment activities have disappeared.

A number of secret societies and fraternal organizations have also been formed. Toward the close of the nineteenth century the Knights of Kaleva were organized in Montana, and their auxiliary organization of the Ladies of Kaleva appeared shortly afterward. These societies are in the main social and educational in purpose and aim at maintaining the unity of the Finnish-speaking people. Their membership is restricted to persons of Finnish extraction. The only benefit society of importance operates in the western states, having its headquarters in San Francisco. The socialist societies work independently of other Finnish societies and in conjunction with other American labor organizations.

The press. The first Finnish newspaper in the United States was founded on April 14, 1876, by A. J. Muikku, a student from Finland, and was called *Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti* (*The Finnish Newspaper of America*). In all, only eleven numbers were printed. Since then about a hundred other periodicals have appeared, but few of them have survived long.

A number of Finnish newspapers serve to promote Finnish nationalism, and these adopt a friendly attitude toward the church organizations of the American Finns. Such are the *New Yorkin Uutiset* (*New York News*), which is published three times a week; the daily *Päivälehti*, published in Duluth, Minnesota; the *American Sanomat* (*Tidings of America*), a weekly with Republican sympathies, published at Fairport Harbor, Ohio; and the *Minnesotan Uutiset* (*Minnesota News*), of New York Mills, Minnesota, a biweekly. Also, many periodicals of a religious nature are published in Finnish.

The *Työmies* (*Working Man*), a socialist daily, is issued by the Työmies Publishing Company at Superior, Wisconsin. Another daily, the *Industrialisti* of Duluth, is controlled by the International Workers (Finnish Group). The *Raivaaja* (*Pioneer*), a radical daily, is published by the Finnish supporters of the Workers Labor Party at Fitchburg, Massachusetts. The socialist publishing companies also issue yearbooks and various kinds of pamphlets.

Assimilation. English is an especially difficult language for Finns to master, and this has been an obstacle to their Americanization. Nevertheless, they have not been slow in becoming naturalized. In 1940, the United States census showed that 60.8 per cent of the foreign-born Finnish men had become naturalized and 16 per cent

had taken out their first papers; of the foreign-born women, 52.6 per cent had been naturalized and 5 per cent had their first papers.

The absorption of Finns into the American environment has been favored by the tendency of immigrants to move out from the bounds of their settlements. The homogeneity of racial groups is disappearing, and the cessation of immigration has made the loosening of many ties with Europe inevitable. Consequently, there has been a disposition to promote the assimilative process. Many Finns of the second generation are intermarrying with members of other American groups, and the American-born children of foreign-born Finns often look with disfavor upon everything Finnish. They openly resist Finnish customs and traditions, fail to participate in immigrant institutions, and lose command of the Finnish language. Finnish Christian names are changed to their American equivalents—*Toivo* to *Tom*, *Tyynne* to *Mary*—and surnames often suffer the same fate, as in the change from *Koivumake* to *Hill*. In the process of learning to speak English, the immigrants have given Finnish forms to English words, creating a kind of Finnish American. Dr. Kolehmainen has provided us with data on such Finnish-American words.³ For example, the Finnish word for apples is *omenia*, the Finnish-American form is *apylia*. So *farmer* (*maanviljelia* in Finnish) is *farmari*; *house* (*talo*) is *haussi*; and *bedroom* (*makuuhuone*) is *petiruuma*. The spread of the English language is apparent in the church. English is coming increasingly into use in Sunday Schools, confirmation classes, and young people's work, as well as in church services.

Politically most of the Finns are members of the socialist, temperance, or progressive parties, although the more Americanized Finns tend more and more to be aligned with the traditional Republican or Democratic organizations. Professor Van Cleef traces the reason for their "leftist" tendencies—not long ago more than 25 per cent of the Finnish immigrants were estimated to be socialists—to the days of Russian oppression. Many of them emigrated during that period and were filled with bitterness against established order of all kinds.

Finnish Americans and World War II. In 1939, the Finns were heroes in the eyes of the American public. When Russia attacked Finland, most Finnish Americans—with the exception of the few communists—identified themselves with the cause, which was also popular with the American public. Although in the subsequent

³ John I. Kolehmainen, "The Finnification of English in America," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1937, pp. 62-66.

years, Finns fought the same foe as in 1939-1940—that is, the Russians—the somersaults of international trends placed the Finns on the wrong side of America's interests. Russia had changed allegiance from Hitler to the United Nations, and thus Finland had become America's indirect enemy. And thus, also, the Finnish Americans, while professing their love for America, could not, at the same time, give up their love for their country's cause. "The whole situation is a puzzle, if not a headache, to the State Department and the American public in general. How much more of a puzzle and much deeper a pain it is to the leaders of the loyal, democratic Finnish Americans and the editors of their newspapers!"⁴

Contributions to American Life

Although the number of Finns in America is not very large, their influence has been outstanding in the development of the country, especially in their capacity of pioneers and frontiersmen; it has been estimated that Finns have brought a million acres of land under cultivation.

It is not generally known that a Finn made the first scientific study of the plants and animals of what is now the United States. He was Pehr Kalm, professor of economics and natural history in the University of Abo, and one of the foremost scientists of northern Europe. Kalm landed in Philadelphia on September 15, 1738, and for two-and-a-half years traveled through the territory that now forms the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. On his return, he carried back with him to Linnaeus, whose pupil he was, a large collection of plants, seeds, and insects. In 1751 he published an account of his studies entitled *En resa till Norra Amerika (A Journey to North America)*, which was subsequently translated into English, German, Dutch, and French. He was the first European scientist to describe Niagara Falls.

Of the Finns who have traveled to America in recent years, the best known are Sibelius and Saarinen, one of the greatest composers and one of the greatest architects of our time. Sibelius's reputation stands particularly high in the United States. In 1914 he came to America to conduct the premier of a symphonic poem composed for

⁴ Yaroslav J. Chyz, "The War and the Foreign-Language Press," *Common Ground*, III (Spring, 1943), pp. 3-10. For a moderate point of view of an American Finn, see John Saari, "Finnish Nationalism Justifying Independence," in Joseph S. Roucek, Ed., *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 232 (March, 1944), pp. 33-38.

the Norfolk, Connecticut, Musical Festival and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Music from Yale University. The performance of his "Second Symphony" by the Philadelphia Orchestra at Carnegie Hall on March 10, 1937, led the music critic of *The New York Times* to write in most eulogistic terms of this great work. Gottlieb Eliel Saarinen came to the United States in 1923 after gaining second place in the international contest for the design of the *Chicago Tribune* building. For a year he occupied the chair of architecture at the University of Michigan, having been invited there by Professor Emil Larch as a lecturer on design. Later he was employed by the Detroit Chapter of the American Institute of Architects to make a study of the river-front project. As architect of the railway stations in Helsinki and Viipuri and of the city halls in Lahti and Joensuu, Saarinen acquired an international reputation which was furthered by his plans for Sofia and other cities in Europe, the United States, and Australia.

A number of other Finns are prominent in American life. Alfred J. E. Norton, head of the Norton Construction Company of New York, is of Finnish birth. Oscar J. Larson was elected to the House of Representatives in 1920, and several other men of Finnish descent have served in the state legislatures of Michigan, Minnesota, and other states. When James A. Farley, the Democratic national chairman, a week before the presidential election of 1936 took place, correctly predicted that his candidate, President Roosevelt, would be returned by forty-six states, his forecast was based on the graphs and tables of his assistant, Emil Hurja. The son of a Finnish immigrant, Hurja began his career as a gold miner in Alaska, later worked for a newspaper, and finally became a financial analyst. Dr. John Wargelin, the second president of Suomi College, was born in Isokyro on September 26, 1881. Thorsten V. Kalijarvi was in 1944 executive director of the New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission, on leave of absence from the University of New Hampshire as the head of the department of government.

E. AUSTRIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

That Austria-Hungary was one of the large sources of recent immigrants to the United States must not obscure the fact that the state of Austria, established at Versailles, was only a minor part of the former great empire. Classification of immigration before 1914 from the Austrian Empire cannot be accepted as accurate from the

standpoint of the immigrant groups that, after World War I, formed their own independent states—Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians, and Yugoslavs, as well as Russians and Jews.

Historically speaking, the immigration from Austria was unimportant until the middle of the nineteenth century. The sudden increase after 1848 was caused by the revolution of 1848 and the interest of the Czechs in the gold discoveries in California. Gradually other national groups of the empire were drafted into the immigration exodus, and at the beginning of the 1880's Austria was an important country in our immigration statistics. Although political dissatisfaction was a principal factor at the beginning, especially among the Czechs, the economic reasons became dominant in the later phase of the migration.¹ Following World War I, Austria was reduced to one eighth of its former size. The tabulation prepared by the Bureau of Immigration gives a total of 39,400 immigrants from Austria during the years 1920–1936 inclusive.

Austria and World War II. Austria was the first country swallowed by Hitler's steam roller (1939), and a considerable number of Austrians took refuge on America's soil, hoping either for the restoration of their country's independence² or for the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy under the self-appointed claimant to this throne, "Otto of Austria."³ In fact, Otto's efforts on behalf of his claims had all the elements of musical comedy. Secretary of War Stimson, in a letter addressed to "Otto of Austria," indicated that the government favored a restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy which was buried in 1918, although, in Lord Bryce's words of the Holy Roman Empire, "its ghost sits crowned on the grave thereof." Otto spoke of 10,000,000 Americans of Austrian birth, which could only have included Yugoslavs, Czechs, and others who were glad to build their states on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. When the War Department allowed Otto to organize a special "Austrian" legion, and when Otto, in his various lectures throughout the country, actually spoke of himself as emperor of the Croats, Slovenes, Czechoslovaks, and Hungarians, who had in 1918 gained their national freedom, a storm of protest broke loose in the United States. Partic-

¹ For a more detailed description of immigration data from Austria, see Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration*, pp. 116–122. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936.

² Cf. Ferdinand Czernin, "Austria's Position in Reconstructed Europe," pp. 71–76, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 232 (March, 1944), "A Challenge to Peacemakers."

³ Cf. Joseph S. Roucek, "The 'Free Movements' of Horthy's Eckhardt and Austria's Otto," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII (Fall, 1943), pp. 466–476.

ularly indignant were the governments-in-exile of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. The War and State departments had to disavow any notion of restoring the Habsburg dynasty, and Otto finally had to admit that not many Americans of Austrian descent were willing to join his "Legion." The project had to be given up. The final doom to the Archduke's dream to regain the throne of Austria was sealed by the conference of American, British, and Soviet foreign ministers in Moscow in their declaration on Austrian independence.

Thereafter (1944), the Austrian Monarchists initiated a new line of activity in Washington, conducting propaganda to the end that they be appointed official "advisers" in Austrian affairs for the State Department. The "Military Committee for the Liberation of Austria," whose president was the "Emperor" himself, transformed itself into an "Austrian Institute."

Contributions to American Life

Despite Austria's small size, its contributions to America have been significant. Our music lovers still listen with rapture to the Viennese Johannes Brahms, Johann Strauss, and Fritz Kreisler. Both the late Madame Schumann-Heink, a beloved singer of America, and Madame Maria Jeritza, who made her fame as a member of the Viennese Imperial Opera Company and of the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York, were Austrians, although both were born on what is now the Czechoslovak territory. The great theater painter, the late Joseph Urban, came to America from Austria. Erich von Stroheim, a motion picture director and star, has made himself immortal with his directorial genius, which influenced the early development of Hollywood production. Luise Rainer, dark-haired Viennese actress, won twice the renowned "Oscar" award conferred by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Max Reinhardt, who began his career as an amateur actor in a Viennese theater, was one of the leaders during the twenties in the search to achieve the supreme possibilities of the modern theater. Born in Vienna, and long a vigorous anti-Nazi, Paul Henreid made his way eventually to the Warner Brothers studio during World War II and was featured with such great stars as Ida Lupino, Bette Davis, and others.

The late Dr. Gustav Lindenthal was a distinguished and famous American bridge builder and scientist. Professor Karl Landsteiner, formerly of the University of Vienna and then with the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, was awarded the Nobel Prize for

Medicine in 1930. Professor Walter Consuelo Langsam is one of the best-known American historians. In the field of business are the names of Edward C. Blum, president of both the Abraham and Strauss store and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and Ralph Hitz, president of the Hotel New Yorker. Franklin Fischer, president of the Fischer Exhibits, Inc., has won countless blue-ribbon prizes for his now heralded technique of treating bakelite. One of the most famed lawyers, whose influence on Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration was considerable, is Professor Felix Frankfurter. Born in Vienna, he came to the United States in 1894, and after being professor in the Harvard Law School became a Supreme Court judge of the United States.

The psychiatric school, founded by the Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud, has had a marked influence on American psychology and sociology. Dr. Alfred Adler (who died in 1937), author of such works as *Understanding Human Nature* and *Problems of Neurosis*, was professor of medical psychology in the Long Island Medical College. Dr. Dorian Feigenbaum, a founder of *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, was a friend of Dr. Sigmund Freud and an instructor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University. Erich von Hornbostel, a leading *Gestalt* psychologist, became a member of the University in Exile in New York.

Karl Theodore Francis Bitter (1867-1915) landed in New York at twenty-two years of age with scarcely a penny in his pocket and, before three years had passed, was directing the colossal scheme of sculpture upon the Administration Building of the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. Before his death, at the age of 48, he had been director of sculpture at three expositions, a member of the Art Commission of New York City, and twice president of the National Sculpture Society (1906, 1914).⁴

In more recent years, we all have heard of Bruno Walter (conductor), Hedy Lamarr (motion picture actress) and Walter Slezak (character actor of Hollywood), Bruno Frank and Ernst Lothar (authors), Professor Felix Ehrenhaft, Professor Herman Marck (with Du Pont), Professor Langsteiner, Dr. Schwarzkopf, Professor Hans Kelsen (one of the great names in the field of political science and law), and Dr. Otto Benesch (professor of art history at Harvard University).

⁴ See Adeline Adams, "Karl Theodore Francis Bitter," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 303-305; F. Schevill, *Karl Bitter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917.

F. HUNGARIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Hungarians are not "new" immigrants, as is commonly supposed, but have been coming to the United States for centuries. Some claim that a Magyar visited North America nearly five hundred years before Columbus.¹ Scattered records exist of the activities of Hungarians in the United States throughout the colonial period and the first half of the eighteenth century, and it is certain that Hungarians played a more important part in America's Revolutionary and Civil wars than is generally known. One of George Washington's officers was the distinguished Hungarian, Colonel Michael Kovats. About eight hundred Hungarians served in the Union Army, of whom sixty to eighty were officers. The decided increase in the number arriving in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century can be accounted for in part by the publication in Hungary in 1834 of a record of observations on America by Alexander Farkas de Boloni.²

The Hungarian Revolution of 1848, which aroused great sympathy among the American people and in official circles, provided a further impetus to the immigration of exiled Hungarians. The first to seek haven in America was, it is said, Laszlo Ujhazy,³ who arrived in New York on December 16, 1849, with his family and several friends. His group settled in southern Iowa, acquired some 10,000 acres of land, and gradually attracted other colonists until New Buda, named after Hungary's capital, was founded. The colony has been long entirely extinct.

When Louis Kossuth arrived in New York in the autumn of 1851, he received a hearty welcome that was repeated in all the cities that he visited; and the United States Congress, at the recommendation of the Ohio state legislature, passed a resolution offering him and his

¹ The Tyrker, or Turk, who according to the Icelandic saga discovered grapes at Vinland about the year 1000 A.D., might have been a Hungarian, although most of the later translators of and commentators on the *Heimskingla* take Tyrker to have been German. See J. Pivany, *Hungarians in the American Civil War*, p. 3, and *Hungarian-American Historical Collections*.

² Alexander Farkas de Boloni came to the new world in 1831 in the company of Count Ferenc Beldy. In Pittsburgh he met two other prominent Hungarians, Baron Farkas Wesselenyi and Paul Balogh, in whose company he was received by President Jackson. They were the first Hungarians entertained at the White House.

³ Ujhazy has the distinction of possessing the first citizenship papers of the United States. He also became a postmaster and is considered the first Hungarian in the public service of the United States. In 1861 he was appointed United States consul at Ancona by President Lincoln.

group the use of a vessel and free land on which to settle. Those who had followed him in exile from Hungary eventually joined him in the United States, as did others later who had first found refuge in Turkey, Italy, France, and England. Immigrants for political reasons, they were almost exclusively of the middle or upper classes, who hoped to be able, in a few years, to return to their native land. It was not long, however, before most of them had found permanent occupation here and were scattered throughout the United States.

After the spurt induced by the Hungarian Revolution had spent itself, immigration continued on a smaller scale. In 1867 a number of the immigrants returned to Hungary, taking advantage of a political amnesty following the re-establishment of constitutional government in their homeland.

In the eighties, Hungarians began to come to America in much larger numbers, drawn by the usual hope of a better livelihood in this vast new country. Those who were already here urged friends to join them in this America which offered such bright promise of a better order of things. Thus, in the latter part of the eighties, there were approximately 100,000 Hungarians in the United States, whereas in 1860, according to Pivany's estimate, there had been some 4,000. From 1883 to 1903, the average annual accession was 30,000; 1907 was the peak year, when 60,071 were admitted.

The majority of these were Slavs, but Magyars began coming in 1899 until, by 1910, according to United States official statistics, there were 338,151 Hungarians in this country. Of this number, 227,742 persons in the 1910 census gave Magyar as their mother tongue. Doubtless, all of these were not Magyar, inasmuch as all other minority nationalities of Hungary probably not only specified Hungary as their country of origin but Magyar as their language—a customary thing in that part of the world.

The 1940 census shows a total of 453,000 who gave Magyar as their mother tongue, and of this number, 241,220 were foreign born. Many Hungarians have returned home. Of the total Magyars in the United States, 30,034 of whom were admitted from 1920-1924, 33,460 departed (a loss of 3,426); from 1925-1929, 5,464 arrived and 4,883 left (a gain of 581); from 1930-1940 emigration practically equaled immigration, an average of approximately 500 a year.

Before 1915, there were about three times as many Hungarian men as women in the United States. Wives and children were frequently left at home and the men came with the intention of staying just long enough to make enough money to pay off the mortgage on their land,

or to buy a little property, or to build a modest home on their farm. It frequently happened, however, that, on the return to their homeland, the lure of America was still so strong that they followed it once more and brought their families as well. The census of 1910 enumerated 160.8 Magyar men to 100 women, but in 1920 there were 120.5 males per 100 females, and the proportion had been reduced by 1940 to 101.5 males per 100 females. The very recent tendency for whole families to remain here permanently is reflected in the speed with which the immigrants are being assimilated. In 1910, when most expected that their residence would be temporary, only 15 per cent of the Magyars were naturalized. In 1920, 21.1 per cent had become American citizens, and by 1940, 64.3 per cent had sworn allegiance to the United States.

The total number of persons born in Hungary, plus their native-born children now in this country, is difficult to determine. Officially, there were 662,068 in 1940. On the other hand, experts who have made a careful study of Magyar settlements estimate that there are only from 300,000 to 400,000 Hungarians in the United States today, including their children. One reason for the difficulty is that the census now classifies immigrants according to place of birth, so that those who emigrated from territories formerly Hungarian, but now under other sovereignties, are enumerated as Czechs, Yugoslavs, or Roumanians, rather than as Hungarians.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. The occupations of Hungarians in the United States are similar to those of any other group of citizens. Considerations of membership in a nationality group probably have had little to do with the choice of profession, which has been determined rather by the social class to which the individual belonged or by his own natural aptitudes and abilities. Magyar immigrants of the laboring classes are to be found in greatest numbers in iron and steel manufacturing, bituminous coal mining, the making of agricultural implements, silk dyeing, and sugar refining. A considerable number have found employment in the coal mines of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, while viniculturists have been employed rather extensively by grape-growers in Ohio and California. Some Hungarians have opened restaurants and tailoring establishments and other shops. Others are cabinet makers, tool makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, wheelwrights, stone masons, locksmiths, painters, shoemakers, and butchers.

While most are engaged in industry and trade, many have drifted into agriculture to satisfy their thirst for land ownership. Budapest, Georgia, a Hungarian farming community established after World War I, does not exist any more; the same applies to Kossuthville (Kossuthfalva), Florida, near Winter Haven, which was an ambitious plan during the prosperous years before 1929. Edmund Vasvary, auditor of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, chartered by the Congress in 1907, claims that "there is no exclusively Hungarian village or town anywhere. The nearest is Fairport Harbor, Ohio, where the entire village consists of Hungarians and Finns, the only place in the world where the two related nations live together." Most of the Hungarian farmers live in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Oklahoma.

Magyars in America differ from other eastern and central European immigrant groups in that an unusually large number are of the intelligentsia and professional classes. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of them were political exiles, as has already been pointed out. After World War I, a large number of lawyers, physicians, engineers, former state officials, and a variety of other representatives of the middle class emigrated to America because of unsatisfactory conditions in the defeated country.⁴ The permeation of all walks of life in America by Hungarians tends to disintegrate the prewar colonies of arrivals who, seeking friends of the same nationality, had congregated in specific sections of our cities and established purely Hungarian settlements. Today there are few left. One such settlement was Himlerville (now called Beauty), Kentucky, the only all-Magyar mining town founded after World War I. Social distinctions, furthermore, have in many cases created a barrier between the professional class and the uneducated workingman. The divergent points of view of the assimilated and of recent un-Americanized arrivals also help to prevent the establishment of common purposes and interests.

Religion. Although the Hungarian peasant is a devout churchgoer, retaining this inclination to a lesser degree in America, the intelligentsia is prone to give up interest in organized religion. Further, Hungarian clergymen, particularly the younger element, frequently are at variance, often actually clashing with members of their congregations.

⁴ It is of interest that some years ago chemical engineers were brought from Sarvar, Hungary, to Hopewell, Virginia, to participate in the production of artificial silk.

The American Reformed, Presbyterian, and Lutheran churches early came into contact with Hungarian groups. At about the same time that the Board of Home Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States was directing its attention to the needs of Hungarians in the United States, missionaries were also being dispatched from Hungary to establish centers of worship for their people here. The first Hungarian congregation was organized by Reverend Gideon Acs, an exiled Calvinist minister, in New York in 1852. The first Hungarian church building was, however, erected in Pittsburgh in 1892 where a second missionary, the Reverend John Kovacs, had been commissioned in 1891. Since 1900, there has been a definite trend away from the Hungarian Reformed Church to the Hungarian Reformed Church of America. A Hungarian department, the only chair of its kind in America, at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, supported by the Reformed Church, was discontinued about 1936.

The Free Magyar Reformed Church in America was established on December 9, 1924, at Duquesne, Pennsylvania. It is not exactly a continuation of the former Hungarian Reformed Church in America, although it corresponds to it in faith, government, and so on, and its constituency is made up to a certain degree from that of the former church.

Professor Frank Kovach of the Bloomfield College and Seminary, Bloomfield, New Jersey, estimates that since 1891 approximately 190 churches or mission centers have been established. He makes this interesting comment: "Most of these churches are only a generation old. Charter members are still to be found in every one of them. Their membership, however, divides them into two distinct groups—the older and the newer generation. Roughly, the older generation desires a worship and work of the church as it was in the old country, while the younger is eager to be American both in worship and life."

Survival of "old-world" patterns. The Hungarian-American neighborhood still has many of the characteristics of the small peasant village. The two strongest bonds of this type are the *Sogorak* and the *Komak*.⁵ The former term refers to certain affinal relatives, such as an in-law; the latter, to godparents. *Sogor* is a very friendly term, and a good friend may be addressed as *Sogor* out of courtesy. A *Koma* is a godfather, and the *Komak* is a reciprocal relationship between the parents and godparents of a child. Those who stand in the *Komak*

⁵ Natalie Joffe, *Hungarian Food Patterns*, Washington, D. C.: The Committee of Food Habits, National Research Council, 1943.

relationship may form a group of some size, as there are separate god-parents for each child. All those who stand in the *Sogorak* and *Komak* relationship must be invited to attend baptisms, weddings, name-day feasts, and funerals. Elaborate seating arrangements, a definite order in which names must be recited, and other traditional forms are always observed. The force of these ties often carries well into the third generation.

Food folkways are very important in Hungary, where elaborate food symbolism had grown up around calendar events and critical periods in the life of the individual. Little of these remain in the life of Hungarian Americans, who have largely given up their practice of eating frequent meals; instead they conform to the American meal schedules. But there has been little alteration in the diet of those born in Hungary. Only one example can be given: white rolls, which were formerly an urban or holiday food, can be had in every corner store; but they have by no means replaced sour rye bread.

Organizations. Above the family relations and ties are those of the organizational affiliations. Many of the organizations, particularly the mutual-benefit societies, were begun prior to 1900 when most of the Hungarians in America were single men between the ages of 20 and 35. Those who were married kept boarding houses where the bachelors lived. Lonely, and dreading sickness and a pauper's burial in a strange land, the residents of several boarding houses often clubbed together to put up money as sickness or death insurance. In time, some of the groups expanded into large benefit societies.⁶

The formal organizational ties of the societies are the strongest associational bonds in Hungarian-American life. These societies act as a cohesive force. Even churches and political groups use the society mechanism to hold their members together, and to this end they support numerous subsidiary societies. In addition to the sick benefit and insurance orders there are social clubs, singing and dramatic groups, athletic societies, and the like. A good many societies have been organized for sick benefits, funeral expenses, insurance, or some other philanthropic purpose; others are directly connected with churches or are branches of local or larger national organizations. The *Verhovay* (Aid Association) of Pittsburgh, with a membership of 32,000, is the largest Hungarian sick-benefit and insurance organization in this country; next in size is the American Federation of Hungarian Sick Benefit Societies at Bridgeport, Con-

⁶ Andrew A. Marchbin, "Hungarian Activities in Western Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXIII (1940), p. 165.

necticut. The Hungarian Reformed Federation is also a large insurance and funeral-expense society and is the only Hungarian organization that has a national charter, granted by the United States Congress, and its headquarters in its own building in the national capital.

The impact of World War II. The fortunes of World War II, which placed Hungary on the side of Nazi Germany, produced confusion in the minds of all classes of Hungarian Americans. Immediately after World War I, there were no Hungarian-American picnics or social gatherings without a period being devoted to the reiteration of the need for treaty revisionism. Budapest propaganda saw to it that these people believed that the postwar treaties—and particularly the so-called Trianon Treaty—were unjust to Hungary.

But the matter became complicated when America joined World War II. Hungary, more than any other country in Europe, had benefited by Hitler's "New Order." Its territorial aggrandizements were realized to the disadvantage of two members of the United Nations—Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Its armies, furthermore, fought Russia beside Hitler's armies, and in addition Budapest declared war on Great Britain and the United States.

By 1943, however, Budapest, aware that the Allies would not confirm the grants of Hitler and Mussolini, tried its utmost to secure its territorial gains. Its propaganda adopted the line of self-preservation: Hungary had been compelled to yield to Germany because its open frontiers and poorly equipped army could not have resisted the onslaught of Nazi aggression. The impression was created that Horthy's clique had always been secretly pro-British and democratic.⁷

This was all rather confusing to the Hungarian Americans, as is illustrated by the American-Hungarian Federation, which represents some 600,000 Hungarian Americans. Anti-Nazi, it was at the same time "revisionist"—that is, it favored claiming all the territories Horthy had occupied as accessory to Hitler. As the representative of the three greatest and oldest Hungarian societies, numbering about 100,000 members and about 100 religious communities, it held a convention in Pittsburgh on November 27, 1941. When it came to a showdown between Nazis and anti-Nazis at the convention, the majority decided in favor of wholehearted acceptance of the official

⁷ Rustem Vambery, *The Hungarian Problem*. New York: *The Nation*, 1942; Joseph S. Roucek, "The 'Free Movements' of Horthy's Eckhardt and Austria's Otto," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII (Fall, 1943), pp. 466-476; Roucek, "Foreign Language Press in World War II," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVII (July-August, 1943), pp. 462-471.

policy of the American government. But, again paradoxically enough, this same federation sponsored the strange "Free Hungary" movement of Tibor Eckhardt, whose visit to the United States in 1941 created a furor among the prodemocratic and pro-Allied forces in the United States, and who earned for himself such names as the "Hungarian Hess" and "the first of Horthy's paratroops in America."

The same confusion of conflicting aims and hopes was exhibited by the Hungarian-American Press. The Hungarian *Egyetertes*, published in Bridgeport, Connecticut, had supported, before Pearl Harbor, the pro-Axis regime in Budapest. When the United States declared war on Hungary in the spring of 1942, *Egyetertes* ran a perfunctory editorial urging its readers to help the American war effort. In another column on the same page it remarked, however, that "the situation is no different from before, except that unnaturalized Hungarians must be more careful of what they say."

The press. The first Hungarian journal published in the United States was the *Magyar Szamuzottek Lapja* (*Bulletin of the Hungarian Exiles*), founded in 1853 by Hungarian exiles. It had 118 subscribers. The first regular Hungarian newspaper was the *Magyar-American*, edited by William Loew and Arcadius Avelbanus. The first issue appeared in New York City on June 15, 1879, and although the publication was soon discontinued, it gave impetus to the foundation of other Hungarian newspapers. The *Magyar-Amerika* was a literary magazine. The first Hungarian-American newspaper really devoted to Hungarian-American life was started in 1884 with the establishment of the *Amerikai Magyar-Nemzetor* (*American Guardian of the Nation*), edited by Gustav Erdelyi. In 1891 the *Szabadsag* (*Liberty*) was published in Cleveland as a weekly by Tihamer Kohanyi; it became a daily in 1900. The largest Hungarian newspaper in America, the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (*Peoples' Voice*), published by Geza Berko, started as a weekly in New York in 1900 and became a daily four years later. Today it has four editions—New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and a general edition. Several other daily newspapers were started but did not survive. In all, from 1884 to 1920, sixty-seven Magyar newspapers were started and forty-one expired. Some twenty-five appear regularly today; their editorial policies reflect the groups they represent.

Contributions to American Life

Hungarians have made a distinct contribution to the upbuilding of America. Coming from their native country in search of liberty

and wealth, they brought treasures of their own. They brought with them health and strong and rugged bodies to enable them to play a real part in the material development of this new land; to take their place in America's great army of industrial workers who, by their sweat and labor, paid with their blood for the comfort and higher standard of living attained in this country.

Aside from this cumulative contribution of the working man, many Hungarian Americans have achieved wide fame in the purely cultural field. Reverend Charles E. Schaeffer eloquently reminds us that⁸

a Hungarian [Colonel Kovats] was a cavalry drillmaster of . . . Washington. A Hungarian [Augustine Maraszthy] planted the first . . . tokay grapes in California. Another [John Xantus] enriched the Smithsonian Institute with unknown species of plants and animals. He was elected an honorary member of three great American scientific societies. In Wanamaker's store in Philadelphia hang two great paintings of "Christ before Pilate" and "Christ on Golgotha," the work of Munkacsy. His "Milton's Paradise Lost" hangs in the 42nd Street Library, New York City. A year ago the *Ladies' Home Journal* published an article in which reference was made to the fact that every year 7,000 American mothers die of childbirth fever, but 85 years ago, a Hungarian, Semmelweis, showed how this tragic occurrence can be totally prevented. It is not generally known that the builder of the first skyscraper in New York was a Hungarian. From an onion-growing town of Hungary there came to America a boy who was so poor that his first bed was a bench in the park. On a cold winter night, he entered a hotel to get warmed in the lobby. He was thrown out. Twenty years later this same boy paid \$635,000 for this same hotel, and afterwards bought the newspaper, the *World*, for \$340,000. With his own hands he traced the blueprints of the World building, which he never saw, for he was smitten with total blindness early in his career. But he became the newspaper king of the metropolis, Joseph Pulitzer. I mention these facts, and they could be multiplied by the score, to show that the Hungarians in America are by no means an inferior class, and they deserve to be regarded as an asset rather than a liability.

Abundant testimony of the preceding statement could be given by calling the roll of leading Hungarians in the United States. There are fifty-six university and college professors in America who are Hungarians or of Hungarian descent. In the theater are many famous names, and three pioneers of the motion-picture industry are Adolph Zukor,⁹ William Fox, and Marcus Loew. Others could be called

⁸ The Reverend C. E. Schaeffer, "Perspective in Evangelical Hungarian Work," Home Missions Council (105 East 22nd Street, New York, 1935), *Annual Report* 1934-1935, pp. 38-39.

⁹ See Will Irwin, *The House That Shadows Built*, p. 8. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1928.

from business, the professions, and the arts. In the arts, only the field of music and of the motion pictures can be presented.

The Magyar Americans have produced more than their share of successful composers. Victor Jacobi composed "Marriage Market," "Sybill," "Rambler Rose," "Riveria Girl," "Apple-blossoms," and so on. Armand Vecsey wrote "Rose of China," "Hotel Mouse," and "The Nightingale." Karoly Hajos and Sigmond Romberg are the composers of "May Time," "Magic Melody," "Student Prince," and "Song of the Desert." Dr. Eugene Ormandy, conductor of the Minneapolis Philharmonic Orchestra, has now become the successor to Leopold Stokowski as conductor of the famous Philadelphia Philharmonic Orchestra. Erno Rapee is music director of the Radio City Music Hall in New York City. Fritz Reiner is conductor of the Cincinnati and of the Philadelphia orchestras. Fritz Reiner and Edward Kilenyi are leaders in the field of orchestral music. Sandor Harmati, who died in 1936, won the Pulitzer prize in music in 1922 for his "Symphony Poem" and conducted many famous orchestras, both in America and abroad. Josef Honti, Hungarian pianist, is one of the three staff directors of music for the National Broadcasting Company of New York. During the 1943-1944 season, one of Broadway's great hits was the streamlined revival of "The Merry Widow," which starred Jan Kiepura and Marta Eggerth (Mrs. Kiepura), the latter a native of Hungary, who had appeared in German, British, and American films.

In 1943, Paul Lukas was selected by a committee of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures for outstanding acting in the motion picture, "Watch on the Rhine," a role he originated on the stage. As Pál Lukács, a native of Hungary, he made his fame on the Hungarian stage, was invited to Hollywood by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, and has become one of America's most popular actors on the stage as well as on the screen. Ferenc Molnár's plays have always been represented on Broadway. The Hungarian Roth Quartet gave in 1943 an all-American program of chamber music in the Museum of Modern Art in New York under the auspices of the National Association for American Composers and Conductors. Sir Alexander Korda's brother, Zoltan Korda, followed in his brother's footsteps as a great film producer by signing in 1943 a new producer-director contract with Columbia. Joe Pasternak and Henry Koster made themselves famous as film producers and directors.

Dr. Emil Lengyel, assistant professor at New York University, is well known throughout the country as a lecturer and author of such

works as *The Danube*, *Siberia*, and numerous others. Dr. Joseph Remenyi, professor of comparative literature in Western Reserve University, and radio lecturer of Cleveland College, Western Reserve University, is the author of some seventeen books. Dr. Franz Alexander was invited in 1932 to become director of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis and has devoted most of his time to the study of the influence of emotional factors upon bodily disturbances. The results have been incorporated in his book, *Our Age of Unreason*. A Hungarian-born emigré journalist, Stefan Lorant, published in 1941 *Lincoln: His Life in Pictures*, considered "the best sequence of Lincoln photographs ever issued in book form." Lorant was also author of the best-selling *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, which British editor Wickham Steed said would outlast the Third Reich. Tibor Koeves, Hungarian-born author, whose first American book, on the delights of travel, was *Timetable for Tramps*, made another hit with a biography of Franz von Papen, published as *Satan in a Top Hat*.

G. RUMANIAN AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

The name of these peoples is often spelled *Romanians*, which indicates their presumed ethnic origin as descendants of an early Roman settlement in central Europe. Whether or not this is their actual origin, the term as used in this section refers to an ethnic group rather than to those who lived within the shifting political boundaries of Rumania (sometimes also spelled *Roumania*).

There is one serious difficulty in using this connotation: statistics on immigration are based on "country of origin." In the vicissitudes of European wars and politics, Rumania has at various times been under the dominance of Russia, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. It has varied in size like an accordion from 50,000 to 125,000 square miles, and provinces such as Transylvania and Besarabia have changed hands several times. Through it all, however, the Rumanians have retained a high degree of cultural autonomy and a deep sense of nationality.

Immigration

As was true of nearly all "new" immigrant groups, pioneers preceded the major migration. At least two of these won their place in history because of their outstanding record in the Civil War: Captain Nicolae Dunca and General Gheorghe Pomutz. In 1944,

as a result of the activities of Rumanian Americans, a Liberty ship was named for the latter. The real stream of emigrants from Rumania did not begin, however, until late in the nineteenth century. Only eleven arrived during the decade 1871 to 1880, and there were but 19,109 before 1900. During the next decade 53,008 came, but the number dropped back during the decade of World War I to 13,311. The ten years immediately following brought 67,646, most of them coming between 1921 and 1925. As in the case of all "new" immigrant groups—the quota immigration laws having based the number of arrivals on the number in the United States and with each revision having shifted the period further back—Rumania's annual quota was decreased and since 1935 has been 377 per year. The number of arrivals from 1931 to 1940 was 3,871, and from 1941 to 1943 was 234. The total was 157,179.

If census figures are used (see Table VII, page 644), the number of white stock who give Rumania as "country of origin" is: 1910, 92,854; 1920, 167,399; 1930, 293,453; and 1940, 247,700. Of those of 1940, 115,940 were foreign born and another 103,060 had both parents born in Rumania. The percentage of foreign born decreased from 61 per cent in 1910 to 47 per cent in 1940, but was still considerably higher than the national average, 33 per cent.

All of the preceding data were derived, as such figures had to be, from a political basis, that is, the fluctuating boundary lines of Rumania. Therefore, although they are significant, they do not reveal the ethnic groups to which the immigrants belonged. Approximately a third of the immigrants from Rumania were Jews, 20 per cent were Saxons, and 6 per cent were Magyars. This fact is forcefully evidenced in the 1940 census data on mother tongue. Of the more than 240,000 who gave Rumania as country of origin, only 65,520 listed Rumanian as their mother tongue. Similarly, although 115,940 were foreign born from political Rumania, but approximately one third, or 43,120, spoke Rumanian.

If Rumanians are asked to indicate their number in the United States, some will say as few as 35,000, and others will place the number even as high as between 400,000 and 500,000. The most reliable figure, as was pointed out in Chapter II, is that based on the combination of nativity and mother tongue; for the Rumanians, then, it is probably not much in excess of the census figure, 65,000. Even with the addition of those of the third generation who lived in English-speaking homes, the number is still under 100,000.

The number has been stressed, not, as it may appear, to lessen the importance of this group, but to illustrate a fact that characterizes the data on many other European groups from little Albania to the U. S. S. R.—the difference between ethnic and political classification.

Regardless of the ethnic group, the causes of emigration to America are the same as for those from many other countries: persecution, wars, and low economic status. The first resulted in bringing several thousand refugees to America, and, in recent years, the larger proportion of these have been Jews. The third gave America tens of thousands of unskilled farm laborers, estimated at approximately 90 per cent of the total.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

By the time Rumanian immigration had reached significant numbers, the opportunity for those without a reserve of funds to enter into farming had practically disappeared. There were opportunities to earn a livelihood only in the cities. Keeping the 90 per cent figure in mind, the 1940 census reveals a significant fact concerning all Rumanian Americans: 88.5 per cent were urban, 5.9 per cent were rural nonfarm, and 5.6 per cent lived on rural farms. The percentage remains almost identical but is reversed. Men, accustomed for generations to the out-of-doors and varied and seasonal activities of agriculture, were forced to adjust themselves to the monotonous routine of work in the mill, the factory, or the mine.

The few who continued in farming and sheepherding are largely in the states of New Jersey and Connecticut in the East, Ohio and the Dakotas in the Middle West, and, in the Far West, Montana, Wyoming, and California. Many have been extremely successful, although even in agriculture few of the methods that were practiced in the old world could be carried over to the new.

Those who sought the social cohesion and security of city life went almost entirely to the large industrialized urban communities or to the mining areas of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Table XI (page 646) indicates this concentration, varying from 300 in Alliance, Ohio, to 40,655 in New York City. It is graphically shown in Figure 4.

Another problem of adjustment, common to several other national groups, faced these new immigrants. Until World War I, approximately 90 per cent of those who came were single men. Family life was impossible, a further factor in influencing the majority to seek their livelihood in cities. Here they rented rooms in the same build-

ing, often fifty or more in the same boarding house. Associating together retarded their acculturation, even their learning of the English language.

Since 1918, this situation has changed rapidly. The wave of immigration in the decade after World War I was composed chiefly of women and children—the families of those who had preceded them. Marriage outside of their own ethnic group came to be

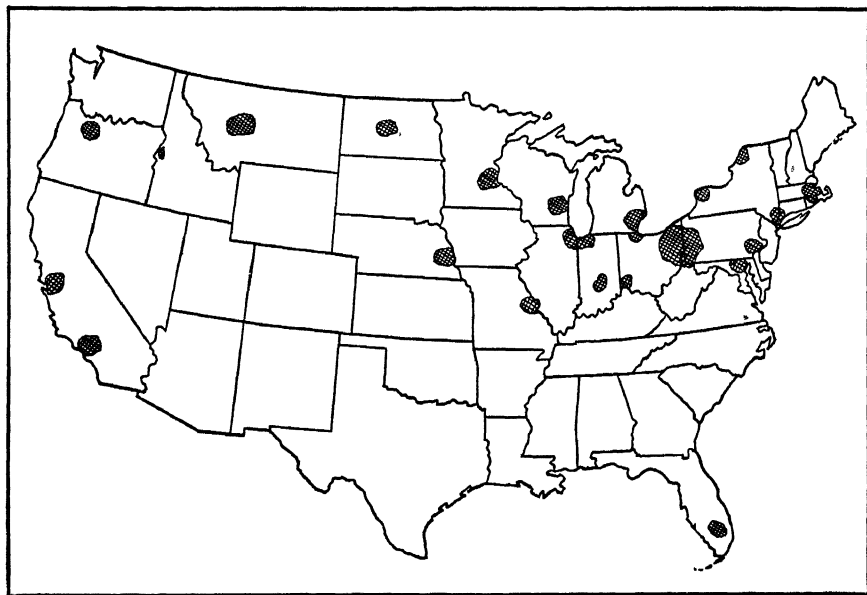


FIGURE 4. AREAS POPULATED BY RUMANIAN AMERICANS *

accepted. Boarding-house existence was changed to family life. The 1940 census gives the ratio of men to women as 108.4 men (113.3 among foreign-born Rumanians) to each 100 women. This ratio is still higher than the national average of 103.3 but is in sharp contrast to the 1910 ratio.

Another interesting situation among Rumanian Americans is that although they are concentrated in the larger cities, there are comparatively few places in which Rumanian-speaking groups are predominant as compared with other ethnic groups from the old country. These places are Canton, Warren, Youngstown, and Akron, Ohio; East Chicago and Gary, Indiana; Dearborn, Highland Park, and Detroit, Michigan; Newark and Trenton, New Jersey, and Aurora, Illinois.

* From *The New Pioneer*, II, No. 2 (July 1944), p. 50. (Data from 1940 Census.)

It will be noted, too, that not one of the cities listed is in the South or the Far West. By far the larger number of Rumanians live within six states: New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, and New Jersey. States having from 1,500 to 5,000 are California, Indiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Missouri. Many of the Rumanians in the latter group of states live in small villages or on farms. (See Figure 4.)

Religion. The church has played a leading role among the Rumanian people, both Jews and Gentiles. Among the Rumanian ethnic group, approximately 70 per cent are Greek Orthodox, a little more than 20 per cent are Greek Catholic, and the remainder are scattered among Protestant groups, with a preponderance of Baptists.

The Greek Orthodox Church has had an interesting social evolution. No trained clergy came with the first emigrants, and laymen who could chant the Byzantine prayers were selected to serve in their stead. It was not until 1923 that a group of eight priests came to Cleveland to assist in the work of the thirty-one churches and thirty-eight schools that had been already established through the earnest efforts of those who found their religion a vital bond between their life in the villages of Rumania and in the congested areas of industrialized America. Since 1935, Reverend Policarp Morushea has worked to coördinate their efforts, as Bishop and head of the Mission and the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate in America and in the western European countries. He has sought to make the church a culture-social center and, in extending it to include benefits to the sick and the aged, has reached into the field of activities of the benefit societies. It is hoped that close coöperation will be maintained, as both the church and the societies have developed through many years of struggle.

In contrast, the Greek Catholics have had an educated clergy from the beginning, many of them holding college degrees. There are eighteen churches and several parochial schools. The latter, with the exception of a full-time primary grade school in Detroit, are more like Protestant Sunday Schools. The Detroit school is conducted in both English and Rumanian.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society has been an effective agency among Rumanian Americans. Since 1910, sixteen Rumanian Baptist churches have been established and as many Sunday Schools. The membership is not large, approximately 1,000, but their influence has been greater than the number would imply, as they have not only assisted in keeping high the standards of conduct but have also inter-

preted American customs, folkways, and values. Through their publication, *Luminatoral* (*The Light*), they have kept in contact with other American Baptists and, through spiritual and social values held in common, have eased the process of acculturation and assimilation.

Organizations. Although Rumanians live in urban areas, they do not as a rule form small "culture islands." There is no equivalent of "Little Italy" in New York, "Little Poland" in Buffalo, or "Chinatown" in San Francisco. In a single city there will be a number of groups, often only of a few families, living in the same neighborhood. This fact has markedly influenced the development of social and fraternal organizations that thrive most readily in a homogeneous and contiguous social group. Over the years, a number of local organizations developed, but for the most part, their chief purpose was mutual benefits: insurance for health and old age. In 1944 they were organized into two groups: the Union and League of Rumanian Societies, and the International Workers Order. The former had approximately 5,000 members, the latter about 2,500.

More recently, other types of organizations have developed. The National Rumanian Committee of Cleveland was organized for participation in political activities. The Legion of Rumanian Volunteers sought to instill love of America in its youthful members. A new organization, the Cultural Associations of Americans of Romanian Descent, was established on October 13, 1940, in Cleveland and soon attained a membership of nearly 1,000. October 8 has been established as "Culture Day" for all Rumanian Americans. The letter of call for the first meeting so completely embodies the aspiration of all new immigrant groups that it is quoted here. It was signed by Theodore Andrica of Harvard University, who was elected the first president of the association.

"The initiators of this letter strongly feel that there must be thousands of persons of Romanian descent in the United States who would like to associate with one another on a cultural level, leaving fraternal, political and religious affiliations aside; men and women who are interested in intelligent and true Americanism but who still feel and appreciate the bonds of common ancestry; persons who are willing to do something to help Americans of Romanian descent advance to higher places in our American life."

The first general meeting of The Cultural Association was held on Dec. 1, 1940 in Cleveland when the Constitution and By Laws of the organization were adopted and officers were elected.

The purposes of the Association include the following points:

To help create among the American people the unity and understanding resulting from a common citizenship, a common belief in democracy and the ideals of liberty, the placing of the common good before the interests of any group and the acceptance, in fact as well as in law, of all American citizens, whatever their national or racial origins, as equal partners in American society.

To disseminate information and to further an appreciation of what Americans of Romanian descent have contributed to the United States of America.

To increase the respect and understanding of Americans of Romanian descent and of the older stock of Americans for each other and to help Americans of Romanian descent better understand their cultural and nationality background.

To issue a periodical, in English, dealing with general cultural subjects and with the various aspects of the Romanian background in relation to life in the United States.

In general, to aid Americans of Romanian immigrant ancestry to advance higher in American life.

In this letter is embodied the twofold struggle: the desire to retain the culture of the old world yet to use it as the basis for heightening loyalty to the new world through easing the process of culture adjustment; and, the effort to provide a channel through which old and young may participate together in the feast days, the holidays (Rumanian and American), the songs and dances of old and new worlds, and thereby develop a common sense of values and of appreciation—youth for the land of their parents, oldsters for the adopted land that has set the cultural pattern of their children.

Effects of World War II. The conflicting political interests in Rumania inevitably have been reflected in the attitudes of Rumanian Americans. Many were disillusioned when Rumania cast her lot with the Nazis. Efforts were made to salvage the Rumanian cause for the democratic forces. One group was represented by the Rumanian American Alliance for Democracy, with headquarters in Cleveland and Detroit, backed principally by the Union and League of Rumanian Cultural and Beneficial Societies. It was under the leadership of Carol Davilla, former Rumanian minister to Washington, who, on being recalled from Washington during King Carol's rulership, refused to return and thereafter became prominent in various anti-Carol activities in the United States. The other movement was "Free Rumania," with headquarters in Detroit, whose principal objective was to support the political aspirations of former King Carol of Rumania. Its goal was opposed by the United States authorities, for on November 17, 1942, the United States Department of Justice

announced the indictment by a Detroit federal grand jury of three officials of the Free Rumania movement, who allegedly were not registered as foreign agents while seeking to gain admittance of former King Carol to the United States. Both the Alliance for Democracy and the Free Rumania groups were bitterly assailing each other's motives through their official publications. To obtain the aid of the more "apathetic" Rumanians in their private quarrel, the pro-Carolists called the anti-Carolists communists, and the anti-Carolists alleged that the pro-Carolists were fascists.

Whatever will be the eventual fate of Rumania, the final settlement will bring a lessening of the divisive influence and a re-establishment of cultural values. In the meantime, basic behavior patterns have been little affected, and the unifying influence of active participation of Rumanian Americans in the war effort has more than offset the activities of internal factions reflecting old-world conflicts.

The press. Like the organizations, the press has sought to serve the same twofold purpose: retention of interest in things Rumanian and consequent strengthening of the solidarity of the group, and, assistance to Rumanian Americans in their adjustment to American life. The publications that have been the most permanent and that aspire to be national in scope include *America*, a Detroit weekly published continuously for nearly forty years; *Foia Poporului* (*The People's News*) published in Cleveland and serving the interests of the church and the fraternal organizations; *Desteptarea* (*Awakening*) also published in Detroit, which speaks for the Rumanian Socialist workers; *Viata Noua* (*The New Life*), which serves the American born of Rumanian descent and is bilingual; *Solia* (*The Herald*), started in 1935 and published by the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America; and *The New Pioneer*, a quarterly magazine begun in 1943 and published by the Cultural Association for Americans of Romanian Descent. It is published in English and includes articles on the culture and history of Rumania and of America with news notes on cultural activities of local and national Rumanian groups. The 1944 fall number was a special issue giving the military record of several thousands of the Rumanian Americans who are serving in the armed forces, and several other issues included pictures of sons and daughters, many in service, of members of the organization.

Naturalization. One indication of the extent of cultural assimilation is the percentage of aliens of a given country who have become naturalized citizens. For the Rumanians, this figure is 68.6 per cent, 4 per cent above the average for all the foreign-born white population

in the United States in 1940. Two factors account for this percentage: one, the assimilative process; the other, the return to the homeland of some 43,000 Rumanians from 1910 to the outbreak of World War II.

*Contributions to American Life*¹

The dedication of the original edition of this book is applicable to the contributions of Rumanian Americans, for they have contributed both through the "toil of their hands" in factories and shops and mines and through the "genius of their minds" in every cultural and intellectual field.

The Rumanian Americans have given a large number of outstanding personalities to their country of adoption: Alma Gluck, of the Metropolitan Opera Company; Konrad Bercovici, of world-wide fame for his short stories and books, who while very young left his half-Jewish, half-gypsy family in Braila and struggled in the lower East Side of New York until finally his genius brought him fame and financial success; Dr. Trajan Leucutsia, of a distinguished Transylvanian family, who studied in Vienna and Paris and is director of the X-Ray Department of Harper Hospital in Detroit; Dr. Ionel Gardescu, first petroleum engineer to have taken a doctor's degree at the University of California, son of a general in the Rumanian Army, student in Paris and Pittsburgh, and at present with the Texas Oil Company in Houston; Dr. Valer Barbu, of Transylvania, also a graduate from Vienna and Paris, who is doing research work at Cornell University; Eugene Ravage, author of *An American in the Making*, who needs no introduction to the American public; Judge Leon René Yankwich, who came as a young boy from Iassy in order to study, graduated from Willamette University, took his doctor's degree in jurisprudence from the University of California, is district federal judge in Los Angeles, and is considered one of the most brilliant and upright of high officials in California; engineer C. D. Barbuiescu, a genius in aeronautics and ammunitions, the only foreigner who entered the United States Government Aviation Field at Dayton, Ohio; Peter Neagoe, whose novels of Rumanian peasant life are widely read in America. Dr. Dagobert Runes, a Rumanian with a Ph.D. from Vienna, established in New York City one of the most successful publishing houses in recent years, the Philosophical Library. Jean Negulesco is Warner Brothers' "Solon" of the short motion features,

¹ This section, adapted from the original edition, was written in its original form by Christine Galitzi.

having directed over fifty of them. Among his productions have been such dissimilar efforts as eleven government shorts, two Monte Carlo Ballet reels, "Alice in Movieland," with Joan Leslie, Mary Roberts Rinehardt's "The Dog in the Orchard," and Damon Runyon's "The Stroke of Twelve," not to mention an entire series of short features starring the nation's leading swing bands.

Contrary to the current disregard in which immigrants from the southern European countries are held, the above picture permits one to conclude that the Rumanian Americans, like the Italians, the Greeks, and all the other southern Europeans who came during the period of selective immigration, form a rather eugenic ethnic minority whose healthy psychological make-up, persevering work, and ability to adapt themselves to a new environment constitute a guarantee to the real strength and the general well-being of America.

CHAPTER VIII

"New" Immigration: South European States

A. ALBANIAN AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

THE ALBANIANS are unique, in several respects, in the differences that distinguish them from most of America's minorities. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of their story is their growing recognition, on their arrival here, that they belonged to a national community with a claim to its own rights and dignity in the world. As a result, their national consciousness was greatly intensified. In turn, these nationalistic activities in America paved the way for their active participation in the struggle for Albanian independence. Instead of losing themselves in the ebb and flow processes of Americanization, instead of taking part in American political and social movements, they became conscious of being Albanians, founded an Albanian press, and for the first time formed an autonomous national church—in America. They brought with them a memory of the Balkan struggles for national unity and independence and lived in self-imposed poverty when it was necessary, sending their wages home, hoarding them against the day of their return, or using them to further their national cause. Their activities helped to a considerable degree in the formation of a free Albania.

This concentration of Albanian Americans on the affairs of the old country is by no means a single and peculiar phenomenon—the influence of the Irish and the Czechoslovaks in America and of the overseas Chinese throughout the world in furnishing leadership, mass support, and funds for national movements in their own countries is well known. That such concentration exists without our knowledge, however, is an interesting commentary on our ignorance of the political and cultural activities in our history carried on by almost unknown immigrant groups living in our midst—little groups of devoted ad-

herents to causes connected with names and personalities nearly all of which have no meaning to most of us.¹

Immigration

It is believed that the first Albanian immigrant from "the Land of the Eagle" came to America in 1876.² He was followed by Kol (Nicholas) Dristofor, who settled in Massachusetts in 1886, and who lived in 1939 as an Albanian Orthodox priest in Southbridge. On his trips to his native country, he brought a few friends and relatives back with him, and thus the first ten Albanians in America all came from the same village, Katundi. Their home visits and their checks and letters kindled the imagination of others. After 1905, commercial interests stimulated the desire to emigrate.

In general, the prewar Albanian immigration was composed of two distinct groups: those who decided to leave their native country because of economic conditions, and those who took this step for political reasons. Because of civil wars and oppression in Albania for the decade 1904 to 1914, political refugees predominated. This is a very important fact, as it explains why a very considerable number of Albanians returned to their native country during the first decade after World War I. Later, at least a third of them, disillusioned, re-immigrated to the United States, determined this time to make America their permanent home. Most of those who remained in the old country were Moslems.

We have no reliable American statistics for the pre-World War I period, for the simple reason that nearly all of the Albanians were then allowed to enter this country on Turkish passports, and that others were classified as Greeks because many of them belonged to the Eastern or Greek Orthodox Church. Obviously, the official figures of only 9,420 immigrants from Albania is therefore misleading. It is

¹ For the implications of our tendency to disregard the importance of Central-Eastern Europe in the formation of world history—and thus also in the development of America's civilization—see Joseph S. Roucek: *Misapprehensions about Central-Eastern Europe in Anglo-Saxon Historiography* (Reprinted from the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, January, 1944.) See also: *The Politics of the Balkans*, Chapter V, "Albania," pp. 84-98. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939; "Albania as a Nation," pp. 107-109 in Joseph S. Roucek, Ed., "A Challenge to Peacemakers," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 232 (March, 1944); "The Social Character of Albanian Politics," *Social Science*, X (January, 1935), pp. 71-79; "Social Aspects of Albania," *World Affairs Interpreter*, VII (April, 1936), pp. 70-76.

² Federal Writers' Project of the WPA of Massachusetts, *The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and New*, pp. 5-6. Boston: The Writer, 1939. This is a very valuable coöperative study of one of the smallest of America's minorities.

in sharp contrast to Mr. Konitz's estimate of 80,000 prior to World War I. He believed that there were in America in 1944 some 30,000 Albanians, approximately 50,000 having returned to their native country from 1919 to 1925.

There are several interesting points about Albanian immigration. One is that nearly all immigrants have come from the southern parts of Albania. The northern parts are inhabited by warlike Ghegs, while Tosks, who live in the south, are more cultured and have a socio-tribal system that is not so clearly defined. Another interesting point is that, to a most unusual degree, the Albanians have given up their former pursuits as soldiers, sheepherders, livestock keepers, and farmers; they are chiefly employed as unskilled workers in factories or industrial plants of varied production. Only a few Albanian farmers are scattered through Worcester County in Massachusetts. Hundreds of Boston Albanians are employed as cooks, counter-men, and bus boys. Perhaps half of the Albanian population in America supports itself as tradespeople of restaurants, lunchrooms, grocery stores, barrooms, barber shops, candy stores, shoe-shine parlors, and tailoring establishments.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

As the first Albanian immigrants settled around Boston, their friends followed them, whence they spread to other parts of Massachusetts, and then westward, through Pennsylvania, to Chicago and Detroit. But many of the Albanian settlements have disappeared, and today there are perhaps eighteen thousand American Albanians, including their children, scattered through New England. Old Albanian settlements exist in Manchester and Concord, New Hampshire, and Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Maine's shoe and textile towns draw upon Albanian labor. Small Albanian businessmen have their roots in Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury, Connecticut. The remainder are located in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, northern New York, Minnesota, Utah, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Washington, and California.

The enormous discrepancy in the proportion of men and women is also of interest. These immigrants came without families, often as refugees, and even more frequently with the intention of saving enough money to return to the Land of the Eagle and buy a piece of land or new tools. This lack of family life is revealed from the census figures, which show that there were 444 males to 100 females in 1920, and in 1930, 294 males to 100 females. The late Mr.

Konitza, Albania's minister to the United States during King Zog's regime, estimated that out of 100 Albanian men only fifteen had wives in America; that from the total of some 30,000 American Albanians, only 1,000 were women.

After 1920, however, when the Albanians went to their country and returned with wives, or imported them, conditions changed considerably. Heretofore, American Albanians had tended to carry on their social life in the coffee house, which was their employment agency as well as forum and club. Thereafter, these picturesque old-world haunts disappeared one by one. Albanian women who arrived made homes for their men.

In their homes the immigrants try to preserve the memory of the homeland. Authentic Albanian decorations are usually scattered among standard American pieces; gay blankets of heavy wool are likely to be thrown over couches and chairs. The floor, perhaps, is covered with a hand-woven Albanian rug. The visitor is served *llokume*—Turkish paste—and the sweet Turkish coffee that Albanians consume in quantities. The Albanian housewife serves Albanian or Greek bread made from potatoes and whole wheat; she cooks her vegetables in oil. When a son or a daughter is married, the couple still arranges a gala festival with many of the ceremonial niceties observed on such occasions in Albania.⁸ The old people, gathering on name days or New Year's, solemnly repeat the customary Albanian formulas of congratulations. They drink *raki*, and sing Albanian folk songs, and usually end the evening with a round of satirical storytelling about the shortcomings of the priests of their respective towns.

Naturalization. As may be expected, the number of Albanians who have become naturalized is extremely small. An explanation of this fact is that the Albanian is before all else proudly an Albanian, dominated by an intense nationalistic and ethnic spirit, the result of centuries of oppression and struggle as well as of the geographical isolation of his homeland. We must remember, too, that the modern Albanian is a direct descendant of the ancient pre-Hellenic Illyrian, who has persisted for more than four thousand years. Goth, Slav, Venetian, Turkish, and finally, Italian invaders beat about the edges of his land and only partly or never wholly conquered it.

Literacy. Albanian immigrants show another interesting characteristic. Although they are not very desirous of becoming naturalized

⁸ *The Albanian Struggle* (*ibid.*), Chapter V, "Chronicle of Cultural Heritage," pp. 113-161, is the best introduction to this aspect of social life of American Albanians.

and assimilated in America—a process usually connected with the decline of illiteracy (which declined among them from over 90 per cent in 1906 to less than 15 per cent in 1940)—the movement for adult education among the Albanians in the United States was originated by their own leaders, independently of American influence.

The Albanians of the pre-World War I days were fortunate in having a few able leaders powerful enough to convince their compatriots that their nationalistic sentiment could be expressed in constructive channels only by learning more about Albanian history, language, and culture. The first nationalistic organization, Motherland, was founded at Jamestown, New York, around 1905. But the real foundation of the Albanian nationalist movement in the United States was laid by the publication of *Kombi*, first Albanian newspaper in America, published on June 12, 1906, in Boston, by Sotir Petsi. The education of the American Albanians was one of its primary purposes. But as is nearly always true of all immigrant movements, the movement mirrored the current politics abroad. The establishment of an Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by Noli and of the National Church Association in 1908 further strengthened the nationalistic movement. But the real spur was given to the movement by the arrival of Faik Bey Konitza in the United States in 1908. This first Albanian bey to visit his people in America was a graduate of the universities of Dijon, Paris, and Harvard. His literary abilities and caustic writings made Konitza feared by the Turks, the masters of Albania at that time. To Konitza, the Albanian nation owes the expurgation of foreign words from the Albanian language and its reconstruction. In 1908, Konitza, later Albanian minister to the United States, came to America and began to put the smouldering Albanian nationalistic spirit into more constructive channels by founding, a year later, the Pan-Albanian Federation of America. This *Vatra* (The Hearth) united some fifteen Albanian societies and grew into an organization embracing some fifty branches by 1921. Its objects were educational as well as nationalistic; it taught Albanian and English, published inexpensive literature, and, above all, fostered the national Albanian traditions. Thanks to its efforts, the high degree of illiteracy of the Albanian immigrant was reduced to a remarkable degree, not so much as a part of the desire to Americanize, but rather as a part of the process which had in view the eventual freedom of Albania. By 1944 the organization was comparatively inactive, and factionalism had divided it into two rival *Vatras*, with headquarters in Detroit and in Boston.

Social divisions. With the realization of the independence of Albania, the American Albanians divided into several factions. In general, the main line was drawn between those who upheld the regime of King Zog in Albania and those who opposed it. In fact, the latter group was subdivided into some twenty or more factions, but these were nominally under the leadership of Fan Noli, a colorful figure in politics in Albania, who had been first an actor, then an Eastern Orthodox priest, and later became the Bishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church of Boston.

In addition to these factions, stained with political coloring, each of the larger Albanian settlements in America usually has its death-benefit society composed of men from the same community in Albania. The societies, therefore, bear such names as *Katundi*, *Korcha*, and *Stratoberdha*. They have helped to repair churches and streets in the old country, raise the marriage dowry of orphaned and destitute girls in Albania, publish national works, and grant scholarships to students from Korcha attending America's higher institutions of learning.

The press. The old Vatra published a weekly, the *Dielli (Sun)*, in Detroit, while the rival Vatra put out another *Dielli* in Boston. The personal factionalism is also represented by the appearance of *Bota (The World)* in Boston since 1936, the result of George Prifti's foreclosure of the Vatra property. *Bota* tries to appeal to the younger generation by printing many articles in English. But the future of the papers is doubtful, as is illustrated by the fact that the Boston *Dielli*, founded in 1909, and hence "the oldest Albanian newspaper in the world," suspended its publication on December 9, 1939, its editor, Nelo Drizari, attributing the suspension to nonpayment of annual subscriptions by King Zog and officials of the Albanian regime who were deposed in Italy's conquest of that nation.

Religion. Albanian immigrants are divided into two chief denominations—Orthodox Albanians and Moslems. There are some Catholic Albanians and some Protestant Albanians, but the first-named classifications are by far the largest. The large majority are Eastern Orthodox Tosks. The Mohammedans are concentrated for the most part in St. Louis, Missouri, and in Peabody and New Bedford, Massachusetts. Only a few are Roman Catholics, and these live mostly in Indiana, Chicago, and New York.

The bulk of Albanian immigrants, however, were of the Greek Orthodox faith. In 1908, a convention held in Boston proclaimed the religious independence of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox

Church under Fan Noli, who received his investiture at the hands of Platon, the Russian Archbishop of New York. There are altogether ten Albanian Orthodox churches in America: three in Boston, two in Philadelphia, and one each in Natick, Worcester, and Southbridge, Massachusetts, Jamestown, New York, and St. Louis, Missouri. These churches, the principal centers of group activity among Albanians, cannot, however, independently support their priests, who visit their congregations on circular travels. In some communities, the oldest member of the church reads the services to the congregation. The church is affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church and has its headquarters in Boston. It follows the doctrine and ritual of the Orthodox Church, the only difference being that it officiates in the Albanian language. There are no Albanian Catholic and Moslem churches or priests, although the Moslem National Alliance supported a regular school at Waterbury, Connecticut, before World War I. Many Albanian Moslems are members of the Unitarian churches. Whatever the religion of the Albanian, he is never strictly orthodox. Tribal and communal loyalty, the codes of ancient customs, and national pride are far more important to the Albanian than is religion.

As is usually the case with other immigrant groups, the second generation is a real problem to the Albanians. These younger people dislike or are indifferent to Albanian journals and particularly to the factional struggles over leadership in Albania's cause. American newspapers may seem alien to their parents, but the young people like them, for many of them are tired of old bitterness and futile hatreds. Both generations are outraged by prevailing conditions in the old country under Zog's domination and especially by the Italian influence. The youngsters resent that "Americans don't even know where Albania is." They have little money and can boast of no Albanian politicians, no mayors, no real "big shots." As school children in America, they almost forget their Albanian ancestry, and sometimes they tend to become vociferously "American." As a rule, however, they respect the intense feeling of their parents against intermarriage with other nationalities; therefore, arranged marriages still prevail. Parents of the Greek Orthodox faith often follow the old-world custom of giving a dowry to their daughters. But even these young Albanians can hardly understand their parents when they speak Albanian.

Albanians and World Wars I and II. Prior to 1912, few of the American Albanians knew the word *Albania*. In their homeland their people called themselves *Shqipetare*—"Sons of the Eagle"—and

their country *Shqipëria*—"the Land of the Eagle." But they became increasingly aware that they belonged to a nationality—the result of their contacts with their surroundings in America. This awareness prepared the ground for the ardent crusaders for Albanian nationalism who came to the factory hands in 1905 from Albanian patriotic headquarters in Rumania, Greece, and Egypt. As immigration to America increased, the leaders of the Albanian nationalistic movement began to devote themselves to converting their people to the cause. The newspaper played an important role in forging a common national spirit; the *konak* served as the schoolhouse. (Ten or fifteen men often lived together in a single flat, the *konak*, where they did their own cooking, washing, and mending.) The mass-education movement furthered the nationalistic cause. Fan Noli used his pulpit in the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, organized in 1908, as a tribune for nationalistic preaching. The arrival of Faik Konitza added another able and fiery proponent to the nationalistic movement and resulted in the formation of Vatra in April, 1912. Thereafter, aggressive international propaganda was carried on on behalf of independent Albania; cables were sent to Valona and to Albanian colonies in Rumania and Egypt, and the dignitaries of the London Conference (1912) were deluged with Vatra's cables and memoranda.

During World War I, Vatra at first supported Germany, since the Prince of Wied represented for it at least the symbol of freedom and independence. With the entrance of the United States into the war, Vatra made a hasty about-face and became a militant advocate of the Allied cause; its members subscribed to the war loans, and the Reverend Fan Noli made the circuit of military camps in Massachusetts delivering fiery speeches to the doughboys.

Vatra sent Mehmet Konitza, with several others, to the Peace Conference as its chief delegate. It appealed to its members for a national fund to help fight the cause at Versailles. In all, \$150,000 was raised; part went to Vatra's representatives in Paris; the rest was used for various purposes, including the issuing of an English monthly, the *Adriatic Review*. Numerous booklets also were issued. In 1919 the Albanian nationalists made a suggestion—said to have been inspired by Mehmet Konitza—that America should be given a mandate in Albania under the League of Nations. But the Versailles Conference intended to dismember Albania—and only Wilson's stubborn refusal saved the independence of the country.

Thereafter, Vatra and its leaders frequently interfered in the internal policies of Albania. Scores of American Albanians returned to

their country and became government officials, deputies, prefects, subprefects, police commissioners, army officers, schoolteachers, and priests. But most of them soon learned that "American" and "Albanian" ways do not mix well, and eventually they returned to America.

The Munich Pact of 1938 reawakened the interest of American Albanians in the fate of their country. Even the opponents of the Zog regime had held a strong irredendist sentiment for the "lost provinces" of Kossovo and Chameria. Petitions were dispatched to Chamberlain, Hitler, Mussolini, and Daladier complaining that "the overwhelming majority of its (Chameria's) inhabitants—our friends and relatives living in Chameria—are unwilling subjects to another nation," and the statesmen were implored to "consider" these injustices. Receipt of the petition was acknowledged only by Italy, which sent a noncommittal reply through the Italian ambassador in Washington.

When Albania was invaded under the pretext that the country was in a state of internal chaos on April 7, 1939, once again Albanians, who had devoted their energies and their substance to the ideal of a free Albania, saw their aspirations crushed by a foreign invader. On Easter Sunday, 1939, Albanian communities throughout America were again seething with plans for the reconquest of Albanian independence. Count Curti de Mortale, consul-general of Albania in New York, after receiving "innumerable telegrams asking that a protest be made on behalf of 50,000 Albanian colony members in the United States," sent messages asking intervention to Pope Pius XII, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, Premier Edouard Daladier, including a telegram to President Roosevelt signed by Mrs. Areti Viso, president of various Albanian groups, among them, the Albanian American League.⁴

Contributions to American Life

There are only a few really outstanding Albanians in America. The most successful and the best-known Albanian was Faik Bey Konitza, the Albanian minister to the United States, an accomplished philologist and historical scholar, whose unobtrusive but scholarly qualities have done much to promote the good reputation of Albanian Americans and of his country. Professor La Piana of Harvard, who is a specialist in early church history, traces his roots to an Albanian family that settled in Italy. Mr. George Prifti, the Albanian consul in Boston, is

⁴ *The New York Times*, April 9, 1939.

a graduate of Boston University, a member of the Massachusetts and federal bar, and officially represented his country in Boston. Stephen Panis is a nationally known silversmith. Miss Nexhmie Zaimi's *Daughter of the Eagle* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1937), is an immigrant's story of the customs of the Albanian people. Thomas Nassi, conductor of the Cape Cod Philharmonic Society, has published the scores of many Albanian songs.

B. GREEK AMERICANS

M. J. POLITIS

The story of the Greeks in the United States is a comparatively recent one. Mass emigration from Greece to this country started only during the last decade of the nineteenth century, to reach its apex during the first quarter of the twentieth and mark a sizable decline immediately after the restrictive legislation of 1924 had been put in force.

Yet, if the theory advocated by the late Seraphim G. Canoutas¹ proves to be true, no lesser a figure in the history of America than Christopher Columbus himself was a Greek. Incontrovertible evidence does exist, however, that only thirty-six years after the discovery of America a Greek stepped upon the soil of this continent. Panfilo de Narvaez, in his chronicle of the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, tells us that a Greek—"griego"—by the name of Theodore (Don Teodoro) was a member of that expedition which reached the coasts of western Florida, somewhere near the present-day Tampa, in 1528. The Greek Theodore is specifically mentioned as having "extracted resin from the pine," with which he caulked the seams of the boats. When the expedition left for South America, Theodore stayed behind, and De Soto's men found his traces, in 1540, somewhere in the neighborhood of Pensacola Bay.²

In 1592, a native of the island of Cephalonia, the Greek John Phocas, who is better known under the Spanish name of Juan de Fuca, discovered the strait that separates the American continent from Vancouver's Island, called then the fabulous Anian, and now bearing his own name, Strait Juan de Fuca.³ It is noteworthy that the Seattle

¹ Seraphim G. Canoutas, *Christopher Columbus, A Greek Nobleman*. New York: St. Mark's Press, 1943.

² *Greek-Americans of Florida*. Information Collected by the Florida Writers' Project, Works Projects Administration. Published in *Athene Magazine*, Chicago, Ill., June, 1942; also Seraphim G. Canoutas, *Hellenism in America* (text in Greek). New York: St. Mark's Press, 1918.

³ Seraphim G. Canoutas, *Christopher Columbus, A Greek Nobleman*, p. 188.

Chapter of the Order of Ahepa—largest fraternal organization of Americans of Greek descent in this country—is named after this intrepid Cephalonian navigator. A number of other Greek seamen participated in various expeditions to this continent. Many of them had changed their names, however, into Spanish or English forms, thus making it practically impossible to trace their Greek origin.

The first settlement of Greeks in the United States dates from 1768, when a Scottish physician, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, founded the "Greek Colony" of New Smyrna, Florida. Married to a Greek girl from Smyrna, Gracia Dura Bin, and having lived in Greece, Dr. Turnbull felt that Florida, with its climate similar to that of Greece, would be an ideal haven for Greek settlers. His original plan called for an exclusively Greek settlement of about five hundred farmers, but as he had difficulty in recruiting more than two hundred of that nationality, he looked for additional men in Livorno, Italy, and in Minorca of the Balearic Islands. The total number of settlers amounted to fifteen hundred, but the colony was a short-lived one. Ten years after its foundation, most of the settlers had been decimated by malaria, or killed during the almost continuous clashes with the Indians. Those who survived the rigors of the climate and the guerrilla warfare moved to near-by St. Augustine, Florida.⁴

The memory of at least one of those early Greek settlers is still alive in St. Augustine, "the oldest city of the United States." The Greek, John Giannopoli, is remembered not because he was an outstanding farmer or soldier, but because of his respect for learning. Giannopoli built a schoolhouse where he taught the "three R's" to the children of St. Augustine. The schoolhouse, now a property of the municipality of St. Augustine, constitutes one of the landmarks of that historic city. The writer has had the opportunity of going through early Spanish records kept in the Webb Memorial Library of St. Augustine, which provide ample proof of the Hellenic origin of Giannopoli and of a few other Greek settlers, whose descendants are said to have been dispersed in various southern states.

At the time of the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829), American missionaries and other philhellenes, who hastened to give their support to the Greek cause of freedom, brought over a number of young boys from Greece, chiefly from Chios, an island of the Aegean renowned for its brilliant scholars and its shrewd traders. The boys were educated at Amherst, Andover, and other similar insti-

⁴ "Greek-Americans of Florida," *Athene Magazine*, Chicago, Ill., June, 1942.

tutions. Some of them returned to Greece, there to occupy prominent positions in the fields of letters and commerce. Others stayed in the United States. Four of these Greek refugees are known to have served in the United States Navy: George Syrianis, who was a gunner; George Marshall, who was also author of the first manual of marine gunnery under the title *Practical Marine Gunnery*; Fotios Fish, who was a chaplain of the United States Navy and an ardent opponent of the slave trade; and George Mussalas Colvocoressis, who took part in many important expeditions all over the world, and who wrote the chronicle of the Wilkes expedition to the island of Madeira, Cape Verde, Brazil, Australia, the Northwest coast of America, the East Indies, and other places.⁵ His son, Rear Admiral George Partridge Colvocoressis, participated in the naval engagements fought by Admiral Dewey in the Philippines and served as executive officer on the admiral's flagship.⁶ The Colvocoressis family, as well as the Ralli and Galati families, have taken deep root in this country and their descendants today occupy prominent positions in American society.

In 1867, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the philhellene who had rendered priceless services to the Hellenic cause during the Revolution of 1821, brought over from Greece Michael Anagnostopoulos, better known as Michael Anagnos, a native of Epirus, who became interested in the great work Dr. Howe was doing as head of the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston. Anagnos became Dr. Howe's assistant, later his son-in-law, and upon Dr. Howe's death, in 1886, he was chosen to succeed him as director of the institute, which position he held with distinction until his death in 1906. Ex-Governor Guild of Massachusetts said of him: "The name of Michael Anagnos belongs to Greece; the fame of him belongs to the United States, but his service belongs to humanity!" Anagnos epitomized the best qualities of the Greek. His name is revered by every Greek immigrant. Honoring his memory, Michael Loris, a Greek on whom fell the honor during World War II of being the nation's champion salesman of "E" War Bonds—having sold personally over \$5,500,000 worth till the end of July, 1944—christened with the name of S.S. *Michael Anagnos* a Liberty ship launched on September 7, 1944, at the New England Shipbuilding Company's Yards at South Portland, Maine.

⁵ George Mussalas Colvocoressis, *Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition*. New York, 1852; also *Hellenism in America*, by Seraphim G. Canoutas.

⁶ Seraphim G. Canoutas, *Hellenism in America*.

The acme of Greek immigration. With the exception of a small number of merchants and professional men who came to the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century, immigration from Greece continued to be very limited until the last decade of that century. The following figures, taken from the sixteenth census of the United States (1940), are indicative of the growth of Greek immigration at the turn of the century: 1890, 1,887; 1900, 8,515; 1910, 101,264; 1920 (peak census year), 175,972; 1930, 174,526; 1940, 163,252.

In a study⁷ published in Athens by Basileios Balaoras, a graduate of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, it is stated that over 460,000 Greeks, or, about one tenth of the total population of Greece at that time, emigrated to America from 1901 to 1930. The peak year was 1907, with 36,580 immigrants from Greece. The second largest year was 1914, after the Balkan Wars, when 35,832 persons came from Greece to the United States, and the third largest year was 1922, when, after the Asia Minor catastrophe, 28,502 Greeks left for the United States. Total emigration to the United States from 1820 to 1934 was 488,824. During the same period, Greek emigration to all other countries of the world amounted to only 40,814 persons. From 1935 to 1943, a total of 5,460 immigrants arrived from Greece.

As in the case of many minority groups, so with the Greeks; equally reliable data show wide variations in the number of immigrants. In Table XII (page 647), there is a discrepancy of 40,000 within a single decade between the number given by Balaoras and that given by Marketos.⁸ This discrepancy may be attributed to the fact that while Dr. Balaoras's table shows departures from Greece to the United States, which may include Greeks from various parts of the "unredeemed" Hellenic world, the immigration figures given by Mr. Babis Marketos apply merely to arrivals of persons born in the Greek state proper. Mr. Marketos points out that "the reader should add to his figures, which are official, also those persons of Greek descent who are not Greek subjects, that is to say Greeks from European Turkey, Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Dodecanese Islands, and Egypt, who, naturally, are not included in the official list of immigrants from Greece," being classified under the particular country of which they happened to be subjects at the time of their arrival in the United States.

⁷ Basileios G. Balaoras, *The Hellenism of the United States*, with an English summary. Text in Greek. Athens, 1937.

⁸ Babis Marketos, *Greece at the Crossroads*. Text in Greek. New York, 1942.

In a survey by Christ Loukas on the "Status of Greek Population in the United States," published in Volume One, Number One of *The Hellenic Spectator*,⁹ we find that of the foreign-born Greek population in the United States in 1920, 6,382 gave a country other than Greece as "country of origin"; in 1930, those from Greece showed an increase of only 1,370, while the number of Greeks from countries other than Greece increased to 19,420. The largest group, 11,499, were from Asiatic Turkey. (See Table XIII, page 647.)

Mr. Loukas quotes as his authority the United States census for 1930. There are, however, estimates of a more or less reliable character that claim as many as two fifths of the foreign-born Greeks in the United States as coming from territories other than those of Greece proper. This ratio is substantiated by Professor William I. Cole, who made a study of the Greeks in the state of Massachusetts.¹⁰ He admitted, however, that the "exact size of the Greek population is more or less conjectural."

Despite the gradual extinction of the early immigrants, people of Greek stock increase continuously in numbers, because of the relatively large number of persons in each Greek family. The average family has three children. It would be safe, therefore, to multiply by four, or even by five, the figure of 163,252, shown as the total of Greek-born immigrants in this country in 1940, in order to arrive at a fair estimate of the people of Greek descent in the United States. The Greek Archdiocese of North and South America places the number of Greeks—both born abroad and their offspring—in the neighborhood of 750,000, including, of course, members of the second and third generations.

The figure for Greek immigrants classified as coming from "Italy" corresponds, to a large extent, to persons from the Dodecanese Islands. These people, 100 per cent Greek in sentiment, did not like to be classed as "Italians," and as a result of a memorandum submitted to the United States Department of Justice by the National Committee for the Restoration of Greece, the Dodecanesians were specifically excluded from the alien enemy classification on February 23, 1942, when Italy was still at war with the United States and Italian citizens were considered enemy aliens.¹¹

⁹ *The Hellenic Spectator*, monthly magazine in English, published in Washington, D. C. during 1940 and 1941 by Constantine Poulos.

¹⁰ William I. Cole, *Immigrant Races in Massachusetts—The Greeks*. Written for the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration. No date.

¹¹ *The Dodecanesians Are Not Enemy Aliens*, published by the Dodecanesian League of America, New York, 1942.

Greek immigration to this country was mainly due to economic reasons. The bulk of early Greek immigrants came from the Peloponnesos, and, chiefly, from the rocky and mountainous regions of Arcadia and Laconia. The districts of Tripolis and Sparta provided the largest number of early Greek immigrants, who sought jobs mostly in urban centers of the Eastern and Middle Western states. As for the Greeks from the unredeemed territories of the Hellenic world, many of them came to avoid compulsory service in the Turkish Army, or to escape the persecution of their Bulgarian or other rulers.

In view of the uncertain future that awaited the Greek immigrants, most of whom came to this country spurred by the motive of bettering their economic position, and hoping that after amassing a certain amount of money they would be able to return to their native land to establish themselves there in business or agriculture, for many years Greek immigration was overwhelmingly an immigration of males.

A table in Dr. Balaoras's aforementioned study shows that from 1896 to 1900 only four women arrived for every 100 men coming to the United States from Greece. Five women for every 100 men was the proportion for the decade 1901-1910, and sixteen women for every 100 men was that for 1911-1920. The figure jumped to sixty-seven women for every 100 men for the period from 1921 to 1924. This increase means that the Greek immigrants had by that time taken root here and, with the improvement of their financial condition, that they had brought brides from the motherland. Dr. Balaoras, on the other hand, points out that although in 1900 there were eleven Greek-born women for every 100 Greek-born men in the United States, the proportion increased to twenty-three women per 100 men in 1920, and to thirty-five women per 100 men in 1930, while the percentage in the arrivals from Greece during 1930 was sixty-one women to every 100 men coming into the United States. The United States 1940 census shows that of a total of 163,252 Greek-born persons in the United States in 1940, 117,324 were male and 45,928 female. In 1930, out of a total of 174,526 Greek-born persons in the United States (official figures of the 1930 census), 129,101 were male and 45,425 female. Generally, the Greeks prefer to marry among Greek families, but with the growing assimilation of the Greek element, mixed marriages are on the increase.

Geographical distribution and occupations. The Greeks, being of a restless and venturesome character, prefer to engage in commerce and shipping rather than in rural occupations. It is true that in the

early stages of Greek immigration, when most of the Greeks arrived without any capital and with practically no knowledge of the English language, many thousands of them were employed in railroad construction, in digging sewers, as farm laborers, and as mill and factory hands, the latter employed chiefly in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. But Professor Ross, quoted by William E. Cole,¹² states:

There is a strong tendency among the Greeks to take certain lines of business such as candy kitchens and confectionery stores, ice-cream parlors, fruit carts, stands, and stores, florist shops, and boot-blackening establishments. This is due to the fact that this catering to the minor wants of the public admits of being started on the curb with little capital and no experience. Once his foot on the first rung, the saving and commercial-minded Greek climbs. From curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to big store, to the chain of stores to branch store in other cities, such are the stages in his upward path.

To the professions enumerated by Professor Ross, one must add the restaurant business—in which the Greeks have played and still are playing quite an important role throughout the United States—the fur industry, and the motion-picture industry. Numerous Greeks own and operate chains of motion-picture houses throughout the country, and the names of the Skouras Brothers and of Pantages are of nation-wide reputation. The Greeks have distinguished themselves also in the tobacco industry, with the firm of Stephano Brothers in Philadelphia, founded by Constantine Stephano, a native of Epirus, Greece (died in 1944), being the financially strongest Greek-American concern in 1944.

The United States census for 1940 provides unmistakable evidence of the preference of the Greeks for urban centers. Thus, of the total of 163,252 Greek-born persons in the United States shown by that census, 106,102 males and 43,301 females were to be found in urban centers, as compared with 116,524 males and 42,582 females for 1930. Nonfarm rural Greek-born males in 1940 are shown by the same census as 8,730 males and 2,068 females, the figures for 1930 being 10,625 and 2,067 respectively. The rural-farm Greek-born population for 1940 was 2,432 males and 559 females, as compared with 1,952 males and 506 females for 1930.

The geographical distribution of the Greek-born population of 163,252, shown by the United States Official Census of 1940, is shown in Table XI (page 646), according to regions. The three Middle Atlantic states lead with 50,598; the smallest number, 2,042, live in

¹² William E. Cole, *op. cit.*

the four East South Central states. Greeks are living in every state in the Union, the number varying from 188 in Vermont to 34,800 in New York. In five states there are more than 10,000: Illinois, 18,428; Massachusetts, 15,208; California, 12,421; Pennsylvania, 10,510; and Ohio, 10,058. Thirteen states have less than 500 Greeks: Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Vermont—all states of sparse population and little urbanization.

It should be emphasized, however, that these figures cover only persons born in *Greece proper*, which means that approximately only three fifths of the immigrants of Greek nationality are included, the other two fifths having come, as already mentioned, from the "unredeemed" territories of the Hellenic world.

The cities with the largest Greek population are New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Milwaukee. Although the Greek communities in the above-mentioned cities are quite sizable—the total number of people of Greek stock in New York and Chicago is well over the 50,000 mark—the Greek element necessarily constitutes only a small fraction of their total population. This is not the case, however, with such localities as Tarpon Springs, Florida, or Lowell, Massachusetts, where the Greeks play a preponderant role in the life of the community.

In Tarpon Springs, the Greeks, mostly from the Dodecanese Islands, are well over one half of the total population. Such is their devotion to Greece—although technically the Dodecanesians came under the Italian quota—that a resolution of the Board of Commissioners of Tarpon Springs, dated January 2, 1944, petitioned for the liberation of the Dodecanese Islands and for their union with Greece after the war.¹⁸

Apart from being the city with proportionately the largest Greek population in the United States, Tarpon Springs has the distinction of being also the most important sponge center in the world. Forty years ago John Cheyney, a Philadelphia investor, became interested in deep-sea diving and brought from Madison Street, New York—then a Greek neighborhood—a number of Greek divers and expert sponge fishers. Up to that time, sponges had been fished by means of hooks; but the best sponges are to be found in deep waters not

¹⁸ For the text of this resolution, see *The Greek Dodecanese, A Symposium by Prominent Americans*, New York, 1944. Published by The Dodecanesian National Council.

accessible to the hooks. The pioneer, John Cocoris, a native of the island of Aegina, and other famous Greek divers of the time, introduced the methods of diving and sponge fishing prevalent in the Mediterranean. Within a few years the sleepy resort of Tarpon Springs was converted into a world-famed sponge market, with millions of dollars' worth of sponges being sold every year in its Sponge Exchange, which is now almost exclusively owned by the Greeks.¹⁴

Tarpon Springs is also celebrated for the annual ceremony of the blessing of waters on Epiphany Day, January 6, when the Greek Orthodox Archbishop blesses the spongers' boats prior to their departure for the Gulf of Mexico. The names of these boats—*America or Hellas, Roosevelt or Venizelos, Bozzaris or Washington*—are indicative of their owners' devotion to their adopted country, the United States, and to Greece. The main boulevard of Tarpon Springs is now called Dodecanese Boulevard.¹⁵

The Greek community of Lowell, Massachusetts, has been a thriving one for a number of years. Professor William I. Cole estimated a few years ago that it numbered about 12,000 souls. Besides being the largest aggregation of Greeks in the state of Massachusetts, it has always ranked among the foremost Greek communities in the entire United States. Manchester, New Hampshire, has also been a leading Greek community in New England, but, like other Greek centers, it is gradually losing its original Hellenic character, now that members of the older generation are dying in ever-increasing numbers and no new blood is coming from Greece to take their place.

Greek church and organizations. The vast majority of the Greeks are of the Eastern Orthodox faith, with very few Protestants and a sprinkling of Jews, the latter mostly from Epirus. If the number of Greek Orthodox churches is an index of the strength of the Greek communities in the United States, it may be said that the Greeks are doing quite well in this country. Every year new Greek Orthodox churches and schools are added to those already existing. In 1944, approximately 250 Greek Orthodox churches came under the fold of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, the jurisdiction of whose head, the Most Reverend Archbishop Athenagoras, extends over the entire continent of America—North and South.

Although spiritually owing allegiance to the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, and not to the Autocephalous Church of

¹⁴ Louis Adamic, *From Many Lands*, "The Greeks Came to Tarpon Springs." New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939.

¹⁵ *The Greek Dodecanese, A Symposium by Prominent Americans.*

Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church of America is subject to the laws of this country, each community being a corporation registered under the laws of the respective state in which it functions.

It is mainly through the Greek Orthodox Church and its afternoon or Sunday schools that Greek tradition and Greek language are preserved in this country. With the growth of a second generation of American-born sons and daughters of Greek-born parents, priests are now recruited from the Greek-American communities to prepare for the priesthood at the Archdiocese's Theological School of the Holy Cross at Pomfret Center, Connecticut.

Parallel to the Greek Orthodox churches, around which are centered most of the religious, educational, and philanthropic activities of the Greek-American communities, there exist numerous mutual-aid and other societies which bring the Greeks together. Some of these organizations have a national scope with chapters throughout the United States, even in localities where there is no Greek church. The leading society of this type is the Order of *Ahepa* (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association), founded in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1922, and numbering now over three hundred chapters. Its national headquarters are in Washington, D.C. *Ahepa* seeks to bridge the gap between Americans and Greeks and helps the latter to absorb the American way of life through naturalization and emphasis on the ideals of American democracy. Membership is open to Americans of non-Greek descent also, and many prominent Americans, including President Roosevelt, are members of the order. Two major war-bond drives were launched by *Ahepa* during the early years of World War II, one for \$50,000,000, and another for \$100,000,000; both of them were fully covered.

While *Ahepa* lays particular emphasis on Americanization and the American way of life, another society of a national scope, the GAPA (Greek American Progressive Association), founded in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1923, although also believing in American ideals, aims at the perpetuation of the Greek tradition, by cultivating Greek letters and the Greek Orthodox religion. Membership to GAPA is limited only to Greeks, and the Greek language is exclusively used during the meetings. Both of these societies provide scholarships to youths following higher studies in American educational institutions and support financially every worth-while cause relating to the Greeks in this country. An annual excursion to Greece constitutes one of the main activities of both societies, each of which publishes its own periodical, *The Ahepan* in English, and the *Gapa Tribune* in Greek.

The tendency toward regionalism, which has been a characteristic of the Greeks since ancient times, is finding its expression in the numerous societies founded by Greeks from one particular province, island, or town of Greece. Thus, the Arcadians are organized into the Pan-Arcadian Society, the Cretans have the Pan-Cretan Association, those from Asia Minor the Pan-Micrasiatic, the ones from the Dodecanese, the Dodecanesian National Council, and the Epirotans, the Pan-Epirotic Federation of America—to mention the most important central organizations. Chapters or branches of these societies are to be found in those cities or towns of the United States where there are comparatively large numbers of natives from particular regions or provinces of Greece.

Thus, while most of the Spartans and Arcadians are to be found in the Eastern and Middle Western states, a sizable number of Cretans live in the state of Utah, and most of the Dodecanesians are in New York City, Tarpon Springs, Florida, and various towns of the states of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. The Epirotans are centered in Worcester, Massachusetts, and other localities of New England, with a goodly number of them also to be found in Chicago.

The purpose of these societies, besides providing aid to their members in case of need, is to keep interest alive in their particular place of origin by remitting funds for the erection of schools, churches, or public works of which the town or province may be in need. With the destruction of a large number of towns and villages in Greece by the Axis invaders, the need for reconstruction became urgent, and most of the societies embarked on programs of relief and rehabilitation of the particular regions from which their members had come.

One of the main activities of the societies whose members came from the unredeemed parts of the Hellenic world, such as the Dodecanese Islands and Northern Epirus, was to work for the liberation of these regions and their union with Greece. Thus, the Dodecanesian National Council and the Pan-Epirotic Federation of America, through publications, press releases, and other similar means, sought to enlighten American public opinion with regard to the Hellenic character of those territories.

Similar aims are being pursued by the American Friends of Greece, an organization comprising a large number of American scholars and other philhellenes. In one of its most recent publications, *Greece of Tomorrow*, Greek national claims are outlined, the contributors being American professors with a long experience in Greek affairs. Also,

the National Committee for the Restoration of Greece, whose membership is Greek or Greek American, is engaging in activities of a parallel nature, publishing pamphlets on Greece and her contribution to the common war effort and issuing a news bulletin which is sent to the press throughout the country.

Occupational organizations of Greeks are not numerous. The most important are the societies of Greek Florists, Furriers, and Restaurateurs, whose aim is to further the business interests of their members. Greek labor is organized into various Union locals affiliated with the A.F. of L. or the C.I.O. Their members work mainly in restaurants and hotels or in the fur industry. The Hellenic-American Fraternal Society, the Greek Branch of the International Workers Order, comprises thirty lodges, with a membership of approximately two thousand. Its aims are "the promotion of fraternalism and solidarity; the tightening of the historical bonds between Greece and the United States; collaboration with other organizations for the development of Greek culture in the United States." A Greek-American Labor Committee is also functioning in New York, with branches in other cities. This is a political organization, seeking to support the cause of democracy in Greece and liberal ideas in the United States. Various Union locals throughout the United States endorse the activities of this committee.

The Greek War Relief Association, Inc., established in December, 1940, did much to provide succor to the stricken Greek people, both at the time of the war against the Axis powers and during the enemy occupation of Greece. Over ten million dollars was collected by its numerous chapters from coast to coast, prior to its coming under the fold of the National War Fund.

The Greek press. From Aristotle's time, the Greeks have been politically minded, perhaps the most politically minded people in the world. It was, therefore, only natural that their interest in public affairs and particularly those of their motherland should be maintained constantly alive. Greek-language newspapers made their appearance in the United States over fifty years ago, and, alongside news from Greece, they provided a picture of life in the various Greek communities that were gradually developing in this country. The political differences that divided the Greek people in Greece found their echo in the editorials and news dispatches of the Greek-American press. Only a limited number of publications managed to stand aloof while the majority of the papers vigorously fought in favor of or

against the monarchy. Similarly, in 1944, some papers supported the EAM resistance movement in Greece while others vociferously opposed it.

The oldest Greek newspaper in existence is the daily *Atlantis*, which in 1944 completed fifty years of life. Its views are conservative, and it is mostly read by Greek immigrants from the Peloponnesos and other parts of the mainland of Greece where the monarchy had most of its supporters. Although it claims to be an "American" paper, writing for American citizens of Greek descent, it takes sides in every controversy relating to Greek politics. In American politics *Atlantis* has been consistently Republican.

Liberal views on both Greek politics and American affairs have been supported by the *National Herald*, a daily founded in 1915. Liberal and antimonarchic views were finding their most vociferous expression in the columns of this paper at the time the conflict between Venizelos and King Constantine was at its height in the 1910's. Again, during World War II, it became the mouthpiece of Greek liberalism with its support of the EAM resistance movement and its opposition to the re-establishment of the monarchy in Greece.

The labor point of view is expressed by the *Greek-American Tribune*, which is the successor of such papers as the *Eleftheria* and *Empros*. This weekly is the mouthpiece of organized Greek-American labor centered around the Greek Maritime Unions, the Fur Workers Unions, and the Greek Branch of International Workers Order. Four of its twenty pages are printed in English, and great emphasis is laid on the support of democratic ideals. These three papers exert real influence on their readers, reflecting as they do three different points of view.

Numerous other publications appear in Greek, but their importance is secondary. The following papers are the best known: *California* of San Francisco (royalist in Greek politics), a weekly; the *Chicago Greek Press*, a weekly of moderate views, interested mostly in the defense of Greek rights; the *Chicago Greek Star*, a weekly which has consistently supported Metaxas' dictatorship; the *Detroit Athens*, a weekly of conservative leanings; the *Lowell Greek-American*, a weekly of conservative views; the *Free Press*, a weekly appearing in New York, also exclusively dealing with Greek politics, opposed to the monarchy but vigorously anticommunist; the *Ameriki*, a "labour" weekly of recent vintage, reflecting views such as the ones advocated by the socialist *New Leader*, whose articles it often reprints; *The Ahepan*, the bi-monthly organ of the Order of Ahepa, printed entirely in English, and not taking sides, although enthusiastically supporting

American democratic ideals; and the Chicago *Athene*, "the American Magazine of Hellenic Thought," also entirely in English, beautifully illustrated and with articles relating to Greek culture and thought, most of which are contributed by distinguished American scholars.

Contributions to American Life

Although the vast majority of the Greek immigrants came to the United States with little else but their desire to work and improve their social and economic condition, the Greeks, in the relatively short period of their life here, have proved to be a valuable asset in their respective communities. Hard-working and thrifty, they set as their primary aim to give a higher education to their sons and daughters; and this fact explains the large number of youths of Greek descent following studies in American educational institutions. On the other hand, numerous Greek scholars are teaching in American universities and colleges, the best known of them being Dr. Papanicolaou of the Medical School of Cornell University; Dr. Raphael Demos, professor of philosophy at Harvard University; Professors Emile Malakis and Panos Morfopoulos of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; Professor Michael Dorizas of the University of Pennsylvania; and Professor Michael Choukas of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

In the realm of music, the name of Dimitri Mitropoulos, the world-renowned orchestra conductor, is now ranking alongside the names of Koussevitzky, Toscanini, and Stokowski. For a number of years head of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, Mitropoulos has been also a guest conductor of practically every important symphony orchestra of this country, including the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia orchestras, and during the eight years of his activities in the United States he has done much to further American music by presenting for the first time to American audiences the compositions of leading American composers.

Nicholas Moscona, the Greek basso, has been singing for a number of years at the Metropolitan Opera House of New York and in other leading musical centers of this country, including Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Philadelphia. Lorenzo Camilieri, director of the People's Chorus of New York for a full quarter of a century, has furthered the cause of fine music among the masses; the two annual concerts of his Chorus are among the most popular in New York.

The works of painters of Greek extraction are gradually making their way into leading American museums. George Constant is repre-

sented both at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Chicago Art Institute. Nassos Daphnis's canvases are to be found at the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Buffalo Albright Art Gallery, and the Portland Oregon Museum. John Xceron, an internationally famed non-objective painter, is considered one of the leading American artists in that field of painting, and his works are to be found at the Museum of Modern Art and the Museum of Non-Objective Paintings, New York, and in other institutions of similar standing. Aristodimos Kaldis, a vigorous painter of the Greek landscape, is also represented in well-known galleries, including that of the Barnes Foundation at Merion, Pennsylvania. Constantine Pougialis, Alexander Sideris, Demetrios Kokotsis, and George Steris have been praised for their work by exacting critics, and Polygnotos Vagis occupies a top-ranking position in American sculpture.

The Greeks have also distinguished themselves in the theater and the motion pictures. George Coulouris and Elia Kazan, both of whom are well known on Broadway and in Hollywood, are of Greek origin. Katina Paxinou, who scored a tremendous success in the film *For Whom the Bells Tolls*, is a later addition to the roster of artists from Greece. She belongs to the category of Greeks who reached these shores because of World War II.

This new Greek immigration of the World War II period, although relatively not numerous, can and surely will play an important role in strengthening the ties between the United States and Greece. Mostly consisting of wealthy shipowners and merchants, these new arrivals have the means to get acquainted with the best that America can offer, so that on their return to Greece, they and their American-educated offspring may spread the American ideals of democracy and all the latest achievements of American technical science. The few other Greeks who came to this country in recent years are intellectuals, journalists, and educators, some of whom had their secondary education in American educational institutions of the Near East. Inspired by the democratic ideals of the United States, they have hoped that, with the cessation of political strife in Greece, these same ideals will work as smoothly there as they do here.

The Greeks have proved to be among the most law-abiding citizens of foreign extraction, an element of progress and order, loyal to their adopted country, though never forgetting their motherland. During World War I, about 100,000 Greek immigrants, many recent arrivals from Greece and Asia Minor, served in the American Army and Navy. One of them, George Dilboy, became a foremost

American hero, dying in battle in France and receiving a posthumous award of the Congressional Medal of Honor. In Somerville, Massachusetts, there is a statue in his memory. A still larger number of Greek Americans, many of them American-born sons and daughters of veterans of World War I, served in World War II all over the world in the armed forces of the United States. Many were high-ranking officers and hundreds of them died in battle, were wounded or missing. Ensign Gus George Bebas, of Wilmette, Illinois, was an outstanding hero, having distinguished himself as a Naval flier serving on the carrier *Hornet*.

The public spiritedness of the Greeks is manifested by their generous contributions to every worthy cause. Besides subscribing for hundreds of millions of dollars to the war-bond drives, they contributed to the drives of the United War Fund and the American Red Cross sums exceeding in actual dollars and cents those given by other ethnic groups, some of which are numerically two or three times larger than the Greek group.

After a long and unrelenting resistance, the people of Greece, with assistance from the outside, have succeeded in liberating their country—which they so proudly consider to be the cradle of democracy—from the yoke of the foreign oppressors. Their brothers in the United States, by their valuable contributions to the war effort of the United States, have given unmistakable proofs of their steadfast devotion to the higher ideals of American democracy. It is only natural, therefore, that the Greek people, both here and in Greece, besides the generous aid now being provided by the United States for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Greece, should look forward to the revision of the Greek immigration quota, which is as low as 312 persons a year, so that new Greek blood may enter the United States and continue the constructive work that the Greek immigrants have accomplished in the half century of their existence here.

C. ITALIAN AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

Italy, smaller in size than almost any one of our western states, has contributed a larger number of immigrants to American shores than has any other nation in the world, with the single exception of Germany. In 1940, there were more Italian-born Americans than immigrants from any other country. In terms of numbers, total immigra-

tion from 1820 to June 30, 1943, was 4,719,825. The number of Italian Americans, in 1940, who were born in Italy was 1,623,580 or 14.2 per cent of the total foreign-born whites in the United States. There were, also, in 1940, 2,971,200 native born whose parents were born in Italy. Of these by far the largest number, 2,595,000, were of parents both of whom had been Italian born. Combining foreign born and native born of foreign parents, we find that one in every eight of the total foreign white stock was an Italian.

Immigration

Space does not permit the tracing of the records of the small but significant number of Italians who joined the Spanish, Dutch, English, and French in early exploration and colonization. Largely of the Catholic faith, they readily affiliated with the Spanish and French, and many entered the more liberal colonies, such as Maryland. Several hundred Italian Catholics, Protestants, and Jews had joined other English and Dutch colonies prior to the Revolution.

The numbers remained small, however, until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Only 450 arrived during the first decade of the census, 1820-1830, and in 1850 there were less than 4,000 Italians in a total population of 23,000,000. Coming largely from the prosperous, industrial areas of northern Italy, these first immigrants were importers, musicians, singers, artisans, political exiles, priests, and missionaries. By 1850, the urge to come to America had reached lower in the economic scale, and the vanguard of vendors and organ grinders began to arrive.

It was not until 1880, ten years after the unification of Italy, that the number began to rise in any significant proportion. In the decade 1871 to 1880, during which more than two and a quarter million immigrants arrived from Europe, only 50,000 came from Italy. Within two decades that number had multiplied eleven times, and in the next ten years it was 25 per cent greater than that of any nation in any ten-year period, 2,045,877. In a single year, 300,000 Italians came to our shores—more than the entire population of one of Italy's most important cities, Venice.

The number declined during the depression of 1907, but turned upward again and once more reached the peak of 300,000. When the first World War broke out, the number dropped back to the 1870 level. It rose sharply again after the war to more than 200,000 in 1921, but the quota systems established by the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 brought the rise to an abrupt end and reduced the

number once more to the 1870 figures. It is interesting to note, however, that during the five-year period, from July 1, 1938, to June 30, 1943, 13,436 Italians came to America—a number exceeded only by Germany (80,022), Canada (40,636), and Poland (20,794).

Emigration

Any statement of immigration is incomplete without including emigration. This is especially true of Italian migration. As pointed out elsewhere, no statistics of emigration were kept by the Census Bureau prior to 1908. In that one year, however, approximately 160,000 Italians—more than half as many as arrived in the same year—returned to their native land. Figure 5 shows the relationship of

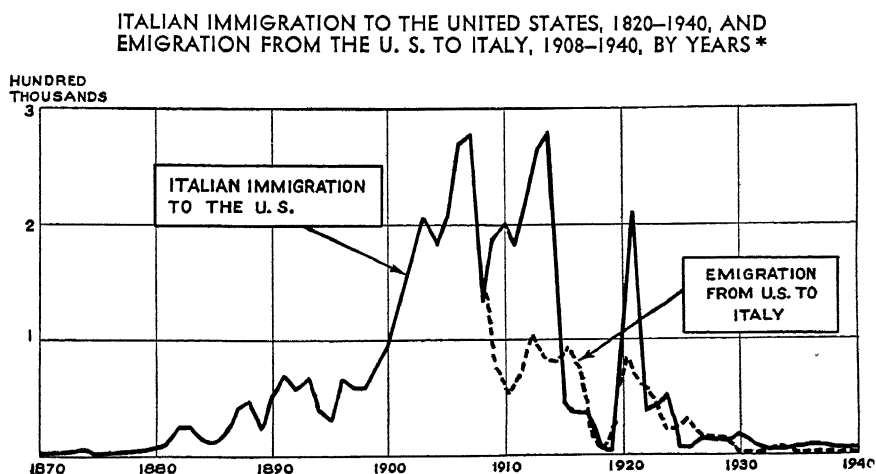


FIGURE 5

* Data from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Philadelphia, Pa.

these two movements of population from 1908 to 1943. While predictions are always hazardous, it may be assumed that the major flow of Italians, at least in the immediate postwar years, will be out rather than in. This will be especially true if opportunities for employment are less here than in the reconstruction period of their war-torn native country.

Characteristics of immigrants. Equally important with the rise in numbers was the change in the character of the majority of Italian immigrants. As previously stated, most of the first immigrants were artisans from northern cities in Italy. As word of the opportunities in the land at the rainbow's end came back, it spread southward along

the Poe, past Rome, and down into the southern provinces, into Sicily and the lesser islands. It traveled across the Pyrenees to the shores of the Adriatic. No longer was the appeal only to artisans, but the humblest merchant left his shop, the peasant his vineyard, fired by advertisements paid for by American firms and with transportation provided in return for contracted labor in America. Whole villages moved almost en masse as the people hurried to ports of debarkation and took passage in the steerage.

The writer will never forget his earliest glimpse of the immigrant at first hand. Coming from a small community in the Middle West, where the only "foreigners" were the Mexican section hands on the railroad, he stood in the receiving room at Ellis Island. What a motley array of humanity! Three fourths were men, for, as from most of the eastern and southern European countries, the men came first. They spoke a jargon of many tongues, were dressed in the picturesque suits of their native provinces, and carried their luggage in every conceivable container from gunny sack to battered bag. Only rarely was there one who gave evidence of coming from prosperous circumstances.

Although the writer was then only curiously interested in national minorities, that picture has remained clear and distinct. How many of the thousands of those who were lined up in long rows behind iron partitions waiting their turn for clearance were Italians, it would be hard to say; but in that glimpse there was something, at least, of the whole story of these later arrivals from Italy. From every walk of life, they had come to America to find their "pot of gold"; for, unlike those from many of the other countries, neither political unrest nor religious persecution had prompted their decision.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Those who came from foreign countries brought with them much of their old-world heritage. It is true that the outward symbol was dress, but this was only superficial and could be changed overnight. The heritage of the homeland was deeper, more meaningful, more to be retained than a shawl or the many long flowing skirts. This heritage was in the very woof of community and family life.

Italian backgrounds. For the most part, the great bulk of those from southern Italy, especially, had lived in self-contained communities; except for traveling peddlers and tinkers, few goods or services had come from the outside. Their language was a distinctive dialect. Peasant dress also was frequently distinctive, and that for fiestas and

other occasions was handed down from one generation to another. Young people seldom were permitted to marry anyone from outside the village. The people tilled their tiny fields, kept open their shops, or plied their trade as simple artisans. The village square was the gathering place of the community, where goods were exchanged by barter in the open markets, where folk dances were held, and where friends and neighbors met to discuss politics or to enjoy small talk regarding common acquaintances.

The church was the center of religious and social life, and fiestas would extend for days, sometimes, almost merging one into another. The high light of many of them was the procession of the saint, paraded through the streets on a platform frequently borne on the backs of willing participants.

This sense of unity was fostered further by family organization. Basic to family life was the principle of primogeniture—the line of authority through the oldest male, be he grandfather, father, or son. To him, the entire family looked for answers to all questions of policy, including approval of whom the members of the family could marry, and, for the daughters, all arrangements regarding dowry.

The rearing of a family—and it was almost always large—was a serious matter. Until after the turn of the present century, few children attended school, even though compulsory education was established soon after the unification of Italy in 1870. But children were early imbued with all the traditions of community and family life—how to live in honor and in dignity within its pattern. Almost from birth, girls were taught their roles as future wives and mothers, not by precept alone, but by taking their share of the work of the household and by long hours spent in sewing and embroidering the garments for their “hope chests.” Theirs was a carefully chaperoned life in which a shy glance at a stranger, noted by observing neighbors, might lessen the chances for making a good marriage. Sons were early taught such simple skills as were needed by breadwinners and by the oldest son to carry on his father’s occupation, if an artisan or merchant.

Immediate problems of adjustment. With this background as an integral part of their lives, they came to America. What a disillusioning experience awaited the great majority of them! They learned quickly that money and not barter was the method of exchange. Few found their simple skills wanted or needed in the new land. Only their brawn and their patient toil were in demand. They accepted jobs wholly unfamiliar to them in the homeland and worked grueling hours for low wages. They had no reserve with which to

buy land or to open a shop. Some, working on the docks, bought small quantities of fruits and vegetables or other nonperishable commodities and peddled them from open carts. They lived in cheap rooming houses and frugally saved to send money back home to bring the family over.

To preserve something of their old-world life, they settled in areas with other Italians, frequently groups from the same village living in the same tenement. Little Italys such as the Cherry and Mulberry Street areas of Manhattan sprang up in every city. Dependent wholly on the meager wages of unskilled labor, they moved into the areas left vacant by previous immigrant groups, especially the Irish and the Germans, who had moved up a rung on the economic ladder. The father was no longer able to support the family, and so boarders and roomers were taken into the already overcrowded flat. Boys, often only small children, peddled papers, ran errands, and blacked shoes. Women and little daughters substituted flower making and sewing buttons on coarse garments for the patient embroidering for the "hope chest." Women even broke the age-old tradition and worked in factories and basement rooms, producing "sweat-shop" goods on a piece-work basis. Congestion became almost unbelievable. In 1930, 75,000 Italians lived within sixty city blocks in East Harlem in New York City.

Distribution. Where did they go, this flood of foreigners seeking new homes, this vast army of peasants, 66 per cent of whom had been agriculturalists in their homeland and 25 per cent skilled artisans? Almost all of them arrived in the port of New York—more than one million never went further. In 1940, after more than a decade of little migration, there were 1,095,000 Italian Americans living in New York City, of whom 409,489 were foreign born. In 1930 the number of foreign born was 440,255. Many other millions either moved on after a brief stay in New York or went directly to the city to which their predecessors from the home village had migrated. Employment agencies operated on a wholesale basis and sent whole trainloads to areas where unskilled labor was needed. A comparatively few returned to the soil, but the great majority established "Little Italys" in almost every American city with a population of 25,000 or more. In several of them, Italian Americans comprised from 10 to 25 per cent of the total population. In Lodi, New York, they comprised 59 per cent of the population in 1930.

An analysis of Table XV (page 648), reveals a number of significant facts. There is a very considerable degree of mobility among those

of Italian stock. During the ten years 1931 to 1940, the number in New York, Newark, and Philadelphia showed significant decrease while that in Buffalo, Chicago, and Detroit increased proportionately. This fact is even more pronounced in regard to the Italian born; for example, while the number in Buffalo declined approximately 7,000, in Chicago it increased by 13,000.

Of further interest is the varying percentage of the total foreign stock who are of Italian extraction: from 4.4 per cent and 4.8 per cent in Milwaukee and Seattle respectively to 32.7 per cent in Newark, and 35.8 per cent in Providence. In general, however, there tends to be definite centralization of Italians in certain communities, as the percentage of total foreign stock who are Italian in such cities averages approximately 20 per cent as compared with a total national average of 13.3 per cent.

For the most part, these data can be explained by the fact that the vast majority of Italian Americans have not risen above the level of unskilled labor. Consequently, they shift with varying employment opportunities. A further fact is that they have not, in many cases, established roots in their new community and prefer to go to areas where there are already large numbers of their copatriots.

One further statement should be made lest the above analysis give a false impression. Italian Americans have spread from the landing ports to every state in the Union. In 1940 there were, to select only a few states, in Alabama, 5,319; California, 100,910; Connecticut, 329,373; Illinois, 270,864; New Jersey, 499,383; New York, 1,596,805; and Wyoming, 3,115. Some of these people have established themselves in smaller, more rural communities, such as Vineland and Hammononton, New Jersey; Rockville, Connecticut; Cape Cod, Massachusetts; Monroe and Canastota, New York, and Lambert and Daphne, Alabama, to name only a few.

The number living on farms and in communities of less than 2,500 is smaller than for any other nationality group except the Greeks. The 1940 census shows 88.5 per cent living in urban communities, 9.4 per cent rural nonfarm (communities less than 2,500), and only 2.6 per cent on farms. And this, in spite of the fact, as stated previously, that 66 per cent were agricultural workers on the hills and in the narrow valleys of their native country!

Later problems of adjustment. The sharp contrast between all that the Italian immigrants knew and valued in the homeland and their experiences in America created both immediate and long-range problems of adjustment. The former were discussed earlier in this

chapter. The latter adjustments are still being made with all the tensions inherent in the rapid social and economic changes forced upon the immigrants.

The most important of these adjustments is in that of family relationships. No credence is placed in primogeniture in America, and each child has equal responsibility and privilege; girls are free to go about unchaperoned and to earn their own livelihood; authority and discipline are replaced, in part, by discussion and coöperation; old-world customs and fiestas have little value in the heterogeneous population of an American community. While their elders reluctantly and gradually made superficial changes—adopted American dress, learned a little English, and some took out first citizenship papers—their children wished and sought to be Americans.

The children attended American schools and resented the continued use of Italian in their homes; they chafed at the disciplines of the old world and tended to flaunt their new freedom; girls insisted on enjoying the privileges of their schoolmates, selected their friends and even their husbands without parental approval, and frequently those chosen were non-Italians; the young people defied old-world traditions and customs; they danced to modern tunes rather than the folk music dear to their parents; for many, there was a lessening of their sense of dependence upon the church.

While the extent of this conflict between the first and second and even the third generation varied widely with families and communities, it was inevitable that the elders should berate the "wildness" of the young people and that youth should, with equal vigor, disparage the values and standards of conduct of their parents. A considerable number of the second generation Anglicized both their first and last names.

The school, inadvertently perhaps, tended to abet this conflict. English was insisted on in the classroom. Children were urged to adopt American habits of dress and of food, which were held up as superior to those of the old world. Parents were asked to come to the school only as a means of disciplining the child. Gradually, however, a different attitude and policy developed among educators. They recognized that elders, too, sought to adjust themselves to the new ways of America and that the old world had much to contribute to the children and to the community. With this change, immigrant classes were established for adults and children were encouraged to value the contributions of their elders.

Conflict continues and will characterize the behavior problems of

another generation, but it is now becoming less acute and will continue to lessen as each generation becomes more American.

Naturalization. One indication of assimilation is the rate and promptness of becoming citizens. The 1940 census indicates that Italians fall only 2.1 per cent below the national average of 64.6 per cent for all foreign-born groups. This is an increase of 12 per cent during the decade 1931 to 1940.

The press. Of all the foreign-language publications in America, those in Italian are fourth in number and in circulation. In 1919 there were 190 with a circulation of 800,000; in 1943 there were 117, with an approximate circulation of 522,883.

The first Italian newspaper was founded in 1849 and its name, *L'Eco d'Italia*, reflected its purpose. It was a weekly published in New York City, but like many a similar first venture, it was short-lived. The leading Italian daily today is the *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, founded in New York in 1888. It has an English section, but the bulk of its ten-page daily and sixteen-page Sunday edition is in Italian. Other important publications include *Il Corriere d'America* and *La Stampa Libera*.

The Italian press has, like other foreign-language newspapers, modified its editorial policy to meet the varying status of the home country; these adjustments have not been easy to make because of the fluctuating policy of the Italian government.

Organizations. One of the important elements of homeland culture that could be transplanted was that of fraternal, social, religious, and political organizations. A dominant type was the mutual-aid societies—a kind of group benefit insurance. Perhaps, unfortunately, the failure of this kind of organization to adapt itself to the different economic conditions in America have led to its gradual and almost complete elimination among the Italians. Another type which blended social and religious values was centered around the church. The *congrega* of the villages in Sicily or Basilicata were revived in the new community dedicated to Maria of the Rosary, St. Joseph, or San Calagero.

As the years passed, a movement developed to unify all Italian societies into one national order. Dr. Vincent Sellars was one of the chief promoters of the movement, which began about 1900. The Order of the Sons of Italy was organized, but a few years later a schism developed and the group that broke off called themselves the Independent Order of the Sons of Italy. The purposes of both national organizations, to be carried on through their local chapters,

were: to keep alive the culture of the homeland, to encourage the continued knowledge and use of the Italian language, and to prepare their members for American citizenship. By 1925, hundreds of thousands of first- and second-generation Italians were members of the several thousand local chapters of these organizations.

Religion. The importance of the church in the life of the Italian in his native land created a deep sense of loss when the first large stream arrived in America. Although the majority were Catholics and many Catholic churches had been founded, the similarity of service contrasted with the unfamiliarity of the people and surroundings did not keep the immigrant from feeling a sense of strangeness even in the worship of his God. In his homeland, the parish priest knew the members of his congregation and took a personal interest in each. Here, the priest could not even speak his language, and in the vast movement of peoples the individual was scarcely or not at all known to the priest. Some tended to drift away from the church; others organized Italian congregations and procured a priest of their own tongue.

At Piacenza, an institute was founded to train missionaries to work among the Italian immigrants in America. In 1888 the first so trained came to the United States and began work in many cities through the country. Other religious orders also took similar steps, including Franciscans (both monks and nuns), Salesians, the Sisters of Mother Cabrini, and the Pallotine Sisters; and later a branch of the *Italica Gens* was founded in America.

Italian Protestants tended more than Catholics to affiliate with churches of their own denomination having a mixed national congregation. However, evangelical missions, churches, and schools sought to serve the Italian immigrants and their second-generation children.

In many Italian-American communities the fiesta is still celebrated almost unchanged from that conducted in the shadow of the Pyrenees. But for the young people, who have no memories beyond America, fiesta is losing its significance, though religion itself may be as potent a factor in their lives as its ritual is to their parents.

Adjustments in World War II. When Mussolini came to power in 1922, a small number of Italian Americans endorsed the new government. As glowing accounts of public works and other improvements were brought back by relatives and friends, the number who approved increased, as it did also among the general population. The

current judgment among the Italians was that Mussolini was good for Italy, but not for America.

When Italy attacked Ethiopia, the sentiment began to shift among the majority of Italians in America. They did not concur in Mussolini's dream of empire and resented his slurring remarks about America, for, as new citizens, they knew what America had meant to them. Despite efforts to induce them to return to Italy, only a small number did so.

An almost unprecedented situation occurred, however, when the United States declared war on Italy in 1942. Nearly 600,000 foreign-born and unnaturalized Italians became "alien enemies." They were restricted and put under surveillance, but after ten months of watching, on Columbus Day, 1942, United States Attorney-General Biddle announced, "Out of the total of 600,000, there has been cause to intern only 228 or fewer than one twentieth of 1 per cent! Italian aliens will no longer be classed as alien enemies. They will be free to travel and to go about their lives as any other person." In this statement was expressed a trust and confidence seldom equaled, and Italian Americans responded in enthusiastic support of every phase of total war.

*Contributions to American Life*¹

The contributions of those of Italian origin have been continuous, though space permits only a cursory reference to early explorers and missionaries and a selected summary of the contributions of only a few who have given so much to our modern life in America.

Religious educational institutions were founded in New France and New Spain by Italian missionaries and priests. Perhaps the two most outstanding priests were Father Eusebio Chino and Father Marco da Nizza. The former traveled to the west coast; the latter was with the Coronado expedition and went as far west as Nebraska. Father Chino did more than explore and erect churches for the Indians he converted. He taught the Indians trades and European farming methods and helped in the establishment of the stock-raising industry.

Americus Vesputius, who gave his name to America, was of Italian origin as was, of course, Christopher Columbus.

¹ With some modifications, this section is reproduced from the first edition of this book, and was originally prepared by Leonard Covello, principal of Benjamin Franklin High School in New York City, and an editor of the *Casa Italiana* publications.

Art and music. The material in hand shows how largely Italians have been represented in many fields of endeavor. In the sphere of art and music, in particular, the immigrant and his children have achieved desirable positions. Among artists whose work has commanded national attention may be mentioned Cappellano, Persico, Brumidi, Costaginni, Amateis, Franzoni, Valperti, Causici, Trentanove, and Vincenti. Their genius found notable expression in the adornment of the Capitol at Washington. Of these, Brumidi, perhaps, is the best known. He was called "the Michael Angelo of the Capitol," and left behind him the famous Capitol frescoes "Storia del America," "Washington at Yorktown," "L'Apoteosi de Washington," and "Cincinnato all'aratro." It was he who painted the "Crocefissione," considered the greatest oil painting of its time.

Amateis, who died in 1920, made the bronze doors of the national Capitol. Franzoni designed and executed the bronze clock in the Capitol with the statue of "Storia" on its top. The emblematic eagle in the Capitol was sculptured by Valperti. The statue, "Liberty Proclaiming Peace," is the work of Causici. The "Père Marquette" statue in the House of Representatives was done by Trentanove; the "Indian Chief, Be-She-Ke," by Vincenti. The statues "Marta" and "Cerere" are by Cappellano. Persico sculptured the groups "Il Genio d'Americo" and "Scoperta del Nuovo Mondo."

Other Italian sculptors who are well known in art circles are Onorio Ruotolo and Attilio Piccirilli, the "stone-cutter" who was chosen by the *New York Journal* as the artist for the "Monument to the Martyrs of the Maine." His many other works are too well known to be listed here. He has received many honors, among them awards from the Academia del Pantheon di Roma, the National Sculpture Society, the Architectural League of New York, and the National Academy. He was the first Italian artist to receive such recognition. It is also interesting to note here that an Italian, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, archeologist, collector, and lover of art, was appointed director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the first year of its history.

In the noncreative sphere of art, it may be noted that some of the outstanding art galleries are owned and directed by Italians and that there are many art dealers of importance who are Italian. Likewise, some of the most noted art jewelers in the United States are Italians. The largest foundry in the United States for the casting of fine art work is owned by Commendatore Riccardo Bertelli.

The field of music is so broad and the range of Italian influence so wide that it cannot be covered here. Mention may be made, however, of the fact that the first orchestra in the United States was founded by an Italian and that the first orchestra leader and director of the Metropolitan Opera House was an Italian. The Metropolitan was opened in 1883, with Cleofante Campanini as orchestra leader. In 1895 Luigi Mancinelli succeeded him.

In the world of opera, Italian singers are pre-eminent. The list of those who have acquired fame in the United States is very long. It includes Enrico Caruso, Tetrizzini, Adelina Patti, Antonio Scotti, Rosa Ponselle, Rosa Raisa, Amelita Galli-Curci, Giovanni Martinelli, Guiseppe de Luca, Tito Schipa, Tito Ruffo, Beniamini Gigli, Pasquale Amato, and many others.

The group of leaders and directors of opera includes notable names such as Arturo Vigna, Rodolfo Ferrari, Roberto Moranzoni, Gennaro Papi, Giulio Setti, Gino Marinuzzi (a composer also), Francesco Cimino, Attico Bernabini, Fortunato Gallo, Italo Montezzi, and the incomparable Arturo Toscanini. Nor should one forget Giulio Gatti-Casazza, whose name was almost synonymous with that of the Metropolitan for so many years.

Before the Metropolitan Opera House existed, the Academy of Music was opened in 1854 by Italians for the presentation of Italian music and, in 1883, an Italian opera house was opened. Among librettists, it is interesting to call attention to Lorenzo da Ponte, librettist for Mozart, who opened the first store for opera librettos in the United States. He was also the first to sell imported books in New York City.

Commerce and industry. Turning from art and music to commerce and industry, one finds Italians conspicuous in these spheres also. Antonio Zucca, pioneer in imports from Italy, began his business in the United States in 1850. Between 1850 and 1855 one finds the names of Fratelli Fabricotti, dealing in marble and alabaster; Conte, stuffs and materials; Fratelli Pia, tin and pewter toys; Morelli, restaurants; and Meucci, who operated the tallow-candle factory in which Garibaldi worked while living in New York City and awaiting the moment when the success of the Risorgimento in Italy would give him enduring fame.

In 1885, the Italian Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1883 by Professor Alessandro Oldrini, was incorporated. In 1890, the Italian Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco was established. In 1919,

on November 6, the Italian Chamber of Labor was established in New York City. Its aim was to organize Italian workers into labor unions.

The categories of Italian industry in the United States include, among others, tailors, barbers, bakers, painters (house painters), decorators, carpenters, weavers, printers, mechanics, and makers of musical instruments. In fact, there is today scarcely an industry to which Italians have not contributed.

Italians are among the youngest of our "new" immigrants, yet within a span of little more than half a century they have made lasting contributions to America. The great majority are not known as individuals, for theirs has been a gift of brawn and patient labor. One cannot ride a train or drive on trunk highways without traveling over roadbeds laid by Italian labor. Skyscrapers and industrial establishments were built by Italian hands. Mines and forests, factories and retail establishments, require the services of many who are unnamed but whose labor provides essential services.

Still in the lower level of our economy, many have risen above it, and their names are known among the galleries of the great. Others, too, will rise. All that is needed—but this is much—is the great understanding, the larger opportunity, that appreciation of their value will justly bring.

D. SPANISH AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

To the average individual, any reference to the Spaniard in America recalls the "bloody trails of Coronado" with his men in shining armor in a ruthless quest for gold. The English are recalled from history texts as men of religious fervor coming on a courageous voyage to carve their homes from the wilderness; the French, as devout missionaries seeking to convert the Indians to Christianity.

While each is true, it is true only in part, and in each group were those prompted by each of the three motives. The failure to recognize this fact is more unfortunate in the instance of the Spaniards than for either of the others, as it deprecates the patient courageous labor of those early Spanish pioneers and missionaries.

A century before the landings on Plymouth Rock, Spanish explorers, colonists, and missionaries had landed in Mexico, and by the late 1500's Mexico City, its capital, had become a wealthy center of culture and of learning with a university already a half-century old.

The wilderness had been explored and prosperous mining towns established.

It was in 1598 that Juan de Onate received permission from the king of Spain to cross the Rio Grande. A little band of 136 pushed its way northward. The record of their journeys is found written in Spanish on Inscription Rock in northwest New Mexico: "Passed by here the officer Don Juan de Onate to the discovery of the sea to the south on the 16th of April, 1605." The record is more than a mere inscription in stone, it is a monument to the early history of our Southwest and, more especially, of southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas. In later years missions were established eastward to Florida and as far north as Virginia, joining with missions founded by the Spaniards who had come directly across the Atlantic. With the decline of Spain as a world power, new missionary efforts both in Florida and in the West virtually ceased. But the missionaries who remained continued their labors in the Southwest and, despite Indian uprisings, churches and settlements were rebuilt. The imprint of Spain was left so deeply embedded that its heritage characterizes much of the life of these areas even today.

Exploration and settlement also ended with the defeat of the Spanish Armada, but the Spaniards had remade the geography of the Americas and had brought into its empire vast stretches of North, Central, and South America, including nearly half of our own territory.

Immigration

For the Spaniards, more than any other nationality group, there is a long gap between their important place in the earliest American history and the time when Spanish immigration assumed important significance in modern America. It is not to be implied by this statement that all immigration ceased but rather that for nearly two hundred years it was significant neither in its character nor its number.

The largest number to migrate to America in any decade from 1820 to 1900 was 9,298 during the period 1851 to 1860; the lowest was 2,125 during 1831-1840; and the average for the seven decades was approximately 5,000. This is in sharp contrast to the immigration from other European countries, which, during the same period, reached more than a half million in a single decade from Austria-Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, and Russia.

The new immigration from Spain increased to approximately 28,000 during the years 1891 to 1900, and to 68,500 in the succeeding decade.

This was the highest peak of new arrivals, and the number dropped back in the decade 1921-1930 to 29,000, because of the immigration laws. During each year, from June 30, 1931 to the same date 1936, emigration exceeded immigration. In the years from 1936 to June 30, 1943, except for 1940, the trend reversed, but the numbers were too small to be important. For the total thirteen-year period, only 6,011 came to the United States while 20,112 left America for Spain, lured, for the most part, by the desire to participate in one side or the other of the Spanish Civil War.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

The problems of Spanish Americans can be understood only if three facts are born continually in mind. The first has been emphasized earlier: differentiation between the descendants of the Spanish colonists and the new immigration. The second is the tendency to group all Spanish-speaking together as one national minority. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is estimated that there are between two and a half and three million people in the United States for whom Spanish is the native language, although the 1940 census gives the number for whom Spanish is the "mother tongue" as 1,861,400. The largest concentration is in New Mexico with two fifths of the population speaking Spanish. Of these groups, approximately 250,000 are Spanish colonials, including the new immigrants. The others are Mexicans, Latin Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and small groups from other Spanish-speaking areas. The third fact, in some respects more true of the Spanish than of the early colonials, is that although they have intermarried with other groups, they have kept their own language and customs.

Any analysis of cultural differentiation and assimilation must be based on a recognition of these facts, and any program for the improvement of the status of Spanish Americans must be differentiated in terms of the varying problems of each group.

The early Spanish colonial clings tenaciously to the heritage of his forefathers. Most of the old haciendas of the wealthy landowners have disappeared and small owners have lost their title to the land through the laws of the "Anglos" in contrast to the vague grants of Mexico and of Old Spain. But they have not given up their pride in the achievement of their forebears or their sense of loss in their changed status.

The memories, ideas, customs, and traditions of sixteenth-century Spain are still an integral part of their pattern of life. The archi-

ture and the furnishings of their homes are of the old world. Their songs and folk dances are of Spanish origin. To them, the church and the family are the two ties that bind them together. Only a few successfully bridged the gap of the centuries and became ranchers or entered business or the professions. Although public schools were established after 1890, the education was not adapted to their special needs, and many still sent their children to the parochial schools or were content to give them what little education was needed in the family.

The past quarter of a century has brought changes more important than those of all the centuries. Better schools and government projects are changing the lives, especially of the young people. They are breaking away from the past of their elders, but with the conflict inevitable in such a period of transition.

The new Spanish immigrants, who were largely farmers and laborers, can be grouped roughly into three types: seafaring men from the coastal cities of northwestern Spain; those from the interior of the Basque provinces; and those from central and southern Spain. The first group have tended to follow the sea and live in coastal cities. The second went almost entirely to the west-coast states. Some settled in Spanish-speaking communities in the Southwest; others went farther north and established new centers of Spanish immigration in Oregon, Wyoming, Nevada, Montana, Washington, and Idaho, the last being sometimes referred to as the Basque state. They are, for the most part, day laborers, cooks, shepherds, cowhands, clerks, and gardeners. A few have entered the professions.

Many of the third group, from central and southeastern Spain, went first to the Hawaiian Islands. The statement is made, which apparently has some basis of fact, that several shiploads believed they were coming to America until told on shipboard that they were being sent to work in the sugar plantations in Hawaii. After earning enough for repassage, 95 per cent came to the United States, the majority settling within one hundred and fifty miles of San Francisco.

Both colonials and new immigrants tend to settle in or create new Spanish communities in which their language, customs, and institutions are perpetuated. Dominantly Catholic, much of their cultural life centers around the church. In Los Angeles alone there are seventeen Spanish Catholic churches.

Fraternal organizations. Like almost all foreign-language groups, the Spanish have their own social and fraternal organizations. These include the *Centro Vasco*, the *Union Espanola de California*, the

Sociedad Espanola de Beneficencia Mutua, the *Sociedad Cervantes*, and *La Union Beneficia Espanola*. As implied in the names, most of these societies carry mutual benefits. The last named is the largest and is typical of the services given to its members. It cares for the sick, provides death benefits, gives legal advice, and carries on social and sometimes educational activities.

The press. Like other foreign-language newspapers, those in Spanish are faced with the twofold problem of serving the older people whose interests are largely of the homeland and their own group activities, and the young people who are bilingual and whose interests reach beyond their own minority group. The Spanish press is faced with the further problem of serving diverse Spanish-speaking groups.

The newspaper with the largest circulation and with the most inclusive coverage is *La Prensa*, edited by Jose Camprubi, and published in New York City. A Los Angeles publication, *El Antifascista*, was, as implied in the name, continuously anti-Fascist.

Educational organizations. Within the last twenty-five years, a number of organizations have been developed to help the Spanish-speaking peoples to bridge the gap of transition. One such organization is the Del Amo Foundation, established in 1929 to foster mutual understanding between Spain and the United States by arranging for an exchange of professors and college students. The Spanish Revolution and World War II made the work of this organization difficult. Another organization with a different program is the *Accion Cultural Hispanica* in San Francisco. Until recently it was partially supported by the Spanish government. Its purpose is to give free instruction in the teaching of Spanish to the children of Spanish colonials and, at a small fee, to others. Similar schools have been established in other communities. In 1926, Dr. Gregorio del Amo established the Cominguez Seminary in Compton, California, to prepare young men for the priesthood.

World War II and after. With the coming of World War II and the emphasis on intercultural education among the Americas (see Chapter XXXI), the government began to take a more active interest in the Spanish-speaking groups in the United States. Several state organizations were formed, and in 1941, the School of Inter-American Affairs was established at the University of New Mexico for those interested in working on regional problems; in coöperation with local groups, it has sponsored conferences, exhibits, and adult education programs.

The federal government has also established various activities in the interest of these groups (see Chapter XXII). To what extent the activities of the federal government will continue in the postwar period is problematical, but their influence and the assimilative process of war will leave a lasting impression.

Contributions to American Life

The gifts of the Spanish Americans, like those of many minority groups, fall into two types: those of the vast group who by their toil have given much, and those of individuals who have risen above the mass and whose names are associated with specific contributions. To these two, in the instance of the Spanish Americans, a third must be added, in many ways more important than either of the others: the cultural heritage of Old Spain that still lives in sections of Florida and the entire Southwest. Names of innumerable rivers, towns, and cities and of four states—Florida, Colorado, Nevada, and California—are Spanish. Spanish is more common than English in many communities. Signs in stores are printed in both Spanish and English, and Spanish script accompanies moving pictures. Bells cast in Old Spain and hanging in adobe Spanish missions still call the people to worship.

The most obvious contribution, as one travels in the Southwest, is the distinctive type of architecture. Its dominance varies in the cities, but one can travel for great distances through scattered villages and, without changing other than the glaring sign of an occasional movie house, be back again across the span of time and space in the villages of Spain. Professor Bolton¹ has forcefully described these contributions as follows:

There are still other marks of Spanish days on the southern border. We see them in social, religious, economic, and even legal practices. Everywhere in the Southwest there are quaint church customs brought from Spain or Mexico by the early pioneers. At Christmas time in San Antonio one can see *Los Pastores* enacted. California has her *Portola* festival, her rodeos, and her *Mission Play*. From the Spaniard the American cowboy inherited his trade, his horse, his outfit, his lingo and his methods. Spain is stamped on our land surveys. From Sacramento to St. Augustine nearly everybody holds his acres by a title going back to Mexico or Madrid. Most of the farms, in a wide swath along the border, are divisions of famous grants which are still known by their original Spanish names. In the realm of law, principles regarding mines, water

¹ H. E. Bolton, "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," pp. 37-39 in *The Trans-Mississippi West*, edited by J. F. Willard, and C. B. Goodykoontz. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1930.

rights on streams, and the property rights of women—to mention only a few—have been retained from the Spanish regime. From our Spanish forerunners in the Southwest we got our first lessons in irrigation, that art which has become one of our primary southwestern interests. Not the least important part of our heritage has been the Hispanic appeal to our imagination. The Spanish occupation has furnished theme and color for a myriad of writers, great and small. Lomes and Dobie, Lummis and Willa Cather, Bret Harte and Espinosa have shown that these inter-American bounds have a Spain-tinged folklore as rich as that of the Scottish border embalmed by Sir Walter Scott.

A less obvious contribution is in the field of migrant agricultural labor, sheepherding, and ranching. Although it is stated that during World War I 30 to 40 per cent of the unskilled workers in munition plants were Spaniards from Spain,² only a few entered factories or mines. Nor have they in any large numbers joined those of similar language, especially the Mexicans, as section hands on the railroads. Some have become shop keepers and others have entered the professions. In the first World War, New Mexico had a higher percentage of volunteers than had any other state, and 60 per cent of these were of Spanish descent.

The number of Spanish Americans whose names are well known could be much extended. In 1859 Jose Francisco de Navarro built the first American sea-going iron steamship, the *Matanzas*, and in 1878 he constructed the first elevated railway in New York City. He established the Atlas Cement Company and was one of the organizers of the Equitable Life Insurance Company. Augustin V. Zamorano brought the first printing press to California. Cesar Borja, Antonio Heros, Erasmo Buceto are but three of many Spanish Americans on university faculties. In the motion picture fields can be named: Ramon Pereda, Louis Alberni, and Rosita and Antonia Moreno. In radio and in the arts are other names, but enough have been given to indicate that the contributions of the present Spanish Americans may be as significant for the future as their past is to the present.

E. PORTUGUESE AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

It is always interesting to learn when the first immigrants from any country entered the United States, even though their contribution is not measured by their length of residence. It is known that Portuguese explorers chartered the California coast in the sixteenth

² "Spaniards In the United States," *Literary Digest*, March 22, 1919, p. 38.

century. A few Portuguese came to the colonies during the eighteenth century, particularly to coast towns in Massachusetts, from where, after 1765, ships engaging in the whale fishery sailed to the edge of the Gulf Stream, the Western Islands (Azores), and the Brazilian Banks. The masters of the American whalers carried with them from the Western Islands, where they invariably stopped for supplies, boys to serve as foremast hands or to work in the steerage. When these Portuguese boys became expert seamen, they were usually signed up by the captain at an American consulate in any foreign port where the ship might stop, and as seamen they would enter the United States.¹

In time, a great many of these Western Islanders found employment as American whalers, and one author, writing in the 1850's, declared that "almost every vessel sailing from New Bedford carried more or less of them." A number of these boys were raised as sons in New England families, taking the name of the family, although keeping their Catholic religion.

A number of Portuguese came to California during the gold rush of 1849. The Homestead Act of 1865 and the subsequent population movement westward brought others, especially around the turn of the century. They were attracted to the New England whaling industry, to the Rhode Island fishing fleets, and to the California fishing industry. Up to, and during, the period of World War I, the mills and factories of New York, Massachusetts, California, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey drew the Portuguese.

In addition, two thousand came from Hawaii between 1911 and 1914, because of poor working conditions and low wages on island plantations. All in all, in 1920, the Portuguese stock in the United States numbered approximately 106,000, of whom two thirds were in New England centers (Boston, Cambridge, Providence, Fall River, Lowell, and New Bedford). The 1940 census gives 176,407 of whom 62,347 were foreign born.

Settlements. The largest Portuguese colonies are in New Bedford, Massachusetts, and Oakland, California. In California the first settlers were largely of the sailor class. They were followed by farmers who went to the west coast directly from the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands, as well as from continental Portugal, or indirectly after having lived in the Hawaiian Islands. Others, in more recent years, have moved to the Pacific coast from New England.

¹ Raul d'Eca, "The Portuguese in the United States," *Social Science*, XIV (October 1939), pp. 365-369.

As early as the 1850's, there were two Portuguese settlements in Illinois, one north of Springfield and the other near Jacksonville. Each numbered about five hundred settlers and was composed almost exclusively of Protestant Portuguese exiles from Madeira. They were induced to come here by the American Protestant Society, and the American Hemp Company promised them land and employment. Left stranded on reaching America, they were helped, by contributions from New York and from residents of Springfield, Illinois, to proceed westward.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. By 1899, the Portuguese and the French Canadians were the dominant labor groups in the cotton mills of New Bedford. In general, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, most of them work in factories, although many are engaged in fishing, in farming, and in other skilled and nonskilled occupations. Thus, for example, in Gloucester and Provincetown, Massachusetts, there are large groups of fishermen, either Portuguese or of Portuguese descent; in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and parts of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, a large proportion of the farmers and rural laborers also are Portuguese. In New Bedford and Fall River, Massachusetts, and in a few other communities of the eastern United States, there are many Portuguese industrial workers.

In California, a number of Portuguese became farmers, usually working as laborers for their countrymen already established there. The large majority of them are in central California and within a hundred miles of San Francisco. In 1920, the Portuguese ranked third highest in ownership of land and fourth highest in value of farms in California. In addition, they are said to control 75 per cent of the cattle of the state. This is true, no doubt, partly because they came, not to make their "pile" and then return to the old country, but to settle, and to raise their families in America.

Social divisions. The Portuguese Americans are composed of several distinctive groups.² The mainland Portuguese are distinguished by some Moorish or Negro admixture. In the Azores, there is a Flemish admixture and perhaps also a Negroid element. The immigrants from the Cape Verde Islands—the "Bravas" rank lowest, being

² Donald R. Taft, *Two Portuguese Communities in New England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923; Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America*, pp. 451-454. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939.

very dark-skinned—are located mostly in New Bedford and in the cranberry bogs of Cape Cod. They are to be distinguished from the Portuguese coming from other sources in the fact that they are mostly of the African race. Next in the cultural scale are the Azoreans and then those who come from the mainland.

Acculturation. Nine tenths of the Portuguese immigrants were unskilled, living in squalid tenements and having a very high mortality rate. But as farmers they work hard, cultivate intensively, and are extremely frugal. Those marrying into other groups in California marry almost entirely with Catholics.

The old-world patterns have been retained to a considerable degree. The man is distinctly the head of the family. In many a home, the daughter is still merely an apprentice to the mother, learning to be an obedient, faithful, diligent wife, versed in old-world culture patterns and steeped in traditions. She is courted and married in accordance with old-world custom. The males usually leave school as early as possible and take up dairy work or fishing (or get a factory job) and later marry the daughter of another Portuguese. Religious and fraternal festivals play a great part.

Organizations and the press. The Portuguese Americans have numerous societies and social and athletic clubs. The organizations that pay sick and death benefits are the Azoreana, St. Michael's Portuguese Benefit Society, and the St. Pedro Portuguese Society. In California, there are at least four active Portuguese fraternal organizations, with two or more women's auxiliaries. In the same state there are five newspapers printed in the Portuguese language. Although in Hawaii few second- and third-generation Portuguese can speak or read the language, in California approximately 50 per cent of Portuguese children are bilingual. Two radio stations (in Oakland and Long Beach, California) broadcast programs in Portuguese each week.

The Portuguese do not easily assimilate, for their cultural patterns—language, names, gestures, religion, and other institutions—differ from those of the controlling group under whom they work. Then, too, most of them work in the lowest labor brackets. How the social-distance principle is practiced against them is evident from a special census classification that calls them "other Caucasians." To their critics they are known as "Portagee." Having strong control of the dairying industry throughout California and of the fishing industry, especially in the San Diego area, they have tended to segregate themselves from other groups. As one writer puts it:

It is shocking to find that these peaceful, laborious, and thrifty people had the highest illiteracy percentage among all aliens admitted into the United States (between 1899 and 1910), one of the highest infant mortality rates in the whole country . . . and the lowest percentage of naturalized citizens of the United States . . . , the latter two conditions being, undoubtedly, consequences in great part of the former. It would be fitting to conclude these remarks by calling the attention of the social agencies which aim at correcting human deficiencies such as those just indicated, to the Portuguese in the United States, who otherwise seem to be worthy raw material for American citizenship."³

Contributions to American Life

The outstanding American of Portuguese descent was John Philip Sousa, leader of the United States Marine Band and composer of much famous march music.⁴ George Hard De Sylva, one of the greatest of America's music producers, song writers, and motion-picture makers, comes from Portuguese backgrounds. His father descended from an old and aristocratic Portuguese family.⁵

The American Portuguese have, too, brought their gifts and traditions to give color and variety to American life. A study of the Portuguese fishermen of Cape Cod, for instance, and of their colorful customs, demonstrates well the sort of contributions that many even of the smallest groups are making to America.⁶

³ Raul d'Eca, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁴ Mina Lewiton, *John Philip Sousa: The March King*. New York: Didier, 1944.

⁵ Noel F. Busch, "Buddy De Sylva," *Life*, IX (December 30, 1940), pp. 50-55.

⁶ W. Edward Crane, "Sons of the Azores on Cape Cod," pp. 275-286, in Mary B. McLellan and Albert V. De Bonis, Eds., *Within Our Gates*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940.

CHAPTER IX

Jewish Americans

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN AND JULIUS B. MALLER

THE STORY of the Jews in America is a study in social economic adaptation and psychological adjustment. Coming from many lands and a variety of old-world traditions, the Jews have shown characteristic adaptiveness to the American economy, culture, and social pattern. Though largely concentrated in a number of urban communities, Jews are to be found throughout the land and in every walk of American life.

There are approximately five million Jews in the United States, and the great majority of them are of native birth. Exact figures are not available, since the United States census does not inquire into religious affiliations. The estimate given is fairly reliable, however, being based on the records of Jewish congregations, immigration data, and estimates from local communities throughout the country.

Jewish immigration into the United States can be divided into four major periods. The first Jewish immigrants came during the colonial period and were of Spanish and Portuguese origin. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, there were about 2,000 Jews in the colonies. The second wave came from Germany after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, and, in larger numbers, following the collapse of the uprisings of 1848. This German-Jewish group consisted for the most part of white-collar workers and professionals. The third and by far the largest wave of Jewish immigration to the United States stemmed from eastern Europe and began in 1881 as a mass exodus from countries where the Jews were in danger of physical persecution—particularly Czarist Russia, where the plight of the Jews had been made much more difficult by the May Laws of 1882. Nearly two million Jews entered the United States between 1881 and 1920, most of them skilled and unskilled workers and tradesmen, with a small number of professionals. The fourth wave of Jewish immigration began after World War I and may be divided in two groupings:

those who left Europe immediately after World War I because of postwar economic dislocations, and those who fled as refugees from persecution by the Nazi regime in Germany and in other countries, occupied or dominated by Germany during World War II.

Distribution and Social-Economic Differentiation

The Jews of the United States are widely distributed and reside in every state, with considerable concentration in urban areas. All cities of 25,000 inhabitants or over have Jewish residents, and Jews constitute nearly 11 per cent of the total population in cities of 100,000 or over. New York City has over 2,000,000 Jews, approximately 28 per cent of the total population of the city.

Economic status. During the past one hundred and fifty years, when the occupational and social traditions of the immigrants harmonized with the general trends of American economy, the Jews established themselves in a variety of occupations. Today they are most heavily represented in trade, in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, and in the professions, particularly in the fields of medicine and law.

As for banking and finance, a survey conducted by *Fortune Magazine*¹ showed that of the 420 listed directors of the nineteen member firms of the New York Clearing House, in 1933, approximately 7 per cent were Jews. Similarly, only a small percentage of Jews have places in the investment field, the greatest houses being entirely non-Jewish. Very few Jews have entered the steel, coal, rubber, automobile, aviation, transport, and shipping industries. One great business that was built up by Jews in this country is the clothing industry. Jews have also done pioneering work in motion pictures and radio, yet it should be noted that of the eight principal motion picture companies, five are largely non-Jewish controlled, and the vast majority of local radio stations outside of New York are non-Jewish in ownership.

Religion and community life. The diversity in origin of the Jews who came to this country is clearly reflected in the many-sidedness of Jewish community life. No one organization or group can call itself the representative body of the five million American Jews. According to the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies, there are 3,728 Jewish congregations in the United States, divided among the three religious groupings, Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative. Orthodox Judaism

¹ *Jews in America*, Editors of *Fortune*, Random House, 1936.

demands adherence to all the tenets in the code of biblical and rabbinic law. Most Orthodox congregations are small, but important Orthodox synagogues are to be found in all large cities. Orthodox rabbis receive training at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York or the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago.

Reform Judaism came into being in the nineteenth century in Europe, as the result of attempts to adapt religious practices to the general environment. The authoritative body of the Reform rabbis who are trained at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati or the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York is the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In 1873, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was established as the unifying agency of the Reform congregations, and it now includes more than three hundred congregations.

Conservative Judaism, representing the middle way between Orthodoxy and Reform, numbers 350 congregations, all of which are constituents of a central body, the United Synagogue of America. The rabbis of this group, the majority of them graduates of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, are organized in the Rabbinical Assembly of America.

The Synagogue Council of America, organized in 1925, represents all congregational and rabbinical organizations in America. Its purpose is to speak and act in furtherance of the common interests of its constituent organizations.

The largest secular movement of American Jews is Zionism. The Zionists look upon the Jews as a nation whose historic traditions are centered in a spiritual homeland in Palestine. To Zionists, Palestine is the central issue in Jewish life, destined to serve not only as a haven for persecuted Jews of various countries but also as a national homeland for all Jews. Zionist organizations had some 207,000 members in 1943.

The many needs, desires, and interests of the variegated Jewish community in this country are answered by numerous welfare, cultural, fraternal, and social organizations. About 345,000 people belonged to thirteen Jewish fraternal orders in the United States in 1940. Outstanding among these is the B'nai B'rith, which, including affiliates, has 163,000 members. An organization which in the past aided in the adjustment of Jewish immigrants was the *landsmannschaft*, created by groups of Jews from eastern Europe who banded themselves together on the basis of the places from which they came. Each society was made up of individuals from the same native town

or region. In addition to their social functions, these societies provide financial aid to needy members in this country and their kin in Europe. Formed in 1900 to encourage farming by Jews in the United States, the Jewish Agricultural Society includes among its activities educational and financial aid to farmers, advice and guidance on problems of war demands and shortages, and the publication of a monthly magazine, the *Jewish Farmer*.

The Jewish community center provides both cultural and recreational facilities. At the end of 1943 there were 293 Community Centers with a membership of 390,000, affiliated with the National Jewish Welfare Board. The most comprehensive type of center is the YMHA, which carries on religious, cultural, educational, and social functions in the service of Jewish youth throughout the country. The servicing agency for Jewish centers, the National Jewish Welfare Board, assists local centers by conducting surveys, preparing programs, training workers, and serving as a clearing house for all center activities. Organized in 1917 to meet the needs of soldiers in World War I, it fulfilled the same religious, cultural, and social functions during World War II.

Welfare. The welfare activities in which Jewish communities engage are as numerous as are the problems presented by a diversified Jewish population. The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was founded in 1885 to help Jewish immigrants in the initial steps of adjusting themselves to American life. The adjustment of the children of immigrants was also facilitated by settlement houses. Hospitals, maintained under Jewish auspices but admitting patients on a nonsectarian basis, numbered sixty-one in the year 1940. Most of these are locally supported. Some, such as the National Jewish Hospital in Denver, Colorado, serve a national public and are nationally supported.

Many local organizations support charitable institutions; others, such as the Jewish Board of Guardians, deal with problems of maladjustment and delinquency. It should be noted here that recent studies reveal that the rate of delinquency and criminality among Jews is relatively low. The wholesome influence of the Jewish home and the effectiveness of Jewish welfare agencies reduce the incidence of social pathology.

The organization that coördinates the activities of the Jewish welfare groups is the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, established in 1932. The Council, which has 222 member agencies in 186 cities, deals with the problems involved in organizing Jewish

community resources to serve Jewish group needs locally, regionally, and nationally.

The agency which channelizes American Jewish relief efforts in various countries is the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The JDC, organized in 1914 to meet the exigencies of World War I, has vastly expanded its activities to deal with problems raised by the catastrophic events in Europe in recent years.

Protection of rights. Several organizations in the United States concern themselves chiefly with the safeguarding of the civil and political rights of Jews here and abroad. These are the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Labor Committee. They represent a cross section of American life and speak for Jews of various political, social, and economic groups. The American Jewish Committee, oldest of the organizations, was founded in 1906 "to safeguard the civil and religious rights of Jews and to alleviate the consequences of persecution or disaster affecting them at home and abroad." Previous to and during World War II Jewish defense agencies centered their attention upon combating Nazi propaganda which aimed to spread disunity among the American people and which used anti-Semitism as a tool in an effort to break down the American traditions of religious freedom and equality of opportunity.

Education. There are about 850,000 Jewish children of school age in the United States. Practically all of them receive the regular educational training offered by the public schools of this country, and it has been estimated that about 75 per cent of them will have also attended some kind of Jewish school between the ages of seven and thirteen. Since World War I, the character of Jewish education has undergone significant changes. American-born teachers, trained in institutions of higher Jewish learning, employ modern educational methods to instruct their pupils in the Hebrew language, Jewish literature, and history; and textbooks and curricula have been adapted to American educational standards.

The institutions of higher learning where young men study for the rabbinate and where men and women prepare for the teaching profession have developed curricula that include, in addition to biblical and talmudic learning, such other branches of culture as philosophy, sociology, education, rhetoric, history, literature, music, and art. Several of these schools offer teacher-training programs as well as general adult courses. Advanced students may take doctorates in Jewish or

Oriental studies at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia.

Publications. There are some 150 American Jewish periodicals which serve a threefold function: the dissemination of information, the fostering of a contemporary Jewish literature, and the binding together of scattered Jewish communities. There are several news syndicates which supply news of particular Jewish interest and special feature articles to both the Jewish and the general press. Most prominent of these syndicates is the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Topics of interest to students of Jewish life are found in such publications as *Menorah Journal*, *Contemporary Jewish Record*, *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, *Reconstructionist*, *Jewish Frontier*, *New Palestine*, *Liberal Judaism*, *Jewish Education*, and *Jewish Social Studies*.

Systematic presentations of information regarding American Jewish life can be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, the *American Jewish Year Book*, an almanac of Jewish information, the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, the numerous volumes published by the Jewish Publication Society, and *Popular Studies in Judaism*, published by the Tract Commission of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Cultural Contributions

The many strains that converge to form the pattern of American cultural life show a variety of contributions made by Jews. In the fields of natural science and social science the diverse interests and propensities of American Jews are made particularly evident. Among philosophers there are Morris R. Cohen, Horace M. Kallen, Irwin Edman, and Sidney Hook; anthropologists include Franz Boas and Edward Sapir; educators include Isaac L. Kandel, Paul Klapper, and Felix Adler; physicians, A. A. Brill, Simon Flexner, Jacques Loeb, Morris Fishbein, A. A. Berg, and Joseph Goldberger; physicists, A. A. Michelson and Albert Einstein; sociologists, Louis Wirth and Samuel Joseph; psychologists, Joseph Jastrow and Otto Klineberg; statisticians, Philip M. Hauser and Mordecai Ezekiel.

Prominent in the legal profession were such men as Louis Marshall and Samuel Untermyer, while Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin A. Cardozo, and Felix Frankfurter all became justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Other prominent judges include Irving Lehman, Joseph M. Proskauer, and Samuel I. Rosenman.

The Jewish contribution to American journalism has been im-

portant, ranging from publishing and editing to feature writing and reporting. Most prominent of the publishers are Joseph Pulitzer, founder of the *New York World* and *Evening World*, and of the Pulitzer Prizes; Adolph Ochs, who built up *The New York Times* and Arthur Hays Sulzberger, its present publisher; Dorothy Schiff Thackerey, owner and publisher of the *New York Post*; Paul Block, owner of a chain of newspapers; and J. David Stern, publisher of the *Philadelphia Record*.² Among newspaper editorialists and columnists, the following Jewish names are outstanding: Walter Lippmann, Simeon Strunsky, Samuel Grafton, Walter Winchell, Max Lerner, Arthur Krock, and Benjamin de Casseres. Among book publishers, Jews are represented by such well-known names as Alfred A. Knopf, Bennet A. Cerf, Richard L. Simon, M. Lincoln Schuster, and Harry Scherman.

In the field of radio, Jewish contributions have been many. Two of the great networks, Columbia and NBC, are headed by Jews. Many radio personalities in all types of programs and in all phases of radio work are Jews. Only a few outstanding names can be listed here: Norman Corwin, script writer and play director; Caesar Searchinger and Gabriel Heatter, news commentator; Eddie Cantor and Jack Benny, comedians; Andre Kostelanetz, conductor.

Jewish producers, such as David Belasco, Daniel Frohman, Michael Todd, and Lee Schubert, have been prominent in the theater. Other than the production aspects of the show business have also had a great attraction for Jews. They have distinguished themselves as playwrights, actors, directors, and scene designers. A few names among many are Herman Shumlin and Elia Kazan, directors; Morris Carnovsky and Alla Nazimova, actors; Aline Bernstein, scene designer; S. N. Behrman, Lillian Hellman, Moss Hart, and George S. Kaufman, playwrights; Oscar Hammerstein II, lyricist; and Kurt Weill, composer.

In the motion pictures, Jews figure not only as producers but also as directors, actors, writers, and musical and technical supervisors. The following names are merely examples: Samuel Goldwyn and David O. Selznick, producers; Paul Muni and Edward G. Robinson, actors; Garson Kanin, director; and Erich Korngold, composer and conductor.

In music, art, and literature the contributions of Jews are equally

² The three largest American newspaper chains (Hearst, Patterson-McCormack, and Scripps-Howard), are entirely non-Jewish in ownership.

distinguished and equally varied. Ernst Bloch, Leonard Bernstein, George Gershwin, and Irving Berlin represent four schools of musical composition. Among virtuosos and concert figures are Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, Yehudi Menuhin, Rudolf Serkin, Artur Schnabel, Alexander Kipnis, Jan Peerce, Bruno Walter, and Serge Koussevitsky.

American writers of national prominence who concern themselves primarily with Jewish subjects include Ludwig Lewisohn, Maurice Samuel, and Marvin Lowenthal. Among well-known American poets, playwrights, and novelists are a number of Jews including the following names: Kenneth Fearing, Dorothy Parker, Babette Deutsch, Louis Untermeyer, Elmer Rice, Clifford Odets, Sidney Kingsley, Waldo Frank, Edna Ferber, Fanny Hurst, Ben Hecht, and Robert Nathan.

Jewish artists, sculptors, and architects have pursued their own individual paths of development and do not in any respect constitute a special type or school, as the following names show: Moses Soyer, Raphael Soyer, Leon Kroll, and Saul Raskin, artists; Jo Davidson, Maurice Sterne, Chaim Gross, and William Zorach, sculptors; and Albert Kahn, architect.

Two names that have made an indelible mark on American social history are Samuel Gompers, labor leader, and Lillian D. Wald, social worker and founder of the Henry Street Settlement. In the field of philanthropy, outstanding family names include Rosenwald, Straus, Guggenheim, Schiff, Lewisohn, Warburg, and Littauer.

In sports, examples of Jewish participation are Benny Leonard and Barney Ross of the boxing world; Hank Greenberg of baseball fame; Sid Luckman, football star; and Nat Holman, basketball coach.

Jewish Americans are also represented in the field of public service. Many were pressed into special duties during World War II in connection with war and postwar activities. Bernard M. Baruch, economic adviser to the nation during World War I, was appointed by President Roosevelt to draw up plans for reconverting the industrial war machine to a peace economy. Herbert H. Lehman, for five terms governor of New York, is director general of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Isador Lubin, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, was given special leave to conduct war work overseas.

Other Jews in important posts in public service include Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury; Nathan Straus, Administrator of the United States Housing Authority; Lawrence A. Stein-

hardt, ambassador to Turkey; and Henry Horner, governor of Illinois, and Julius L. Meier, governor of Oregon.

Jewish patriots and war heroes of an earlier historical period were Asser Levy, Haym Salomon, Judah Touro, and Uriah P. Levy. In World War I the Jews, who constituted 3.27 per cent of the total population, made up 5.73 per cent of the total enrollment in the armed forces. Jewish soldiers were to be found in all branches of the army and ranged in rank from private to general. Three received Congressional Medals of Honor, 147 received Distinguished Service Medals and Crosses, and 982 received other decorations and citations.

World War II again found the Jews playing their part in all branches of the service. No adequate statistics were available in 1944, but an indication of the size of the Jewish contribution to the war effort can be gleaned from the surveys conducted by the Bureau of War Records of the Jewish Welfare Board. The Bureau made a study of three medium-sized cities on the eastern seaboard where Jews constitute 5.6 per cent of the total population and found that 7 per cent of the total number of those recruited for the armed forces from these communities were Jewish.

Another study, made of Jewish inductees at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, showed the wide distribution of Jews in the army. Of 2,895 Jews inducted, 25.2 per cent were in the Air Forces, 9.5 per cent in the Medical Corps, 9.4 per cent in the Infantry, 7.4 per cent in the Field Artillery, 7.3 per cent in the Quartermaster Corps, 5.5 per cent in the Coast Artillery, 5.4 per cent in the Engineers, 4.8 per cent in the Signal Corps, 3.3 per cent in the Armored Forces, 0.7 per cent in noncombatant services such as Army Administration, and 1.2 per cent were in Army Finance. The remaining 20.3 per cent were distributed among the Cavalry, Chaplain's Corps, Chemical Warfare, Military Police, and Paratroopers.

The lists of citations and awards are still incomplete, but Jews have already earned a fair share. The names mentioned form but a token representation of many more. Sergeant Meyer Levin received the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Silver Star, two Oak Leaf Clusters, and a Purple Heart in recognition of his heroic exploits. He released the bombs from the plane piloted by Captain Colin Kelly, which struck the Japanese battleship, *Haruna*, off the Philippines; sank an enemy cargo ship in the Coral Sea; took part in more than sixty combat missions; and died in the attempt to save his crewmates when a Flying Fortress crashed during a reconnaissance flight in a storm off New Guinea. Lieutenant Alexander Goode was one

of four chaplains (two of the others were Protestant and one was Catholic) who gave their lifebelts to enlisted men on a torpedoed American cargo transport which sank in the North Atlantic. He was reported missing in action. Sergeant Barney Ross of the Marine Corps was awarded the Silver Star for killing twenty-two Japanese soldiers while guarding three wounded comrades during a single night of fierce fighting on Guadalcanal. He was wounded and contracted malaria during his months of action in the Guadalcanal jungles.

Acculturation

The blending of the American Jew with his environment has been a sustained process from 1654 to the present time. Arriving from many different countries, bearing a time-honored religious tradition, and settling in all parts of the United States, the Jews have participated energetically in all phases of American life. They have played parts in the many and varied spheres of interest to which they were attracted as individuals and have contributed to American industrial enterprise, to science and art, and to progressive thinking.

Yet, marked as their contribution has been in the arts and sciences and in the fields of business and public affairs, the Jews as a group by no means form an exceptional or unique segment of the American population. In their majority, they are perhaps neither more nor less distinguished than are other groups of citizens of the United States. Their callings are as diverse as those of their fellow Americans. There are rich Jews, just as there are rich non-Jews. And there are just as many poor Jews, relatively, as there are poor non-Jews. Far from being a homogeneous group, the American Jews are an aggregate of individuals among whom one can find conservatives as well as progressives, Republicans as well as Democrats, employers as well as employees, shopkeepers as well as factory workers. In their opinions, attitudes, and political leanings they differ as much among themselves as do Americans in general. American Jews furnish as typical a cross-section of urban American life as one could find, exemplifying by their lives the integration of the cultural, social, and economic values of Jewish life with the American scene.

CHAPTER X

Asiatic Immigration

A. SYRIAN AMERICANS¹

HABIB I. KATIBAH

WITH thousands of our armed forces in Syria and neighboring Arabic-speaking countries, with the question of Saudi Arabia petroleum aired in our newspapers, with our tacit recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon, Syria and the Syrians should not be so little known after World War II as they were before.

It is a strange phenomenon, and hard to explain, that the Syrians, one of the most ubiquitous of peoples, have been among the least known. As late as 1924, when thousands of Syrians had settled permanently in the United States, Professor P. K. Hitti could yet say that "a perusal of practically everything that has been written about them convinces me that of all the many races that go to make up our polyglot people, the Syrians are among the most imperfectly understood."² Something in their aloof nature, their reticence, and their almost ascetic indifference to what others say about them, sets them aside as a pilgrim people, and adds to both their mystery and their romance.

Syrians of the United States are descendants of the same adventurous people whose caravans crossed the Syrian Desert from Byblos or Damascus to Sumer and Akkad and back, hundreds of years before the Tel Amarna letters spoke apprehensively of the Khebiri (Hebrews?) crossing the Jordan River from the wilderness. Syria has

¹ The author does not dwell in this revised chapter as much on the history of Syrian immigration to America as he did in the original one. Excellent materials on this subject are to be found in Louise Seymour Houghten's articles in *Survey*, July, 1911, and in other sources cited in the bibliographical section of this book. Instead he presents largely an overview of Syrian Americans today based on his general knowledge and on first-hand information gained on an extended tour made in 1940, in which he visited areas of Syrian concentration in more than a hundred communities distributed throughout some thirty states. His findings were published in a series of articles in *Mereat ul-Gharb*, an Arabic language newspaper of New York.

² P. K. Hitti, *Syrians in America*, p. 97.

been called "the school of the Semitic race." It is equally true that Syria was one of the first schools of the whole human race. Barring their Semitic neighbors, the Egyptians, of whom perhaps less than a hundred are represented in this country, there is no racial minority among us that can fall back on so ancient a history, a history so checkered and so eventful both to themselves and to the whole world.

Immigration

Syrian immigration to the United States, as we look back upon it today, falls roughly into three periods or stages. The first, or *peddling*, stage runs down from the latter part of the nineteenth century to a decade or more before World War I. This, in a sense, is the most romantic and colorful period, the period of discovery, adventure, and colonization. Washington Street in New York was then the cradle from which practically all Syrian colonies in the United States moved out, each gravitating to the locality where a townsman or relative had settled and made good.

The second period of Syrian immigration to the United States extends roughly from the opening of the twentieth century to the close of World War I. It was the period of *orientation*. In this period Syrians established businesses more or less on modern lines, began to depend less and less on peddlers' trade and more on department stores, or opened little stores of their own. In New York the embroidered linen, lace, negligee, and lingerie industry flourished among the Syrians. In the Middle West and the South, Syrians took to the grocery business, wholesale and retail fruit-selling, restaurants, and allied lines, as well as dry goods and peddlers' notions.

Coming down to within a decade, and into the present, we reach the third period of Syrian immigration life, which emerges imperceptibly from the second. By this time it may be said that Syrians of the United States had given up their "nomadic" life. This period we may appropriately call the period of *diversification*, for in it we see Syrians entering completely into the American heritage, branching out into all the economic and social activities of the country, being represented in practically every industry and profession open to all Americans, and becoming American citizens.

Because of the classification of immigrants, pointed out in connection with many other national minority groups, it is not easy to estimate the number of Syrians in the United States. The latest federal census (1940) gives the urban population of the Syrians (which includes the Palestinians and the Lebanese) as 136,849. Of

these, 52,569 are classed as foreign born and 84,280 as native born of foreign or mixed parentage. Adding to these numbers 3,419 who are classed as rural farm population, and 11,138 rural nonfarm population, gives us a total of 151,406. This is about 50,000 less than the estimate given by Professor Hitti in his book quoted above, and 100,000 less than the estimate given by Professor W. I. Cole, in his brochure on the Syrians for the Massachusetts Department of Education. Some Syrian authorities put the figure for the total number of Syrians in the United States as high as 500,000. From 1899 to 1915 an average of 5,000 Syrians a year entered this country, the peak years being 1913 and 1914, with 9,210 and 9,033 entrants respectively.

Equally vague are the estimates for the various Syrian colonies. Professor Cole gives the figure for New York, the largest Syrian colony in the United States, as between 18,000 and 20,000. While this figure is perhaps a little too low, I believe it is nearer the truth than the popularity given one of 35,000 to 40,000. The Detroit colony, next to New York in number, is probably 15,000. Among other large Syrian colonies, figures for which need not be given as they are mostly conjectural, we may mention those of Boston, Lawrence, Fall River, Worcester, Cleveland, Akron, Canton, Toledo, Jacksonville, Beaumont, Houston, and Los Angeles. It is safe to say there is no city in America with a population of 100,000 or more that does not have a nucleus, however small, of Syrian population.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

From the point of view of integration and a feeling of belonging, which are the true measures of Americanization and not assimilation in the narrow "melting-pot" sense of the word, Syrians in the United States have passed gradually, and often imperceptibly, through stages that are represented today in definite types. As these types do not differ materially from similar types in other minority groups in America, we need not dwell long upon them. There is the clannish type, impervious to forces and factors of integration; there is the cosmopolitan type, too easily, and often superficially, integrated; and there is the more enlightened nationalistic type. This last type, intensely conscious of its ancient heritage and of the problems of adaptation to American life, should be of particular interest to students of sociology. To the mind of this writer, individuals from this group or type, as will be shown later in this chapter, have made the most

distinct contribution to our enlarged concept of American life and destiny, to America of the future.

Highly individualistic, and endowed with a long tradition of adaptation to the vicissitudes of wars and migration, the Syrians have proved a wholesome minority in the United States. This individualism, however, and this felicity of adaptation, were not incompatible with a strong sentiment of attachment to the homeland.

Organizations. There are proportionately more societies and clubs among Syrians in America than, perhaps, among any other minority group. None of these, however, can measure in effectiveness and inclusiveness of membership the Greek Ahepa or the Armenian General Benevolent Union.

The Eastern, Midwestern, and Southern Federations of Syrian and Lebanese Societies are a belated attempt "to get the Syrians together." Anomalously enough, the preponderate membership in these federations is drawn from the second generation. A promising sign of new orientation are such projects as the Tal-Shihah Hospital for Zahle, sponsored by fellow townsmen in this country and launched a few years before the outbreak of the second World War; the Hitti Scholarship Fund; the Dr. Rizk G. Haddad Memorial Foundation; and the Ramallah Hospital Foundation, the last two having been started after the outbreak of war. More than a quarter of a century ago the Syrian Educational Society successfully carried out educational work and provided scholarships for a score or more of Syrian students, some of whom have attained positions of responsibility. This society is at present dormant, and has been so for many years.

Occupations. It is as an individual that the Syrian has shone in the United States—as anywhere else—as a good, law-abiding citizen, a kindly and hospitable neighbor, a considerate friend, a proud and independent middle-class man, grocer, restaurant keeper, linen-goods merchant, or women's-wear manufacturer. Only in a few instances has success attained what we might call national stature. It is claimed that the biggest pants manufacturer in the United States and in the world is Maroun Hajjar of Dallas, Texas, who came to this country from a little village in southern Lebanon. His three plants in Dallas employ 2,600 workers and consume some twenty-five million yards of goods. The efficiency and modernity of his plant, built of brick, steel, and blue glass, is impressive, and the care that this Syrian employer takes of his employees is excellent. In Los Angeles one of the biggest firms for the manufacture of popular-priced women's house dresses is Mode O'Day, of Malouf Brothers. Their factory is housed

in a fourteen-story building in the downtown section of the city. Before the war, 350 stores carried their name and sold their dresses exclusively on an ingenious plan. Since then the number of their stores has been increased. Charles Andrews and his brothers were among the foremost fruit and vegetable shippers and commission merchants in the country. In the modern development of the grocery business the Syrians have also had a share. In some cities, as in Utica, New York, Charleston, West Virginia, and formerly in Detroit, they seem to dominate the business. A Syrian in Detroit publishes a trade magazine for the grocers of Michigan and neighboring states. Mike (Mahmoud) Hamadi of Detroit owns some of the finest super-markets in the country.

These are just random examples of what might be termed success by Syrians of the first generation. The industries and professions these Syrians have gone into are varied, ranging from department stores and beauty parlor and barber supplies companies to manufacture of dental plates, wild catting (digging petroleum oils on prospect), and running a wholesale Indian jewelry factory.

Contributions to American Life

As stated above, it is from the more enlightened nationalistic type of Syrian that guidance in a more positive and richer readjustment of our heterogeneous cultures and civilizations is expected. To it belong such men as Jibran K. Jibran, Ameen Rihani, Abraham Mitrie Rihbani, Professor Hitti, Dr. F. I. Shatara, and many others who have sought to interpret the spirit of their ancient culture and civilization to their contemporaries and thus to bring them closer to an understanding of their fellow Americans. They did more than that; they were also interpreters and messengers of the traditional American way of life to their compatriots abroad. In this respect, their influence was second only to that of American educators and American institutions of higher learning in Arab lands, notably the American University of Beirut. Both Jibran and Rihani wrote some of their best works in Arabic. Others followed in their footsteps, and their names are as familiar in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Egypt as in the United States. Mischa Neimy, Elia Madey, Naseeb Arida, the Haddad brothers, William Catsiflis, N. Mokarzel, N. Diab, Badran, Baddour, Milkie, and others exercised considerable influence through the Arabic press of New York, and through works published abroad in Arabic, on the literary trends, political thinking, and forward-looking liberal movements throughout the Arab world, and in particular Syria and

Lebanon. The independence nationalist movements in Syria and Lebanon are considerably indebted to the activities and writings of Syrian nationalists in America.

A number of second-generation Syrians have also made their mark in their various communities and in varied callings. Among these are: a geologist of Houston, Texas, M. Halbouty; a federal district attorney for western Michigan, Joseph Deeb; a labor leader, George Addes of Detroit, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers Union of the CIO; a cartoonist on the *Louisville Courier Journal*, George Joseph; an authority on the psychology of backward children, Dr. S. Kirk of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Both the first and second generations of Syrians are represented by a handful of doctors who have attained prominence. Among them are: the late Dr. F. I. Shatara, Arab nationalist leader and lecturer on surgery at the Long Island College Hospital and Post Graduate Hospital of New York; Dr. George Haik of New Orleans, who successfully performed several operations of grafting the retina; Dr. Michael DeBakey (Dabaghi), of the same city, an authority on blood banking and professor of surgery at Tulane University. Dr. George Kenysi of Cornell University is a noted bacteriologist; Dr. S. David, of Houston, Texas, and T. Nicola of New York are noted bone surgeons, as is also Captain Camille Shaar of the Philadelphia Naval Hospital. One Syrian, Professor P. K. Hitti, is a world authority on the history of the Arabs, and another, Professor M. Malti, of Cornell University, is a distinguished scientist.

One Syrian American who has attained more than national fame and made a distinct contribution to American progress is Dr. Michael Shadid, of Elk City, Oklahoma, founder and head of the first co-operative hospital in the United States. The struggles, hardships, and triumphs of this intrepid, wiry little man from Judaidat Marj Uyoun are told in a charming autobiography and also in more than one of our popular magazines. It is significant that this first-generation doctor, who had been influenced by a foretaste of higher education at the American University of Beirut, and who was destined to lay one of the cornerstones of socialized medicine in the United States, was enabled to do so mainly through the sympathetic response and ready assistance of a community of recent immigrants in western Oklahoma.

Among the heroes of World War II we find many Americans of Syrian origin. These include one from Oklahoma, a courageous flier

and a hero of Guadalcanal, after whom a destroyer escort, *Naifeh*, was named. The Syrian Americans can pride themselves on one brigadier general, Fred Safi of Jacksonville, Florida, several colonels, majors, and commanders, and scores of commissioned and noncommissioned officers. In their contributions to the Red Cross and other war activities the Syrian Americans have done their share. Their record in the first World War was equally commendable, both on the home and fighting fronts. Almost 14,000 of them served in the American armed forces during that war, while their number in World War II is said to be in excess of 40,000. This is a good ratio to the total population of the Syrians in America.

As a minority group, Syrians in the United States may not be able to make a spectacular showing on their own ledger. They have some excellent qualities and some objectionable ones; they have integrated themselves slowly but surely, counting among themselves very few radicals or reactionaries, but walking mostly the middle road of life. They thrive best when they leave their "colony" and live in medium-sized towns. They are "lost" both in the big cities and in rural districts. But for good or bad, and mostly good, their contributions and achievements have been as individuals, often as Americans not as Syrians.

The mission of Syrians in the United States, as the mission of other minority groups, is still the dual one of interpreting America abroad, and interpreting their own culture to Americans and to the world as a whole. In the case of the Syrians, this opportunity is great. It extends, in so far as the land of their origin is concerned, far beyond little Syria and Lebanon, into the umbra of the whole Arab world, surpassing in total area that of the United States and with almost half the population. Beyond this umbra lies the penumbra of the Moslem world. Now that America is entering a new stage of world consciousness, the role of the Syrians in America, as that of the Greeks, Czechs, Russians, Italians, and others, gains new significance. The need is more and more for those whose traditions, training, and environments have fitted them to become messengers of good will between the new world and the old world. There is equally strong need for Syrians born in the United States, who are thoroughly equipped with technical knowledge and the "know how" of management and industry, to be willing to go to the land of their origin to lend of their knowledge and experience in the progress and democratization of that part of the world.

B. TURKISH AMERICANS

FRANCIS J. BROWN

The history of the Ottoman Empire reaches back across the centuries. Conquering armies have waged intermittent warfare across its fertile valleys and arid plateaus. The Dardanelles, the gateway to the oil-fields and limitless granary of middle Asia and long the only accessible gateway to *Mittel Europa*, has been the coveted prize of conquerors from Alexander to Hitler. The borders of Turkey have expanded and contracted with the varying vicissitudes of war.

Yet in spite of this long history, or perhaps, in a sense, because of it, it is more difficult to segregate Turkish Americans than almost any other minority group. If the facts as given by immigration and census figures could be taken at face value, the task would be much easier. Immigration data show that twenty-one persons arrived from Turkey in Europe during the first decade that records were kept, 1820 to 1830. A total of 278 came between 1831 and 1870, and 5,525 during the next thirty years; but 79,976 arrived from 1901 to 1910, 54,677 from 1911 to 1920; 14,659 during the next decade, and only 810 during the thirteen years from 1931 to 1944, a total of 155,950.

For Turkey in Asia, no figures were kept until 1869, and in that year only two arrivals are reported. From 1870 to the present the numbers are: 1871 to 1880, 67; 1881 to 1890, 2,220; 1891 to 1900, 26,799; 1901 to 1910, 77,393; 1911 to 1920, 79,389; 1921 to 1930, 19,165; 1931 to 1943, 375. The total of arrivals is 205,410, of whom three fourths came to the United States during the two decades 1901 to 1920. These figures closely parallel the course of immigration of those coming from Turkey in Europe. Combining these two sets of figures shows that the total immigration from Turkey by June 30, 1943, was 361,360, a number exceeded only by fifteen of the forty countries separately reported in census tables.

In sharp contrast to these figures are those of the Census Bureau. In 1940, only 8,372 gave Turkey in Europe as their country of origin, of whom more than half, or 4,412, were foreign born. (The average for all foreign white stock is 33 per cent.) Turkey in Asia was given as country of origin by 95,829, of whom also more than half were foreign born, or 52,479.

There is significance in the fact that those who gave Turkey in Europe as country of origin constitute only 6 per cent of immigration, while those who gave Turkey in Asia as country of origin constitute 46 per cent. The reason is twofold: the changes in the area included

in Turkey, especially by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923; and the mixed population of the homeland, including large numbers of Jews, Greeks, and Armenians.

The number in either the immigration or the census figures who are of Turkish origin is impossible to determine. Unlike the case of other national minority groups, there is a tendency to consider the official figures many times too large rather than too small. A leading authority on Turkish Americans states this position in a letter from which the following is quoted:

Most of the facts and statistics are not obtainable. Few Turks have come to this country, and those that have immigrated, have been practically entirely from the lower classes. People have come from Turkey and met with success here, but they have been either Jews, Greeks or Armenians by birth. The tobacco magnate, a man by the name of Shinasi, who died a few years ago, is an example. The reason for this in all probability is due to the fact that the Turks have never been a migratory race. The members of the better families have always remained in Turkey. . . . Our Turkish population, so far as I have been able to find out, consists only of a few hundred working men in mills in New England and in the various factories in and around Detroit.

It is probable that the writer of the letter made an understatement, but of the 30,000 in New York City who, according to the 1940 census figure, gave Turkey as their country of origin, not more than a few hundred are Turks except in the political sense. Ethnologically they are Armenians, Jews, and Greeks. There are, however, small settlements of Turks, often only a few families, in a number of our larger cities, but even "Turkish" restaurants are sometimes operated by other than Turks.

As has been stated, the Turks who have emigrated to the United States are almost without exception from the laboring class. They sense little internal unity among themselves and have not developed organizations or publications comparable to those of other national groups. Their contribution has been largely that of unskilled labor in industrialized cities.

C. ARMENIAN AMERICANS

ROUBEN GAVOOR

The more we fathom their distant past, the more we begin to realize the constructive and enlightening role played by the Armenians in the world history of civilization.

—Professor Lehmann-Haupt
(*Armenia: Past and Present*)

Cicero wrote, "Tigranes the Great ¹ [94-56 B.C.] made the Republic of Rome tremble before his power." Such was the glorious history of the Armenian people. In their long history, they have shown qualities and characteristics that are only possessed by great nations in history—tenacity, courage, valor, self-reliance, capacity to work, love of freedom, a great faculty for adaptation—yet they have clung to and cherished old manners and customs for the sake of preserving them. Sturdiness of character is the motivating force that has enabled them to withstand the gigantic forces and continuous conflicts on their own soil of two opposing and diversifying cultural contenders—the East and the West. The Armenians, because of these qualities, have kept their identity, while their early contemporaries have vanished from the face of the earth. As one meticulous Armenian American scholar ² expressed it: "The Armenians have been for centuries a small, subject and suppressed, though most fortunately not a submerged group."

This same point of view was expressed by Lieutenant Colonel Harry A. Sachaklian ³ while he was with the United States Army Air Corps in North Africa. His words express the sentiments of an estimated 10,000 American Armenians, ranking from brigadier general to private, who served their country in war and of whom a large number volunteered long before they would otherwise have been inducted. Lieutenant Colonel Sachaklian states:

In summing up my belongings, I find I possess two things that mark me as rich as any man in all creation. These two things are my American nativity and consequent citizenship and my Armenian ancestry and heritage.

The value of the first of these two possessions has often been eloquently gaged by masters of the art of expressing values. It makes me belong to a group of people who by every instinct are free and straight-thinking. It lists me among those fortunates who believe that a man is a man for being a man and not through some accident of birth or inheritance. It numbers me among those men who believe that no man can be free until all men are free.

The value of the second is directly proportional to the value of the first. In fact, its value increases as the full realization of the first becomes clear. For, my second possession, my Armenian heritage, enables me to fully appreciate my American citizenship. Having learned the tragic yet noble history of the Armenian people in its indefatigable struggle to at-

¹ Tigranes the Great was the ablest of kings. He was called "the King of Kings." Under his reign the Armenian boundary extended far and wide and the country flourished culturally, economically, and educationally.

² Dr. Arshag O. Sarkissian, in his short essay, "Why Nationalism?"

³ Taken from his congratulatory message, "My Two Priceless Possessions," on the occasion of *Hairrenik Weekly's* tenth anniversary.

tain a dignified objective, I find to my astonishment that I possess the sort of freedom my own ancestors have fought for and died for in their courageous struggle to obtain.

Prior to World War I, Armenia was divided among Turkey, Persia, and Russia. At present, a small part of Armenia is organized as the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia, a member republic of the Soviet Union. After centuries of subjugation, Armenia gained her independence in 1918 under the leadership of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F., *Dashnaktzootune*, or the Dashnags, as commonly referred to). The republican government, established at Erivan in 1918, and duly recognized by the Allies in January, 1920, was overthrown by a Bolshevik revolution following the Turkish-Armenian War of 1920, in which Bolshevik Russia helped the Turks. In the early days of December, 1920, a Bolshevik government was organized at Erivan and Armenia became part of Soviet Russia as one of the republics of the Soviet Union, against the wishes and incessant opposition of the overwhelming majority of the Armenians.

Today, Armenians throughout the world number approximately 3,000,000, having suffered a decline in population from 5,000,000 as a result of World War I and its aftermath.⁴ The great majority are in Soviet Armenia and other parts of Russia. The rest are scattered over all the world. A sizable portion of them are in the United States. The United States census of 1940 gives in round figures 52,000, classified according to language. However, the Armenian authorities claim that there are about 150,000 Armenians in the United States, including the children who are born in this country. Proportionally, the state of California has the largest number of Armenians—centered around Fresno, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Their geographic distribution throughout the United States is indicated by the eleven cities having the largest number of Armenians: Fresno, New York City, Detroit, Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, Union City (New Jersey), Los Angeles, Watertown and Worcester (Massachusetts), and Chicago.

Immigration

According to the writer's investigation, two Armenian immigrants were brought to this country in the year 1655 by Edward Diggs,⁵ governor of Virginia, for the purpose of nurturing the silk worm, and eventually to make silk culture a leading industry. Climatic condi-

⁴ The numbers cited for population are approximations. There are no exact statistics.

⁵ Refer to the *Beginners of Nation*. See also, Phillip Alexander Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia in the 17th Century*, pp. 365-368.

tions, however, were not favorable. Before the Civil War, there were occasional Armenian visitors into the United States, mostly students and merchants, who had met missionaries in the Near East. In 1834, K. Vosganian, a young student, came here to study under the supervision of the missionaries. After studying six years, he returned to Constantinople, and in 1854 he again migrated to America. While on board ship, en route to America, he met James Gordon Bennett, publisher of the *New York Herald*, who became fascinated by Vosganian's knowledge of world affairs and languages. Vosganian became a successful columnist for the *New York Herald*, and his popularity reached such heights that he succeeded to the presidency of the Press Club. Bennett also offered him 30,000 acres of land in the Ohio Territory to establish an Armenian colony, but, a typically carefree and sensitive product of the journalism of that period, Vosganian shunned the offer because of the great responsibilities and risks involved. Three years later (1837), S. Der Minasian came from Constantinople, entered Princeton, and was the first Armenian physician in this country.

Other students followed the footsteps of Vosganian and Minasian, and were equally as prominent in their chosen fields; but for lack of space it is impossible to include them here. Suffice it to say that immigration to the United States was stimulated in 1895, and that in that year the total number of Armenians in this country was 2,767. By 1910, their number rose to 25,824. These people came to this country mostly for politico-economic reasons. They were being persecuted at the hands of Russians and Turks who confiscated the fruits of their labor by heavy taxation. In despair, they abandoned their fertile fields to find new opportunities. Most of the early immigrants were of the peasant class, with the exception of students and prominent merchants; but those who migrated after the first World War were from the cities.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

As in their mother country, the Armenians in the United States have been engaged in the professions, arts, crafts, and large and small business enterprises. Large concerns are generally in the Oriental rug business and have an international reputation in this particular field. In addition to these, there are prosperous farmers in California engaged in grape and wine production.

Religion. No history of Armenia is complete without touching upon its religion. The Armenian National (or, as often referred to,

the Gregorian or Apostolic) Church is the central institution of the Armenian people, and through centuries it has played a prominent part in their social, spiritual, moral, and educational life. The Armenian Apostolic Church originated solely with Armenians, by Armenians, and for Armenians, and it is equally controlled by the laity and the clergy. Unlike other religious groups, those controlling it have not tried to increase their number through religious propaganda or by carrying on missionary endeavor. The church is to the Armenians as the living flesh is to bone; they cannot be separated! Schisms have arisen among the Armenians, but it is safe to say that the National Church will prevail and will continue to be the dominating force in their religious activities.

To Armenians, the National Church is more than a religious institution. The church embraces art, architecture, literature, philosophy, and music. One is fascinated by the beauty of its colorful and awe-inspiring ceremonies and masses. The religious songs are full of pathos, depth, charm, and grace. There are at present in the United States twenty-five privately owned National churches, supported by a professed membership of 60,000, where masses are held. The Armenian Protestant churches come next in importance. The exact number of their membership is not now known. Armenian Protestants are either Presbyterians or Congregationalists. Three churches are owned by the Armenian Catholics. The ceremonies of these Armenian Catholic churches essentially are those of the Armenian National Church. All masses, prayers, and songs are in the Armenian language.

The Armenian National churches maintain fifty schools throughout the country. These schools are religious in purpose and aim, and educational, hoping to acquaint the younger generation with their mother tongue, history, literature, and art. At the present time they are making favorable and rapid progress along educational lines, and are adding what the American schools fail to give—the background of the culture and arts of their mother country. This additional educational endeavor is welcomed by the younger generation and is becoming more popular daily.

Organizations. The Armenians in this country lack purely fraternal organizations. There is no exact counterpart of the Pan-Hellenic Union among them, but the ones they have are supplemented by (1) political, (2) scholastic, (3) philanthropic, (4) religious, and (5) ethnocentric groups.

The first of the political organizations, which is divided into

four main divisions, is the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, A.R.F. or *Dasbnaktzootune* (Dashnags), which was founded in 1890 by a group of Russian Armenians. It is democratic socialist. Since Soviet Russia annexed the present Armenian Republic and made it one of the Soviets, the Federation has opposed the Soviet rule and has persistently demanded a complete autonomy for the Armenian Republic, claiming in the meantime the territories originally belonging to Armenia. The second group is the *Ramgavar* (Armenian Democratic Liberal Party), which may be called "the middle of the roaders." The third, the Armenian Progressive League of America (formerly known as the Armenian Section of the Communist party of the United States), is similar to any other communist group. Last, the *Hunchaks* (Social Democratic *Hunchakian* party of America) is the oldest but the smallest political party among the Armenians.

In the field of scholastic organizations, the Armenian Students Association is the largest group, with branches wherever there is a group of students. Its purpose being purely educational, it has aided a number of students who have felt the need of financial support. It has also tried to make the younger generation conscious of their duties toward their country.

Other similar organizations are the Armenian Scientific Association and the Armenian Youth Federation (Junior organization of the A.R.F.). The first stresses the scientific angle, and the second emphasizes Armenian history, literature, art education, and political regeneration.

The Armenian General Benevolent Union, founded in 1906 at Cairo, Egypt, has over eighty branches in the United States and Canada, and half as many in Europe. With the coöperation of its junior organization (Junior League), this union has done noble work in alleviating the distress of thousands of Armenian orphans in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and present Soviet Armenia. Some of the wealthiest Armenians are patrons of this union.

There are other benevolent organizations largely local in character, and several women's auxiliary organizations, one of these being the Armenian Relief Corps (sister organization of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation), which has a branch in every Armenian community.

In the arts, there are several singing and dancing organizations in principal cities with a large Armenian population. The members are trained not to become future professional artists, but to further

Armenian art in this country within their own group and without. Their purpose is exclusively educational.

The press. No matter where the Armenians may be, they are quick to start a paper in their own language, and not for the sake of financial gain, for almost all Armenian journalistic enterprises are losing propositions. Yet, such papers have sprung up like mushrooms since the Armenian colonization began in this country.

Arekag (the *Sun*) was the first Armenian periodical, published in Jersey City, in 1888, as a monthly; but in 1889 the name was changed to *Soorhantag* (*Messenger*) and the paper became a weekly. After continuing two years, this periodical again changed its name to *Azadootune* (*Freedom*), and shortly afterward ceased publication.

This paper was followed by the *Ararat* (1891), which lasted two years, and the *Haik* (1891), which lasted six years. Then came *Yeprad* (1897), a weekly, and the *Tigris*, published the same year. After a short while the former was discontinued, and the latter changed its name to *Tsign Haireniatz* (*Voice of Armenia*). Another important publication was the *Azk* (*Nation*) of Boston, which began as a weekly in 1906 and was discontinued in 1922 after being published as a daily for a few years.

In 1899 there came into existence in New York City one of the foremost Armenian language newspapers in this country, the weekly *Hairenik* (*Fatherland*), sponsored by half a dozen A.R.F. members. This newspaper is still in existence as a daily (since 1915), and is published in Boston. It is the oldest Armenian publication in the world and has the largest circulation in the United States. It also publishes a monthly, the most outstanding periodical in the history of Armenian literature. It is rich in literary and historical material. Another publication that has exerted much literary and religious influence is the *Gotchnag*, founded in 1900 by the late Herbert Allen, with the collaboration of Armenian Protestants.

There were in 1944 several major Armenian publications, not including church or other publications such as *Hoosharar*, the monthly organ of the Armenian General Benevolent Union. The names of these publications follow: *Asbarez*, (*The Arena*), a weekly founded in 1908, organ of the A.R.F.; *Mushag*, an independent weekly; and *Nor Or* (*New Day*), a weekly, organ of Ramgavar. These are published in Fresno, California. *Hairenik*, *Hairenik Monthly*, and *Baikar* (*Strife*), a daily, organ of Ramgavar (1922), are published in Boston, Massachusetts. *Eritassard Hayastan* (*Young Armenia*), a weekly (1903), is an organ of Hunchag party; *Gotchnag*

(*Bell*, 1900), also a weekly, is the organ of Protestant Armenians. *Lraper (Messenger)*, a triweekly, organ of the Armenian Progressive League of America (Communist) superseded *Panvor (Worker)*, a daily, for a short period; *Nor Kir (New Letter)*, quarterly, is a literary magazine. *Hayasdaniatz Yegeghbitzi (Church of Armenia)* is a monthly religious periodical, organ of the Armenian Prelacy. The last four are published in New York City.

Besides the Armenian publications, several periodicals have been published in the English language for the English-speaking world and the young Armenian generation of the United States. The forerunner of these was *Armenia* (later named *New Armenia*), founded about 1906-1907, and published intermittently until 1920. In 1944 two Armenian weeklies were being published for the Armenian younger generation of the United States. These are: the *Hairenik Weekly* (1934), of Boston, the organ of the Armenian Youth Federation, affiliated with the A.R.F., which recently celebrated its tenth anniversary with a special issue of 160 pages; and *The Armenian Mirror Spectator*, a weekly published in New York (1936). *Youth*, the organ of the Armenian Communist youth, ceased publication several years ago.

Social life. Social life is gay for the elders, who gather on occasions, at picnic grounds and ballrooms, for affairs sponsored by political parties or religious, lay, or benevolent groups, for the sake of meeting one another and having a good time. Although athletically inclined, Armenians have no gymnastic organizations of great size. The Armenians hold two Olympic games each year: one sponsored by the Armenian Youth Federation, and the other by the Armenian General Athletic Union. At these meetings, the participants achieve fine records. During the year, these two organizations hold competition meetings between their own branches in various sports.

Some national celebrations of the Armenians are observed in America. One of the most important of these is the commemoration of St. Sahag and St. Mesrob, inventors of the Armenian alphabet (413 A.D.) and translators of the Bible. To Armenians, the St. Sahag and St. Mesrob Day is a solemn occasion when every true Armenian becomes rightfully proud of his race, proud of its history, literature, and culture, because in "this age the foundations of a national consciousness, culture, and religious idealism were laid. The very fact that Armenians thus built up a high type of Christian civilization in the heart of the Near East exposed them to the hostility of alien peoples surrounding them with a different type of civilization. What really has always created a crisis in the national life of Armenians

and has menaced their very existence has also, paradoxically, proved to be the secret of their endurance and survival through every such crisis.”⁶

Other important national celebrations are Vartanantz Day and *Independence Day* (May 28, Armenian Independence or November 29, foundation of the Soviet Armenian Republic).

In an interview with the author, Horst von der Goltz,⁷ who has perhaps as wide a contact with immigrant groups as has any individual, stated that the Armenians display a greater degree of adaptability than other late comers, and yet at the same time retain their old-country ideals. Paradoxical though this statement may seem, it is nevertheless a fact. They become conscientious and devoted citizens, learn the Americanization requirements with great rapidity, and become assimilated amazingly and exceedingly well. Why? First, because they know and appreciate the value of education; and second, being the sons of a persecuted people, they have learned the art of assimilation and are receptive to international influences.

With the American-born Armenian, the Americanization influence is still greater. These young people, because of their immaturity, at first resent things Armenian; but gradually a marked change steals over them, and they become interested in their ancestry, begin to show appreciation of Armenian art, Armenian literature, and Armenian history, and are almost boastingly proud of being of Armenian descent. Recently, this writer made the following observations:⁸

Furthermore, the education of these folk in their ancestral background has had its positive social and psychological aspects. They, as a group, no longer feel ashamed of their background. On the contrary, they now feel deeply proud of the commendable qualities displayed by their ancestors fighting doggedly to preserve their culture, their institutions, their identity, and their idealism. In the perpetual historical struggle of their mother country, they have drawn a certain parallelism and similarity with the history of their own country—the United States, which is now engaged in a gigantic struggle to preserve the very dignity of the human individual.

The American-born Armenians, like their parents, are devoted citizens and have taken full advantage of our educational system. A great many of them attend colleges and become worthy workers in

⁶ Statements are from a small pamphlet published by the Armenian Evangelical Church of New York City.

⁷ Editor of *Folk News*, published by Folk Festival Council, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

⁸ Rouben Gavoor, “Weekly’s Tenth Anniversary,” in *Hairenik Weekly’s Tenth Anniversary*, Number, 1934-1944, p. 68.

their chosen fields. The younger generation of American-born Armenians have much to offer to America. Signs of this are already evident in many fields, where they have exhibited exceptional talent, be it in music, painting, engineering, science, the social sciences, architecture, farming, business, the educational, medical, or military fields.

Comparatively speaking, the number of Armenians leaving this country is negligible. They generally came with the purpose of staying. With no independent country to turn to, America became their country, and it is for this reason that they make wise use of their opportunity to become devoted, law-abiding, and honest citizens.

Contributions to American Life

Estimation and evaluation are difficult to make concerning leaders of any one group of people, as it is a peculiarly individual concept. With this in mind, we mention a few outstanding Armenians in America who have played or are playing a leading part in making contributions toward enriching the land of their adoption.

In the field of arts, many names are well known: Hovsep Pushman of New York is one of the foremost contemporary painters. The paintings of Sarkis Khachadourian, Manuel Tolegian, and Edmund Yaghjian have earned wide publicity and high praise. A. Fetvajian of Boston is a painter and student of Armenian architecture. H. Ajemian (Ariel) of New York, mural painter, won fame with his murals of the Roxbury (Massachusetts) Cathedral (1942). Mugurdish Garo was a famous photographer of Boston, unquestionably one of the finest in America. Haig Patigian and Rouben Nakian have gained national fame as sculptors. Paolo Ananian (now deceased) was a noted and popular Metropolitan opera singer for over two decades. Armand Tokatyan is an internationally famous opera singer. The appealing voices of Rose Zulalian, Mario Arakian, Zaruhi Elmassian, and Alice Avakian have vibrated on many concert platforms. Alan Hovannes is a young composer-pianist whose compositions have been played by leading symphonies. Maro Ajemian, composer-pianist and instructor at Juilliard School of Music, shows promising talent regarding which the music critics have used superlatives. Tamara Toumanova, dancer, is one of the world's leading ballerinas. Nikita Balieff, who died some years ago, was the prominent actor of *Chauve-Souris*. Akim Tamiroff is a popular character movie actor. Rouben Mamoulian is a distinguished stage and movie director. Among the novelists and short-story writers, the name of William Saroyan is too well known for comment. Avedas Derounian

(John Roy Carlson) is the author of numerous magazine articles and of the best-seller, *Under Cover*. Lesser-known but promising novelists are Richard Hagopian, author of *The Dove Brings Peace*, and Emanuel Varandyan, author of *The Well of Ararat*. Arlene Francis (Kazanjan) is a popular radio and stage actress.

In the field of business, such names as the following come to the fore-front: Karagheusian, Gulbankian, Nahigian, Kelekian, Avakian, Arakelian, A. Setrakian, Mardigian, and Zildjian. The first five are prominent rug merchants. Arakelian, Mosesian, and A. Setrakian are nationally known grape producers and shippers, as well as wine manufacturers. Setrakian is one of the well-known public figures in the raisin industry, who, during World War II, was appointed as a counsellor of the UNNRA. Mardigian is well known as the owner of a chain of Oriental restaurants in California, the most famous being Omar Khayyam of San Francisco. Zildjian is a manufacturer of world-famous cymbals, made by a secret process handed down from father to son for generations in Constantinople. This secret formula is jealously guarded from competitors. The family is now engaged in the same business in Salem, Massachusetts.

The Armenians in this country have gained even greater prestige in the professions and in education than in business. Only a few examples can be given: Dr. Varastad Kazandjian, professor of aural surgery at Harvard, is one of the greatest authorities in his field. Dr. Minas Gregory was the eminent psychiatrist who, for over twenty years, was the head of the psychopathic department of Bellevue Hospital. Mooshegh Vaygoony was the famous California scientist who invented synthetic tartaric acid. Dr. Seropian, one of the first Armenian doctors and scientists, was the inventor of the green coloring matter of the American dollar. Dr. S. K. Kassabian was the famous Philadelphia scientist, one of the greatest investigators of the Roentgen ray in the world. Professor Vladimir Karapetoff is professor of electrical engineering at Cornell and is the author of *Experimental Electrical Engineering*. He is classed among the American men of science. The late Professor M. Y. Ananigian was well known as professor of theology at Hartford Seminary and the author of several articles in the Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. The late Dr. M. Mangassarian, of Pasadena, California, was a great theologian philosopher, humanist, and orator, and the founder of the Free Church of Chicago. Professor Sirarpie Der Nersesian, chairman of the art department at Wellesley College, some years ago received France's highest scholastic degree from the Sorbonne. She is the

author of *Illustration du Roman de Barlaam* and *Armenian Illustries*. For the past few years she has been lecturing at the Morgan Library, New York, as the first person appointed to the library as a lecturer. The late Professor Aram Torossian, author of *A Guide to Aesthetics*, was professor of architecture and art at the University of California (Berkeley). Professor Yervant Krikorian holds the chairmanship of the philosophy department at the City College of New York. Professor H. M. Dadurian is a professor of the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale. He has written several thought-provoking articles for the *American Journal of Science*.

Innumerable other outstanding Armenian immigrants have been equally as famous in the foregoing and other fields.⁹ Some of the offspring of these immigrants have found their place in every known field. Some are in the making, and others are budding; but space does not permit their inclusion. Suffice to say that the future holds even greater promise for the Armenians to contribute more of their rich and ancient culture to the cultural pluralism of America, which is gradually emerging from the mixture of various immigrant cultures into a distinct American type. Armenians have played no small part in this contribution, and will continue to do so on a larger scale in the future, as long as freedom and opportunity is theirs to enjoy.

D. HINDU AMERICANS

ELMER L. HEDIN

It is inevitable that any discussion of immigration from India to the United States must bristle with apparent contradictions, and it is impossible to explain such discrepancies in a satisfactory manner to anyone not already somewhat acquainted with the endlessly diverse culture of India, its numerous racial and linguistic origins, its extremes of riches and poverty, its easy tolerance and its crystallized caste structure, its idealism, and its indifference to discomfort and suffering.

The migration of culture traits from India, so far as the United States is concerned, has taken place largely through intermediaries; only in the last generation has there been much direct contact between natives of the two countries. Few Americans have lived in India long enough to understand what they observed. Numerically the

⁹ See *Hairenik Weekly*, Tenth Anniversary Number, for biographical sketches of leading Armenian Americans now in the armed forces, including General Haig Shekerjian, Colonel Sarkis M. Zartarian, Major Arra Arakian, Lieutenant Commander Jack Mahigian, and many more.

Hindus in this country constitute a small group, economically their importance is negligible, culturally most of them have been isolated from our social life. Nevertheless, I hope that the reader will see the picture of their life in America, as presented here, against the larger background of cultural interchange between India and the West.

I have used the term "Hindu" in the title heading and shall continue to use it in referring generically to natives of India, but it is a term that requires qualification. A Hindu, strictly speaking, is one who professes Hinduism. Actually, most of the so-called Hindus in the United States belong to the Sikh religion and a few are Muhammadans from northern India and from Afghanistan. The word "Hindu" will therefore be understood in its popular sense unless the religious meaning is specifically indicated.

Immigration

It is recorded that one alien from India came to the United States in 1820, but we do not know whether he was a Hindu or a European born in India, as arriving aliens were not distinguished by race until 1899. In any event, arrivals from India numbered less than 100 a year until 1904, when 258 Hindus were admitted. The number increased to 1,072 in 1907 and to 1,782 in 1910, after which immigration restrictions reduced admissions to about 2,600 in twenty years. Since 1930, very few Hindus have been admitted, and those who returned to India have outnumbered the new arrivals. Allowing for those who entered the country illegally and for errors in the census returns, it is probable that not more than 6,000 Hindus were ever in the United States at one time. There were 3,130 in 1930, according to the census of that year, and in all probability there were not more than that number in 1944.

The motives back of this immigration, the processes through which it occurred, and the forces that halted it are not difficult to identify. According to Immigration Office records, most of the Hindus who entered the country between 1904 and 1910 were agricultural laborers from the Punjab in northern India. They came from fairly fertile but overpopulated areas. Families increased, but the productivity of the soil did not. A few heard of opportunities in America and, after a brief time here, wrote letters to relatives in India enclosing money orders. Steamship companies, making profit from crowded and fetid steerage decks, advertised throughout the Punjab. Individuals traveled through the villages recruiting contract labor for private employers in Canada. In 1908, the Canadian government effectively

stopped further immigration, and the number dropped from 3,623 in 1908 to 6 in 1909. This action shifted the immigration to the United States.

Few women were included in the immigration from India. Most of the men came with the thought only of saving money and then returning home. Some carried out their plan, but most of them, especially the Sikhs and the true Hindus, remained. They moved through the usual occupational cycle of Asiatics on the west coast, working at first as laborers in industry and agriculture, later as foremen and leasers in the farming districts and as small businessmen in the cities. A handful of upper-class Hindus were granted American citizenship, but this was later revoked.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Occupations. During the first period after the arrival of the Hindus, they were often paid lower wages than laborers of other ethnic groups. After their drift into agricultural occupations, however, they bargained successfully in competition with laborers of such groups. In California they at first moved about in gangs, each under a headman and interpreter, hiring out as a body, drifting from the rice lands of the Sacramento Valley to the cotton district in the Imperial Valley as the crops ripened. Many employers liked them; they could be depended on to stay until a crop was harvested, and they rarely complained about the primitive living quarters provided for transient labor. Moreover, they loved the land and soon adapted themselves to new agricultural methods.

But the Hindus, like the Japanese, are a thrifty and frugal people with plenty of initiative. Their ambition has been to operate their own farms and businesses, and they have to a large extent achieved it. In British Columbia they own and operate several lumber mills, and a number of them have small fruit and vegetable farms in the vicinity of Vancouver. In the Imperial, Sacramento, and San Joaquin Valleys of California they operate several hundred thousand acres of land. Some who began as day laborers or section hands have established small business establishments and opened stores and restaurants.

Culture contacts. The Hindu was a late comer to the labor markets of the west coast. On his arrival there, he found a public opinion already bitterly antagonistic to Asiatic labor and organized to oppose its entrance. All the arguments and prejudices which had been used to bring about the exclusion of Chinese and Japanese were turned against the Hindus. They were several times the objects of mob

violence: at Bellingham, Washington, in September, 1907; at Live Oak, California, in 1908; and at St. John, Oregon, in 1910. At that time a stricter interpretation of the American immigration laws practically stopped Hindu immigration, and the tension lessened. Not that Hindus were better liked, but the few who slipped into the country across the Mexican border were not regarded as constituting a menace to American labor or American culture.

But the pattern of Hindu life in America had been set, a pattern of unyielding prejudice against these "ragheads" on the one hand, and of bewilderment gradually changing into resentful self-sufficiency on the other. And the Hindu culture traits that most clearly measured the social distance between the two peoples were the very ones that these men from India prized most highly. It has already been indicated that most of them were Sikhs, and the Sikh religion prescribes that its men shall wear full beards and long hair. These adornments, together with the turbans worn by all the Indian immigrants, set their wearers apart. Moreover, there were food tabus: Hindus and Sikhs might not eat beef or eat meat prepared by persons of other races; Muhammadans might not eat pork; all had scruples about eating with persons outside their own groups. These men were too different to be accepted casually by Americans and too fixed in their own culture to dispense with the customs that set them apart.

Consequently, they have maintained themselves in this country isolated from its social life to a degree probably equaled by no other people. It is true that expediency has dictated the abandonment of certain customs that prevail in India, but the changes have been superficial. The abnormal ratio of men to women also has been an important factor in their isolation, since it encouraged the continuance of groups living together in the same house on a democratic communal basis and of partnerships in renting land. Their chief meats are lamb and poultry, heavily seasoned with curry and other spices. Fruits and vegetables occupy a prominent place in their diet. They use little furniture in their houses and few cooking utensils. *Chapatis*, the unleavened bread of India made with wheat flour and plenty of butter, are baked on the top of the stove. While farmers adopt American work clothes, in other personal habits they tend to retain their old-world characteristics.

The total number of Hindu families in this country is not known, but they are relatively few and confined largely to the upper classes. A few professional men have been permitted to bring their wives from India. Several educated Hindus have married American women

and a number of farm workers have married Mexican women. Even though most of these marriages seem to be successful, they are frowned upon to such an extent that they merely serve to intensify the prejudice.

There were in 1930, according to the fifteenth census, 412 American-born Hindus in the United States, 333 of whom were under ten years of age and 220 of whom were residents of California. It must be remembered that these children include those born of mixed marriages and those belonging to Hindu families of cosmopolitan culture. They are to be regarded as more American than Hindu in their attitudes and in the social customs to which they are being conditioned. They accept the cultural pattern of the mother. Those of school age are attending school.

It may be said here that the Hindus in this country have shown an interest in education equaled by scarcely any other cultural group. Their children are given the best schooling possible, and several adults of the laboring class have used their savings to complete college courses in engineering, forestry, and medicine, later returning to India to practice their professions. In addition, American Hindus have contributed generously to the support of schools both here and in India, as well as to other philanthropies.

Organizations. The Hindus have no national association to further the economic welfare of their people here, but they support a number of religious, social, and political organizations, most of which are of merely local importance. One of the strongest is the Sikh religious group, the Khalsa Diwan Society, with American headquarters at Stockton, California. It owns a temple in that city, collects dues from members, and encourages religion and education. The Moslem Association of America was founded at Sacramento in 1919 for similar purposes. A militant nationalist organization, the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association (better known as the Gadar Party), has its headquarters in San Francisco and is concerned with freeing India from British rule. The activities of this party are supposed to have been connected with certain murders of Hindus which have occurred in California during the past ten years, but quite possibly the men killed were done away with because they had informed against those of their countrymen who had entered the United States via the Mexican border. Apparently, too, financial gain was a motive in these murders.

The press. A number of periodicals have been published by Hindus in this country, but most of them have been short-lived. At

the present time, the Sikh organization prints a certain amount of religious literature, and there are two Indian nationalist publications which appear fairly regularly, one in Hindi published in San Francisco, one in English published in New York.

Contributions to American Life

Little has been said in this chapter concerning Hindu immigrants of the business and professional classes. That is because they are, for the most part, international in culture and lost among the general American population rather than congregated in groups. Some hundreds of Hindus reside in the cities of the North and East, some of whom originally entered the country as sailors and established small businesses. Others follow various professions and skilled trades. A few are engaged in the teaching of Indian religion and philosophy. Several are professors in American colleges.

To many of these men the United States owes a debt of gratitude for their sincere and tireless efforts in working for cultural interchanges between India and America. Among others might be mentioned Dhan Gopal Mukerji (deceased) and Kedar Nath Das Gupta. Probably the most famous Hindu now residing in the United States is Jiddu Krishnamurti, poet and philosopher. These and many others have helped to make us aware of the depth and richness of India's culture, a subject which we might well study to the end of the better focusing and guiding of our raw and undisciplined energies. As an indication that the reverse process also has merit, it might be mentioned that a number of Hindus educated in American universities are now employed in the official service of the progressive Indian states of Baroda and Gwalior. If the immigration of Hindu workers into the United States has been a social failure, the outcome of our relations with Hindus of the educated class has been one of outstanding success.

E. CHINESE AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

The Dragon Empire of China became a Dragon Republic thirty-two years ago on October 8; but in 1944 the anniversary found the dragon fighting too hard for great celebration. The Chinese Republic's birthday was observed, however, in the United States, where citizens of Chinese origin gave a day of commemoration to the ancestral homeland which many of them have never seen.

Immigration

The United States immigration statistics show that one Chinese was admitted in 1820 and that up to 1853 only eighty-eight had been admitted. These first arrivals were received without prejudice and even with enthusiasm. They were mild, unobtrusive, and industrious, and in those days race antipathy was subordinated to industrial necessity. They were highly valued as general laborers, carpenters, and cooks; their restaurants were well kept and extensively patronized. They took to pieces the old vessels that lay abandoned in the channel of the Golden Gate. They cleared and drained the rich lands of California, work that the white miners of the gold rush were too busy to undertake. Women were lacking in the Pacific coast settlements, and the Chinese served as cooks and laundrymen. The white miners sold their worked-out claims to the Chinese and looked for larger and more promising sites.

About 20,000 Chinese arrived in 1852 and 13,000 in 1854. In the 1860's, they were once more in demand. At the end of the Civil War, the work of completing the first transcontinental railroad was rapidly pushed forward. On the Union Pacific Railroad, building westward from Omaha, were the Irish and other workers; on the Central Pacific Railroad, building eastward through the mountains, nine out of every ten of the workers were Chinese.

From this time on, the Chinese filtered eastward to our great cities where they took up different occupations. Their numbers gradually increased, 40,000 being admitted in 1882, most of whom settled along the west coast. As a result of this increase in the number of Chinese immigrants, 123,201 from 1871 to 1880, Congress, in 1882, suspended Chinese immigration for ten years. This suspension was later renewed and the number admitted from 1890 to 1943 was 92,764, or only a little more than twice the number of arrivals in the United States during the single year, 1882. The number in America at any one time has decreased from 107,000 in 1890 to about 77,000 in 1943.

Anti-Oriental movement. The first difficulties arose in the mines where American miners objected to foreign competition—European, Mexican, Chilean, and especially Chinese, as, of all the groups concerned, the Chinese were most clannish, most obviously alien. The agitation of the Know-Nothing Party of the East was paralleled in the West by a growing antagonism, the result of the passing of the generous enthusiasms of the early days of gold and the evidences of the

growing competition and realities of hard work. The Chinese had to suffer the brunt of serious attacks. The former "docile" Chinese were accused of being "contract coolies, avaricious, ignorant of moral obligations, incapable of being assimilated and dangerous to the welfare of the state."¹ Mob violence took place in some mining districts, and in 1852 the California legislature imposed a special tax on all aliens engaged in mining. The tax became increasingly higher in subsequent years, but was declared unconstitutional in 1870. Thus prejudice served as a "good" reason for revenues. Later, however, the objections took the form of exclusion, especially when conditioned by the rising tide of national and racial consciousness. Cultural and biological arguments superseded to the economic reasons, and the agitation finally reached national proportions. In 1868 the Burlingame Treaty still recognized the right of immigration between the United States and China, but Chinese were barred from becoming citizens through naturalization. Restriction on immigration began in 1880, when a treaty with China permitted a reasonable limitation of Chinese laborers. But the Chinese continued their exodus, promoted by steamship companies, and in 1882 immigration of Chinese laborers was prohibited, and subsequent treaties and legislative acts established it as a national policy. In 1917 China was included in the barred zone. Chinese were not permitted to be naturalized and ordinary immigrants were not allowed to enter according to the Act of 1924. This period is marked by a tendency of the Chinese toward wider occupational and territorial distribution, accompanied by the intensification of prejudice and active opposition on the part of the Americans.

The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Under the quota system, applied to immigration since 1924, only 105 Chinese could enter annually. But to China it was the principle that mattered—to China as one of the United Nations fighting on the side of the United States in World War II. In October, 1943, President Roosevelt asked Congress to act promptly on a pending bill to repeal Chinese exclusion laws as a means of assuring America's Chinese allies that we regard them as full partners in the war against Axis aggression. Repeal of the exclusion laws would allow an immigration of about 100 Chinese a year, Mr. Roosevelt said. This, he pointed out, would certainly not cause unemployment in this country or provide any measurable

¹ M. R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, p. 31. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909.

competition in Americans' search for jobs. "I regard this legislation," he said, "as important in the cause of winning the war and of establishing a secure peace"; he commented that it would also silence "the distorted Japanese propaganda."

The proposal had greater significance for the west coast than for any other section of the country. This area, and California in particular, had led the fight for the immigration ban more than sixty years ago. In the intervening period, coast residents had not been permitted to overlook the possible consequences, especially economic, that might result from an "opening of the door."

As recently as early 1943, few observers would have supposed that California, through boards of supervisors or city councils of its leading municipalities, through chambers of commerce and many other organizations, would express itself in favor of lifting the barrier so as to permit even 105 Chinese to enter the country annually on the quota basis. This was the case, however. There unquestionably was a substantial change of attitude, and the House of Representatives' approval of President Roosevelt's proposal was greeted with satisfaction by newspapers such as *The San Francisco Chronicle*, which had campaigned editorially since the spring of 1943 for repeal, and by dozens of organizations, spearheaded by the Citizen's Victory Committee, which had shared in the campaign.² Generally speaking, the supporting west-coast organizations took the stand that repeal of the Exclusion Act was important in combating Japanese propaganda, which accused America of discriminating against an ally, and in giving concrete assurance of good will toward China, thus bolstering her morale. The Chinese Americans regarded the step as a great victory for justice.³ There was a pretty general belief that the visit of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek to the west coast in the spring of 1943 played no inconsiderable part in swinging sentiment in California in the direction of repeal, which came into effect as federal law at the turn of 1944.

The Chinese still have to meet all the requirements of our immigration laws, 105 being eligible to be admitted each year. But the new law differs from regulations governing the admission of other

² "House Vote on Chinese Pleases Many on Coast," *The New York Times*, October 31, 1943.

³ It cannot be said that the west coast was unanimously in favor of this step. Labor was split on the subject: the Congress of Industrial Organizations supported repeal, but American Federation of Labor groups, with far larger membership, opposed it. Officials of the Native Sons of the Golden West also opposed it. On the other hand, the American Legion's Department of California called for repeal of the Exclusion Act and recommended that the Oregon and Washington departments take similar action. The Veterans of Foreign Wars likewise backed repeal in California.

nationals in one respect: the annual quota is granted to Chinese and not to China, so that the immigration quota applies to all persons of Chinese descent, whether they are residents of China or of some other country.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

Settlements. Almost nine tenths of the Chinese Americans are city-dwellers. Eight large metropolitan areas contain the bulk of Chinese population. Next to the impressive concentration in the San Francisco Bay cities, New York City has the largest Chinese colony. Los Angeles and Chicago rank next. Philadelphia, Boston, Portland, and Seattle have over a thousand each. Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Detroit are the only cities that have lured settlements of Chinese far inland; Chicago has approximately 2,000, and the others only several hundred each. Newark, Baltimore, and San Diego, with their coastal locations, have four to six hundred Chinese inhabitants. The small Chinatown of the nation's capital is about the same size. The expatriates thrive best in large communities of their fellow countrymen.

Stories of '49's fabulous successes in California gilded it with bright hopes of wealth, and for the Chinese newcomers the name of America's western coast was Kum Shan, "the Golden Hill." Since San Francisco was the port of entry through which most of the gold-rushers from China reached this gilded land, the port came to be their symbol for all Kum Shan. Today, although San Francisco is also called "No. 1 City," its recognized name among Chinese-speaking Americans is still Kum Shan.

In this Chinese metropolis of the new world and neighboring settlements on the west coast, the Chinese have retained greater autonomy than any other immigrant group. On a yearly concession from an American telephone company, the Chinese company has its own directory, in Chinese, and its own exchange, in a pagoda-shaped building just off Grant Avenue. Holes on the switchboard are numbered, as on other telephone switchboards, and every subscriber has a telephone number; but the Chinese prefer to call their friends by name, and the operator gives the right number from memory. Among the other special facilities of the Chinese in San Francisco are five daily newspapers in their own language, which circulate to other Chinese expatriates within a radius of 2,000 miles.

In New York, the Chinese are mainly small shopkeepers, art and curio dealers, domestic workers and laundrymen. They live in some

of the city's worst tenements. Their few doctors, artists, and teachers have a clientele largely limited to their own countrymen. "Chinatown," so familiar to out-of-town sightseers, is a sharply defined area of short, narrow streets in the Bowery district northwest of Chatham Square.

Organizations. Chinese fraternal organizations, which once centered about the much publicized tongs, have shifted, and the nature of the tongs themselves has changed. Once marked by racketeering, gambling, and bloodshed, tong affairs have been quiet for some years. For the most part, the tongs have returned to their original character of benevolent and protective societies. The two main tongs in Chinatown are still the Hip Sings and the On Leong Tong. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society, enrolling members of both organizations, now adjudicates all tong disputes.

The Chinese publish three daily newspapers in New York, the largest of which is the liberal *Chinese Journal*, which boasts a circulation of 8,000. Other papers include the *Chinese Nationalist Daily*, organ of the Kuomintang's New York branch, and the *Chinese Republic News*, featuring mainly Chinese Masonic Lodge news. There is also the *Chinese Vanguard*, a weekly published by the left-wing Chinese Workers' Club.

Chinese New Year's day, which happens anywhere from the first of January to mid-February, is still celebrated with dragon parades and firecrackers, but is almost the only occasion for a large-scale observance. The Chinese commemorate the birth and death of Sun Yat-sen and the founding of the Chinese Republic. They maintain a complete school for their children, a Chinese dramatic society which stages Chinese plays, and two Bowery movie houses which show Chinese films after 10 P.M.⁴

Since men migrate in advance of women, and migration of Chinese was stopped before a natural adjustment took place, there are more than four times as many men as women among the population of transplanted Chinese communities. In fact, there have never been in this country enough Chinese girls for the Chinese young men to marry. When the census of 1940 was taken, there were 77,504 Chinese in the country, 57,389 males and 20,115 females. Of the total, 40,262 were native-born American citizens, but of these only 14,560 were females. Presumably, a larger number of native-born Chinese girls had returned to China.

⁴Based on Federal Writers' Project, *New York Panorama*, pp. 118-120. New York: Random House, 1938.

Although many associate the Chinese with gang (tong) warfare, opium smoking, and other offenses, the actual criminal record of the Chinese is remarkably low, as shown by a careful study of Professor Walter G. Beach.⁵ Contrary to the general belief, the tongs are an American product.⁶ They originated in California and Nevada during the early gold rush and had their inception in the theory that might makes right. The meaning of the word *tong* is "protective society." For a yearly fee, one tong will guarantee protection to its members against any enemies that they may happen to have in a rival tong. While all activities of the tongs are not commendable, most tongs perform useful social functions: they act as private courts by settling disputes, serve as insurance or mutual benefit organizations, maintain schools, and provide for social intercourse on the same basis as do American social organizations.⁷

Second- and third-generation problems. The greatest problem is, however, presented by the American-born Chinese of foreign-born parents. Contrary to the tendency of most other immigrant groups, for the most part the foreign-born Chinese have been curiously passive and indifferent to the opinion of Americans about them. This is partly, at least, the result of the hostility and prejudices of the dominant whites against them. It is reflected in the Chinatowns with their Oriental customs and traditions; and it must not be also forgotten that Chinatown is the place visited by Americans on their "slumming parties," and on special occasions when the Chinese New Year Festival, the Festival of Lanterns, the Visiting of Tombs, the Festival of the Full Moon, and others, are viewed by curious visitors. It is then, in addition to a thousand and one minor or major occasions, that the American-born Chinese is forced to realize his anomalous social position. These Chinese are culturally real "Americans," or as nearly so as are the children of other European immigrants. They are traditional Americans in everything but slight physical markings, which sometimes become nearly indistinguishable, yet are sufficient to throw these young Americans into a distinct caste. They learn, contrary to the experience of the American children, that their world around them does not grow as they do but is really becoming smaller and smaller. As children, they are tacitly accepted; as adults,

⁵ See W. G. Beach, *Oriental Crime in California*. Stanford University Press, 1932.

⁶ See "A Chinese War Hero," *Literary Digest*, LXXXIII (December 13, 1924),

P. 13.

⁷ A. W. Palmer, *Orientalism in American Life*, p. 29. New York: Friendship Press, 1934.

they are grounded in a Chinatown against their wishes and ambitions.

All this presents a serious problem—one that starts usually during the attendance of the American-born Chinese in the American school. Racial consciousness is developed through association with school-mates, especially in the upper grades. Unless this racial antagonism is checked, or unless there are only one or two Chinese members of the school, prejudices crop up on every side. In California these American youngsters have—or until very recently have had—no part in the school social life except among their own people. They are forced to realize that the “Chinatown” background and the biological heritage are handicapping them. They become dissatisfied with their parents’ social and economic status in the American community. Wanting to become fused into the American group and to escape the barriers set against them, they prepare for some kind of profession or skilled occupation. But until now, at least, they have encountered discrimination in almost every occupation, except those not desired by the Americans. “It has not been at all uncommon for University of California graduates, with Ph.D. degrees and Phi Beta Kappa keys, to be forced to accept jobs as cooks and waiters.”⁸ And what is even worse, many of them belong to the second, third, and fourth generation—since the Chinese are perhaps the oldest immigrant group in California.

These conditions again promote a great social distance between the older and younger generations. Many could solve their problems by looking to China for their life work, but large numbers of them have not learned Chinese, since their parents speak English. They are accustomed to American ways of thinking to the extent that they do not fit in with the Chinese culture. Others seek their social status in the Chinese community. But even the Chinatowns are gradually losing their distinctively old-world pattern with the passing of the Chinese-born founders and with the inroads of Americanism. Inescapably, the commonest answer—up to 1943—has been “What is the use?” Both the old and the new generation became highly skeptical, not only of the value of acquiring an education, but also of American political ideas. In fact, for years the Chinese were able to point with pride to one of the lowest crime rates of any ethnic group in America; but by 1940 observers began to note the appearance

⁸ Carey McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin*, pp. 103–104. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943. This is the most recent and best available survey of the problem of American Chinese. See, Chapter II, “The Long-Suffering Chinese,” pp. 79–113.

of factors making for a sharp increase in juvenile delinquency.⁹ The Chinese family showed signs of disintegration and the gap between parents and children was steadily widening.

World War II and changes in outlooks. It took Pearl Harbor to bring about some changes in this truly difficult situation. War industries started hiring Chinese Americans as stenographers, timekeepers, welders, carpenters, shipyard and aircraft workers. Government agencies employed them and gave them positions of responsibility. "As the younger Chinese moved outward into the American community, antique shops and chop-suey restaurants and hand laundries began to close their doors."¹⁰ What the future will hold for them if we return to a period of economic competition cannot be known now. One thing is certain, they have found a freedom they will not willingly relinquish.

Contributions to American Life

Strange to say, the contributions of the Chinese to America's heritage are mostly the result of the hostility developed against him. We must not forget, of course, the hardships of the heavy work done by Chinese laborers during the development of our West. But the most obvious impress left by the Chinese is in two fields that are a component part of our culture.

With the rising hostility of American public opinion against his economic competition, the Chinese had enough good sense to withdraw from most of the competitive occupations into the occupations that supplement those of the whites but do not compete with them.¹¹ Many Americans are, therefore, surprised to learn that no Chinese ever saw a starched collar or a white sheet before coming to America. Not only the laundry business has been developed by them, but one of the most popular American dishes, the famed chop suey, is their invention. Chop suey is not, surprising to say, a Chinese dish, but rather an American dish developed on the basis of the ingenious Chinese idea that the American prefers a large amount of food served for a small cost.

The impress of the Chinese culture is not limited to these fields only. There are countless Chinese curio shops in America. Many

⁹ McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹⁰ McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹¹ See R. D. McKenzie, "The Oriental Invasion," *Journal of Applied Sociology* X (1925), pp. 125-126; R. E. Park, "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific," *Survey* LVI (1926), p. 196.

of our motion picture palaces have taken over from the Chinese culture and from the Chinese-American pleasure establishments their concepts of Chinese art and incorporated them into the gaudy and splashy decorations which the American movie-goer loves so dearly. Leading Chinese scholars are invited to address our institutes and our leading universities.

A few Chinese Americans have made notable names for themselves. Dr. Chien-Shiung Wo has come to be recognized as one of the most brilliant young physicists in this country. Dr. Maurice William, the author of a refutation of Marxism that political scientists say radically changed the thinking of Dr. Sun, received the Order of the Jade from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for the part he played in determining China's history, although he had never visited that country. He was the only foreign member of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, in 1944. Mustang pilot Lieutenant Wau Kau Kong, Chinese pilot with the United States Air Force in Britain, was lost in action in 1944. Many more might be named from these and other fields if space permitted.

After the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion laws word came that the Chinese of Hawaii, in a special "gratitude drive," had bought more than a million dollars' worth of war bonds "to give concrete evidence of their thanks to America."¹²

To a greater extent than is true of many of the other nationality groups, contribution is reciprocal, for we have given much to the Chinese Americans and have received much from them. The influence of America's culture on China through Chinese immigrants cannot be measured. A large number of the Chinese who have returned to China have contributed to the development of their country by the money and ideas gained during their stay in America. Hundreds of Chinese students, who constitute the bulk of Chinese "immigration" today, have benefited by the benevolence of the American government in applying funds acquired by the Boxer indemnity for the education of Chinese in America. Quite a score of them stand high in administrative and other positions in their state. In fact, the Chinese student educated in America has become one of the strongest social forces in the development of the "new" China. We need only to recall how many times it has been repeated that the wife of the famed Chinese leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was educated in Wellesley.

¹² *The Nation*, CLVIII (March 11, 1944), p. 307.

Chinese Americans responded wholeheartedly to the cry for help from the motherland when Japan began her rape of China and raised large amounts by means of "drives" for relief funds. Chinese children sold memorial poppies and buttons bearing the flag of the Chinese Republic, and Chinese Americans crowded around their newspaper offices to read the news from the battle front, although many of them knew their abused land only through the tales their fathers and grandfathers had told them about it.

F. JAPANESE AMERICANS

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Although the Alien Registration program of 1940 showed that only about a third of the 127,000 Japanese Americans in the United States were aliens and two thirds were native born and hence citizens, the problem of the Japanese minority has long been one of the most troublesome in the United States. As an internal problem, it might have been magnified out of its true proportion; but as an inseparable part of the international relations between the United States and Japan, its importance could not be overestimated. In this latter respect, in particular, it has been a dynamite-laden problem. Since 1882, when the first Asiatic Exclusion Law was passed, we have refused to look squarely into this emotionalized problem, which had little counterpart in our treatment of any other minority group.

Immigration

Japanese immigration has much in common with the influx of various European peoples—in motivation, initial efforts to earn a livelihood, hostility aroused among groups within the economy, and final emergence of the newcomers in limited fields of endeavor. But racial difference has complicated the Japanese problem, narrowing for the Japanese American the area of occupational opportunity and contact with the established community.

Prior to 1900, Japanese arrivals were less than 1 per cent of the total annual volume of immigration to America's shores.¹ Early Japanese entrants were shipwrecked sailors or occasional stowaways on foreign vessels; later, casual sojourners came and returned home

¹ The most recent survey is "National Defense Migration, Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration," *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 59-226.

or sailed for other lands. Total Japanese population in the United States was 55 in 1870, 148 in 1880; it rose to 2,039 in 1890, after the Imperial government had legalized the emigration of laborers (in 1885) and exclusion of Chinese by the act of 1882 had created a void in the labor supply for Japanese to fill. During the next decade Japanese arrivals increased until in 1900 they reached a peak of 12,628. This marked advance over the 2,844 who had landed here the preceding year is attributed to the inclusion of a large number of Japanese originally bound for Honolulu, who were diverted to San Francisco because of an outbreak of bubonic plague on the island.

From 1901 to 1910, 54,929 Japanese immigrants were admitted to the continental United States, but this number was swelled by an estimated 37,000 from Hawaii who were not counted in the total Japanese admitted; 4,154 of these were classified as nonimmigrants, and some 9,000 were believed to have crossed the Mexican border to the United States illegally.

The Japanese came here in response to demands for fresh sources of labor by the developing Pacific and mountain states, as well as to escape from an impoverished homeland. After the annexation of Hawaii, Japanese laborers, discouraged by their government from emigrating to the continental United States, used Hawaii as a stepping-stone to the mainland. There were also the students, who came for education in western science and ways of living, and the young men desiring to avoid military service. "Golden stories" about the promise of life in America, written by the first immigrants to their townsmen, encouraged further immigration. The emigration societies advertised for emigrants through traveling solicitors and literature, arranging the voyage to America for a fee of ten to twenty yen.

United States public opinion against Japanese immigration. The international importance of the problem came to a head in 1906 when relations between Tokyo and Washington had become greatly strained over the question of Japanese immigration into the United States. California, where most Japanese immigrants settled, demanded that their admission be stopped. The growing opposition of the white population led to a number of serious clashes along the west coast. Schools refused to admit Japanese students. In fact, the San Francisco school dispute in 1906 brought the conflict into the open.

Tokyo was confronted with the problem either of insisting on its treaty rights, which guaranteed unrestricted admission of its subjects to the United States, or of coming to an amicable settlement of the

question with Washington. The former alternative was bound to put a continuous strain on the relations between the two countries. Japan, however, needed the good will of the United States at that time in order to carry out her expansionist plans; and so the Japanese government gave in, and in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 pledged itself to prohibit any further emigration to the United States.

But the "Gentlemen's Agreement" again did not settle the problem. Japanese immigration to America continued and a total of 83,837 came during the decade 1911 to 1920. Hostile resolutions and bills were introduced in California, Nevada, Oregon, and Montana legislatures in 1909 and 1910, and subsequently.

The California law of May 19, 1913, provided, in effect, that the Japanese might lease agricultural lands for a maximum of three years; lands already owned or acquired in the future in satisfaction of existing liens might be retained but could not be bequeathed to heirs under a citizenship disability. But again, this did not settle the problem. The Japanese used various devices to circumvent the land law. Some purchased agricultural land in the names of their minor children born on American soil, for whom they acted as guardians, or paid American citizens to purchase land and hold it for them or their children. Another fairly common practice was to form dummy corporations in which perhaps 50 per cent of the stock was held by an American, usually the corporation's attorney, who in reality held only a "naked trust" and had no voice in the management of the corporation's affairs.

World War I only intensified the problem. The progress made by Japanese-American farmers during the war irritated many; those let out from the factories resented Japanese control of land; the returning soldiers, contrasting their economic insecurity with the Japanese situation, were easily aroused. Agitation was fanned by the award of Shantung to Japan and Japanese activity in Siberia, Manchuria, and Korea. Critics pointed out that many Japanese coming into the country as students, professional men, and merchants, were, in fact, disguised spies. The custom of bringing Yoshi (adopted children) and picture brides was also pointed out as a means of evading the agreement of 1907. After the Japanese agreed to what has been called a "ladies' agreement" and ceased issuing passports to the brides after February 25, 1920, agitation was transferred to the "Kankodan" system, under which an immigrant would take a short trip to Japan, marry, and return with his bride.

The economic arguments ascribed to the Japanese tremendous ad-

vantages in competition because of aid received from their government, their low standard of living, and their well-knit organizations. But overshadowing the economic objections to the Japanese, the claim of nonassimilability—"once a Jap always a Jap"—was voiced continuously. Japanese worship of the Mikado was held to be an insurmountable barrier to good American citizenship. As a result, the California Land Law of 1913 was amended, depriving a Japanese of the right to lease agricultural land, to act as guardian for a native-born minor if his estate consisted of property which the Japanese could not hold under the law, or to transfer property with intent to evade the law. Following California's example, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nebraska, Texas, Delaware, Colorado, and New Mexico passed similar laws.

The Exclusion Act of 1924. In 1922, in the Ozawa case, the United States Supreme Court declared that Japanese were outside the zone of those who could become naturalized. Japanese exclusionism coincided with the general campaign to restrict immigration. Popular indignation was aroused by a note from the Japanese ambassador Hanihara to Secretary of State Hughes mentioning the "grave consequences" which would ensue if the exclusion clause were passed. The Exclusion Act became law in 1924.

Trends in concentration. During the years 1913 through 1920, Japanese aliens entered the continental United States in steadily increasing numbers, totaling 77,936 for the entire period; 59,098 departed, leaving a net accession from abroad of 18,838. These, together with previous immigrants and American-born children, set the total Japanese population in continental United States at 111,010 in 1920.

After 1924, Japanese immigration fell off sharply, though professional men, merchants, and others continued to enter the United States. Immigration totals are: 33,462 from 1921 to 1930; 1,948 from 1931 to 1940; and 353 to June 30, 1943. Students, merchants, government officials, ministers of religion and their families, and bona fide residents returning from a visit to Japan—all of whom were regarded as nonimmigrants or nonquota immigrants—made up their number. Emigration continued, and it is interesting and perhaps significant that in the year before Pearl Harbor over 2,000 returned to Japan.

In 1920 there were approximately 127,000 Japanese foreign born and citizens in the United States of whom 112,000 resided in the three west coast states—83 per cent in California and most of these in Los Angeles County. Of the Japanese affected by the evacuation

order of 1942, about 41,000 were aliens; about 71,000 were American citizens. Unlike other immigrant groups, the Japanese have shown no tendency to disperse; on the contrary, they were more densely concentrated on December 7, 1941, than they had been twenty years before. Furthermore, a number of factors have served to preserve their ties with the homeland, and particularly so because the Japanese are recent immigrants. The immigrant groups were tied, through the presence on the west coast of numerous Japanese mercantile and financial concerns, to the Japanese-controlled firms, and, through them, to the consulates. Barred by law from becoming American citizens, the Japanese were driven to concentrate in certain areas and to organize as a group. Because of the Exclusion Act and the Alien Land Act, some of these Japanese harbored deep-seated resentments against America.

An additional factor was their concentration in agriculture. About 20,000, or 50 per cent, of those gainfully employed in California were in that occupation. Hence they tended to develop their communities, whose ties were strengthened by race prejudices, in Seattle, Portland, Tacoma, Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. They produced peas, cabbage, broccoli, cauliflower, celery, berries, and so on, near large urban centers, with Little Tokyo settlements located in the respective cities.

Unfortunately, many Japanese settlements, in the words of Colonel Karl Bendetsen, were "deployed through very sensitive and very vital areas." Since the Japanese were already in these particular areas before they became vital defense zones (the Terminal Island in the center of Los Angeles harbor, the Puget Sound, on Bainbridge Island, near the Bremerton Navy Yard), here was a very unfortunate coincidence. For example, in Seattle, the Japanese operated 2,076 hotels, many along the waterfront, which in many cases became an almost impenetrable screen for espionage activities.

The age-youth conflict. Little islands in a hostile sea, and cut off from the rest of the population, the Japanese Americans were divided even more sharply among themselves. The one group is young, the other is old—there are virtually no middle-aged. The former are the Nisei, the native-born American generation. The latter are the Issei, the original immigrant stock. The average age of the Nisei was nineteen in 1939; that of the Issei was fifty-eight, and his average period of residence in this country was thirty years.

This unusual youth-age abyss is complicated by the gulf that separates two totally unlike cultures. The cessation of all immigra-

tion in 1924 helped to fix the economic and social leadership in the original immigrant group to the exclusion of the American-born and educated Nisei. In many cases, the parents sent their children to Japanese-language schools or arranged for them to receive part of their education in Japan; the same considerations prompted many parents to register their children (about one third of those born in California) with the Japanese consulates as Japanese citizens.

White reports that the Issei are "more Japanese than the Japanese themselves," since they have clung desperately to the mores of the old, unaware that modern Japan has moved on.² But their children have gone to school, many of them to American colleges, and have acquired a mentality that separates them sharply from their fathers. Many of them are fellow citizens of ours, educated in American schools, trained in American business and professions, and these suffer from the effects of the inflamed prejudices and public opinion which are prone to judge the Japanese not on the basis of the individual but rather on a racial basis, regardless of his citizenship.

It might not be amiss to mention also that economic facts have played an important contributory part in the feeling against the Japanese on the west coast. In a report to the Tolan Congressional Committee by the Seattle Chapter of the Japanese-American Citizens' League, it was pointed out that, for instance, in Seattle owners of hotel properties had pressed for the removal of Japanese so that they might take over the now profitable hotel business; in rural areas, farmers showed their desire to get control of rich lands leased by Japanese farmers.³

Nisei. Alienated culturally from their fathers by American citizenship, American education, and American thinking, and from their fellow citizens by their appearance and by racial antipathies, the Nisei have been forced into a fierce group consciousness and an intense gregariousness. The result was that in 1929 the first Nisei organized the now powerful Japanese-American Citizens League, with the slogan, "Building Toward Responsible Citizenship." In 1939 there were 486 Nisei organizations—sports, religious, cultural, civic, fraternal, social, and so on—on the western coast alone. They had to face for years the agitation of the California Joint Immigration Committee, which sponsored much of the anti-Japanese and anti-

² Magner White, "Between Two Flags," *The Saturday Evening Post*, CCXII (September 30, 1939), pp. 14 ff.

³ Galen M. Fisher, "Japanese Evacuation from the Pacific Coast," *Far Eastern Survey* (June 29, 1942), p. 145.

Oriental legislation in America, and the national defense committee of American Legion Navy Post No. 278 in Los Angeles, which proposed the fishing bills which would have forbidden any but citizens of the United States to operate fishing boats off the California coast. The American-born Nisei fought such legislation, as well as the Legion-sponsored legislation for fingerprinting aliens and requiring them to report to authorities every ninety days. The Nisei opposed such legislation by arguments that most of the fishermen were "‘Issei’—ninety-seven out of a hundred, ineligible to citizenship—who had lived in America most of their lives; being technically aliens, the proposed bill would have cut off their living. The fingerprinting bill was "not in keeping with our understanding of American tolerance; it would impose a humiliating requirement upon ‘Issei’ who are just as law-abiding, just as willing taxpayers as any other group in the country." ⁴

Dual citizenship. One of the most serious problems faced by the Nisei is dual citizenship. In 1942 there were in the neighborhood of 90,000 Japanese in the state of California, a large number of whom were in possession of dual citizenship, under a Japanese law of December 1, 1924, called the New Nationality Law.⁵ Under that law, Japanese born in the United States after that date automatically lost Japanese citizenship unless within fourteen days they were registered at the Japanese consulate. The law further provided that those who registered, as well as those born in America before December, 1924, could renounce Japanese citizenship by declaration at the Japanese consulate after reaching their twentieth year. But the records of the California Joint Immigration Committee show that the Japanese so born did not repatriate themselves by renouncing their Japanese citizenship other than to the extent of from one fourth to about one third, and that the remainder retained their citizenship. Loss of family standing and inheritance in Japan were the chief reasons given for lack of expatriation.

Shadow of the Axis over Japanese Americans. In 1940, the shadow of the treaty by which Japan joined Germany and Italy in military alliance fell over the flowered fields and coastal cliffs of southern California. For many months suspicious California had dis-

⁴ White, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁵ Testimony of Robert H. Fouke, representing the California Joint Immigration Committee, before the Tolan Committee, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, *Problems of Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1942, p. 11070.

liked the spectacle of Japanese farmers tending fruit and flowers amid oil fields and near airports and aircraft factories. Civilians and naval authorities alike had looked askance on Japanese fishing boats cruising near United States warships during maneuvers, and were wondering why Japanese fishermen and cannery men were permitted to live on Terminal Island, within gunshot of the naval operating base at San Pedro. Why did Japanese Americans cross the ocean by hundreds each year to visit their ancestral homes? Why did so many radio masts sprout from Japanese homes in California?

The Nisei sought to answer some of the questions by declaring that most of the lands they tilled had been farmlands long before drillers tapped the oil stores underneath. They pointed out that their slow old fishing boats (rumored to be torpedo boats in disguise) had been locally built and were physically unable to carry the heavy air-compression machinery required to discharge torpedoes, and that fishermen's barracks on the Terminal Island all had radio masts because ship-to-shore communication is necessary in the fishing business. The Japanese American Citizens League, chief national organization of the Nisei, supported conscription and announced that 16,500 Japanese Americans were eligible for the draft (approximately 9,000 Nisei entered the United States Army),⁶ that Japanese Americans had fought with the A.E.F. in the first World War and would fight again in the next, as most second-generation Japanese in America are proud of their American citizenship. In fact, a confidential memorandum by an American intelligence officer reported after Pearl Harbor that "many of the 'Nisei' voluntarily contributed valuable antishubversive information to . . . governmental agencies," and "the Japanese Consular staff, the Central Japanese Association, and others known to have been sympathetic to the Japanese cause did not themselves trust the 'Nisei'."⁷

By and large, however, the Nisei had been on a definite road of Americanization and many had been encouraged by their parents. When there had been opposition, it had been due to the loyalty of some of their parents to Japan, strengthened by the Japanese consular system, and, above all, the fact that the parents could not become citizens of the United States though they had the status of

⁶ Kazuyuki, Takahashi, "The Nisei and Selective Service," *New Republic*, CX (March 20, 1944), p. 382.

⁷ An Intelligence Officer, "The Japanese in America," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXXV (October, 1942), p. 491.

legal residents. "That some of the 'Nisei' children are more Americanized than others is not so much a measure of the success of an Americanization program as it is a measure of the strength of the opposition to such a program, usually on the part of the parents. Unless there is a conscious, active, continuous opposition, the child will absorb Americanization as naturally as he breathes."⁸

Kibei. The word *Kibei* (pronounced *kee-bay*) means "returned to America." It refers to those Nisei who spent all or a large portion of their lives in Japan and who returned to the United States. As the Nisei grew older and more American, many of the Issei, hoping to retain some bond with their swiftly changing children, sent them to Japan to be "Japanized." These are known as "Kibei Shimin," and there were some 50,000 of them in Japan in 1937, when they were urged to return to California and other Pacific states by the Japanese Foreign Office. They were received into full membership by the Japanese American Citizens' League, although they were practically alien Japanese.⁹ It was estimated that in 1942 more than 25,000 United States citizens of Japanese parentage had been educated in schools in Japan.¹⁰

This group was considered "the most potentially dangerous element of all" by an intelligence officer of the United States,¹¹ who concluded that "these people are essentially and inherently Japanese and may have been deliberately sent back to the United States by the Japanese government to act as agents. In spite of their legal citizenship and the protection afforded them by the Bill of Rights, they should be looked upon as enemy aliens."¹² In fact, he states that "such persons must be considered guilty until proven innocent beyond a reasonable doubt," recommends that "they should be segregated from those not in that classification," and suggests that "the parents or guardians who sent them back to Japan must have done so for a reason" and "are equally suspect."

Japanese schools. When the first Nisei started coming home from school talking English, the Issei tried to retain some hold on their children by establishing the Japanese-language schools, called *gakuens*, which came to be viewed by so many people as hotbeds of Japanese

⁸ An Intelligence Officer, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

⁹ Select Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 1107, 11081.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11082.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 489-497.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 491-492.

propaganda and anti-American intrigue.¹³ In San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle, the three major centers of Japanese population, the schools were subsidized in numerous ways by the Tokyo government and teachers were invariably alien Japanese. These schools were one of the mainstays of the isolationism of the Japanese Americans. Japanese Buddhist teachers were brought in under the exception provision of the immigration laws. Their religious as well as their educational background was Japanese as to culture, ideas, ideals, action, and thought. In 1941 there were 248 of the Japanese-language schools in California, teaching about 18,000 children the culture and emperor worship of Japan daily after public school hours and on Saturday.¹⁴ In 1939 these schools cost the Japanese \$398,000.

Japanese organizations. One of the outstanding factors characterizing the life of the Japanese Americans has been that they have been very closely organized. In California a large number of Japanese organizations covered every branch of life: agricultural, commercial, educational, social, religious, and patriotic. Almost every Japanese in California was included in one or more of these organizations. All these organizations were, in turn, closely integrated by means of interlocking directorates and officers, honorary advisers, and interlocking membership among the ordinary members. There was also a close relationship between Japanese associations in California and parent or governmental organizations in Japan, and "on many occasions the associations in California have contributed to and assisted in the war effort of the Japanese Government."¹⁵ The extensiveness of the system can be appreciated from Tokyo's report of April 25, 1941, to the effect that the Japanese "Central Council of Overseas Organizations announced that there are 2,700 Japanese organizations in the United States, representatives of which will meet for a convention in Tokyo in November, 1941." The Japanese Veterans Association of America, for instance, numbering at one time 8,000 members, showed a Japanese motion picture entitled "Flaming Skies," and sponsored the tour of Major G. Tanaka, of the Japanese Army, and a member of the army general staff, who arrived in San Francisco on January 1, 1941, "with full uniform, sword, and medals and toured the state lecturing before various Japanese groups, eventually return-

¹³ In 1921 California assumed control of the *gakuens*, making attendance compulsory, but in 1927 the attorney general ruled this unconstitutional.

¹⁴ Select Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 11086.

¹⁵ Select Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 10975.

ing to Japan via New York. While here, he is reported to have said: 'Japan and the United States will go to war this autumn.' ”¹⁶

Relocating Japanese Americans

In 1942 the army decided it a wise and necessary policy to remove the first- and second-generation Japanese from the west coast and send them to camps in the interior. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued an executive order authorizing the army to evacuate anyone, alien or citizen, from military areas.

Thus, for the first time in American history, the government evacuated all members of one racial group from their places of permanent settlement on the Pacific coast to designated and confined areas. Of the 110,000 persons thus affected, the 70,000 who were American citizens became exiles in their native land.

As a California observer, Professor Floyd A. Cave of San Francisco State College, points out, "behind the decision of army authorities to move all Japanese out of coastal areas along the Pacific Coast were a number of important factors," and "allegations of critics of the policy that it was actuated by economic and patriotic pressure groups, self-seeking politicians, scare mongers of the radio and press, and war hysteria on the part of the people generally, all contain a measure of truth, yet they fail to give us a comprehensive picture of the situation as a whole." ¹⁷

Relocation centers. The United States government, having called upon the Japanese Americans to move from their homes, also assumed a responsibility for helping them to become re-established. To carry this program into execution, the President on March 18, 1942, created a civilian agency known as the War Relocation Authority, which established the relocation centers. They were formed for two primary purposes: (1) To provide communities where evacuees might live and contribute, through work, to their own support pending their gradual reabsorption into private employment and normal American life; and (2) to serve as wartime homes for those evacuees who might be unable or unfit to relocate in ordinary American communities.

Under regulations adopted in September, 1942, the War Relocation Authority started working toward a steady depopulation of the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10976.

¹⁷ Floyd A. Cave, "The Exclusion and Relocation of Pacific Coast Japanese," *Intercultural Education News*, IV (October, 1942).

centers by encouraging all able-bodied residents with good records of behavior to re-enter private employment in agriculture or industry.¹⁸

The work of the WRA was not, however, without its troubles. While the great majority of the residents of the centers appeared loyal to the United States and sympathetic to its war aims, some refused to pledge loyalty or good behavior; in May, 1943, plans were made to segregate the residents of relocation centers on the basis of national loyalty. The Tule Lake center in northern California was designated as the segregation center, to be the place of residence for those whose loyalties lie with Japan rather than with the United States. Included among the segregants in the Tule Lake center were persons who requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan, those who refused to pledge loyalty to the United States, and persons who, because of unfavorable intelligence reports or other records of un-American behavior in the past, were found to be ineligible for leave under WRA procedures.¹⁹

By the end of January, 1943, west coast Japanese Americans were leaving the War Relocation Authority's ten centers at the rate of 75 a day, in accordance with regulations granting them indefinite leave on evidence that they had employment or other means of support and after investigation by both the project director and the national WRA office. Between October, 1942, and January, 1943, about 1,300 left the centers. Next to those leaving for domestic service, the second largest group entered agriculture and secretarial and stenographic work, and the rest carried on a variety of work, industrial to photographic; a majority of all these worked in the Rocky Mountain states, Utah and Colorado especially.

The American Friends Service Committee concerned itself only with the relocation of Japanese-American students in colleges and universities in the mid-western and eastern colleges. Many of the 2,500 evacuated Japanese-American college students were members of local Student Christian Associations, to whom the Committee decided to "extend the hand of fellowship and aid at this particular time," for they were "one of us—American, Christian, deeply loyal to demo-

¹⁸ Cf. War Relocation Authority, *Relocation of Japanese-Americans*, Washington, D. C., 1943.

¹⁹ For the citations of the various theses supporting or denying the sabotage and disloyal practices of Japanese Americans, see Joseph S. Roucek, "American Japanese, Pearl Harbor and World War II," *Journal of Negro Education*, XII (Fall, 1943), pp. 633-649.

cratic living.”²⁰ In a letter dated May 21, 1942, to Clarence E. Pickett from Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, approval was given to the plan for university education. The program also had the endorsement and coöperation of the United States Office of Education and the War Relocation Authority. Serving on the executive and regional committees were such leading educators as Robert G. Sproul, president of the University of California, Monroe E. Duetsch, vice-president of the University of California, Remson E. Bird, president of Occidental College, Dean J. C. DeVoss, San Jose State College, Dean Mary C. Baker, Fresno State College, and others. By November 11, 1942, of the 2,166 questionnaires received from students, more than 500 students had been accepted by some college and 340 had secured travel permits. The institutions were located in twenty-four different states ranging from Maine to Massachusetts. In January, 1945, when restrictions on movements of loyal Japanese were lifted, students were permitted to resume their studies in west coast colleges.

On July 30, 1944, the War Relocation Authority reported that there had been no sabotage and no espionage among the citizens of Japanese ancestry in the relocation areas, and probably a smaller number of minor crimes and misdemeanors than would be found in another group of 125,000 persons. In World War II Japanese Americans served in the army in Italy. Bond purchases by evacuees ranked about the same as among other workers in the same wage class. Many of these citizens gave blood to the Red Cross. About 25 per cent of the approximately 110,000 Japanese originally confined in the barracks-like settlements in and west of the Rockies began making their own living by 1944. Even then steps had been taken to provide for the postwar relocation of these “citizen hostages” in the nine areas (other than Tule Lake), but there was opposition to their return to some communities, especially in California. It is hoped that their record during the war will prevent the transfer of the feeling toward the Japanese-in-Asia to the great majority of Japanese Americans who demonstrated their loyalty to the United States.

Contributions to American Life

In spite of all the criticism directed against Japanese Americans, they have contributed their share to the upbuilding of America.

²⁰ Edmonia Grant, *Fair Play for American Fellow-Students of Japanese Descent*. New York: National Commission on Christian Social Reconstruction, 1942-1943, p. 4.

Their work in reclaiming land in the Imperial Valley and in irrigating sandy areas has won them the respect and admiration of those who understand the problems they have had to solve.

It is worthwhile to read G. Eckstein's story of Noguchi,²¹ the poor Japanese peasant who became one of the world's greatest scientists in America. Noguchi's pure culture of the germ of syphilis, his discovery of the causes of paresis and locomotor ataxia, his identification of Arya fever with another obscure and hitherto unrelated disease, his work on trachoma and Rocky Mountain spotted fever, and finally his heroic death in Africa caused by the dreaded yellow fever he was investigating, remains one of the greatest romantic tales of science.

Yasuo Kuniyoshi is represented in all the major museums and art collections in America. Winner of many awards and Guggenheim Fellow in 1935, he is active in the work of many art groups in the country—the American Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers, the Woodstock Artists Association, the American Artists' Congress, Salons of America, and the H. E. Field Art Foundation. He is an instructor at the Art Students League and the New School for Social Research in New York City.

In 1944, Sono Osato, 24-year-old Japanese-American ballerina, was one of the most popular stars of "One Touch of Venus."

Little is known in this country about the Japanese underground, and even less about Japanese idealists such as Taro Yashima²² who have suffered pain, hardship, and sometimes death for their rebellious convictions. Born in 1908, the son of a country doctor, Yashima decided to devote his talents to the cause of the people; he traveled the land, earning his rice by illustrating popular magazines. When that became impossible, he continued the fight as an artist for an underground newspaper. He was jailed ten times, and his wife, also an artist, was seized, too, before they left Japan for America some years ago. They had lost two sons. The Japanese-American sculptor, Isamu Noguchi, says of Yashima's book, *The New Sun*: "Yashima's traditional brushwork shows the influence of such Western matters as Daumier and Van Gogh. His book should prove truly useful in exposing the elements that now rule Japan."

The intense desire of many loyal Americans of Japanese descent to be called and thought of as Americans rather than Japanese was

²¹ G. Eckstein, *Noguchi*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931.

²² See Taro Yashima, *The New Sun*. New York: Henry Holt, 1943.

"voiced by many of them serving in the 442nd Infantry Regiment at Camp Shelby, Mississippi"²³ (in 1943). One of them wrote:

I'm of Japanese ancestry, but by all rights of birth an American. I've always considered myself an American but by reasons of racial color some people have referred to me as a "Jap." There are nearly two regiments of us here in Shelby and that remark has hurt every one of us. Why can't Americans (regardless of racial differences) consider us true Americans, like they are?

America isn't a nation of one nationality. It has more cosmopolitan population than any other nation in this world. Then why should they have such terrible race prejudice on a minority? Looking back on American history we find that English have fought English and the consequences was the birth of a new nation, America. Then again in 1812 Americans of English ancestry willingly took up arms against Englishmen.

In the first world war Americans of German and Italian ancestry fought against Germany. Now in this war we find Americans of Italian, German and Japanese ancestry more than glad that they can fight the common enemy. Then why can't all Americans see that blood isn't as thick as the principles of democracy. Every single one of us, Americans of Japanese ancestry in the 442nd Infantry Regiment, would rather fight the "Japs" than the Germans to prove our loyalty.

There already is a battalion of Americans of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii in combat in Italy. Many of the boys in the 442nd have brothers and other relatives in that battalion but still we're called "Japs." We would like nothing better than to join them right now, but as yet our training isn't completed. Though I haven't a brother in a combat zone yet, there are two of them in service: one a technical sergeant in Camp Savage, Minnesota, and the other in the service company of the 442nd.

On Dec. 7, 1941, I saw the havoc and bloodshed at Pearl Harbor and helped bury the dead. I tried to volunteer then but was refused. Then in March (of 1943) the Army called for 1,500 volunteers of Japanese Americans to form a unique combat team. Though the quota was set at 1,500, nearly ten thousand men volunteered. Many of my friends actually cried because they were rejected or weren't able to receive an examination because the quota was filled.

Skeptics insisted that only a couple of hundred would volunteer but they certainly were mistaken. Many here on the mainland of the United States think we were drafted or that we volunteered because we didn't have jobs. I volunteered for one purpose, and that is to do my part, though how insignificant it may be, to preserve American democracy. Incidentally, previous to my induction I received more than \$10 a day as an electrician.

²³ "Stigma of 'Jap' is Resented by U. S. Japanese," New York *Herald-Tribune*, November 14, 1943.

One great hero of World War II was Ben Kuroki, a technical sergeant in the United States Army Air Forces, veteran of thirty heavy bombing missions against the enemy, survivor of the ruthless, costly raid on the Ploesti oilfields of Rumania, winner of two Distinguished Flying Crosses, and wearer of the coveted Air Medal with four oak-leaf clusters.²⁴

²⁴ "Ben Kuroki, American," *Time*, XLIII (February, 1944), p. 26.

CHAPTER XI

The Americas and Our Territorials

A. CANADIAN AMERICANS

T. V. KALIJARVI

BEFORE 1930, a large number of immigrants came to the United States by way of Canada. Not all of these were Canadian born, and some had lived in Canada for only a short period. So confused is the picture of this Canadian migration that, in spite of statistics, only the more prominent aspects are clear. Thus, for example, many Europeans who came to the United States did so by way of Canada, and therefore should not properly be called Canadian immigrants.

From the beginning of the history of both Canada and the United States, the people have mingled, thus leaving a confused story of personal activities, of birth, marriage, life, hardships, struggles, longing, death, and religion; but by far the larger part of this mingling has taken place in the United States, for the people of Canadian stock here far exceed people from this country in Canada. In 1931 there were roughly 344,574 United States-born persons in Canada as contrasted with 1,278,421 Canadian born living in this country.¹ This has been the story for the last century. The ratio may have fluctuated from time to time, particularly around 1900, when the Canadian influx into the United States was exceptionally great, but relations have not changed. Thus the unrestricted flow of peoples across our mutually unguarded international frontier has always been in favor of the United States.

The 1930 United States census set the number of inhabitants of Canadian stock in the United States at 3,337,345. Of these, 2,058,824 were children of Canadian parentage. Equivalent figures for 1940 are 2,910,158 and 1,866,040. The Canadian Americans totaled about

¹ See Leon E. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States*, pp. 14, 47 ff. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943.

2.7 per cent of the whole population of the country.² These people, both French- and English-speaking Canadians, were located in the New England states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Florida, Montana, Colorado, Washington, Oregon, and California.³

Division

The people of Canada are primarily French and English. The former were the first settlers, having established themselves shortly after 1600. The English are fairly new comers. In 1763, when Canada was officially ceded to England by France, and in 1775, the population of Canada was still practically all French. But the nineteenth century saw migration from the British Isles into Canada, and the migrants, settling over the whole country, threatened to engulf the French Canadians. In spite of this, as late as 1931 four fifths of the people of the Province of Quebec were still French, and so was one third of the people of New Brunswick, 15 per cent of those of Prince Edward Island, and 11 per cent of those of Nova Scotia.

This fact is of significance for the United States, for the Canadian migrants have brought to this country their two languages and race groups. The Frenchman remains fairly constant and by himself. The Anglo Saxon, being recruited constantly from the British Isles and from various parts of the United States, has found no great need for group solidarity. Everything conceivable separates the two people, not only language, but cultural institutions, religion, political views, and sentiments of the deepest sort. With the English-speaking group constantly growing, it is not surprising to learn that of the 1,278,421 Canadian-born people within our borders in 1930, 370,852, or 29 per cent, were French, 907,569, or 68.9 per cent, were English, and only 26,815, or 2.1 per cent, came from other countries. These "other" nationalities were in the order of their size German, Yiddish, Polish, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic.⁴ In 1940, the ratio of French and non-French was almost

² These figures should be accepted with some reservation, for, as will be seen later, there are many third- and fourth-generation French Canadians who still speak French and are as thoroughly a part of that civilization and culture as if they were located in the province of Quebec. Later figures given under the heading of French Canadians make allowances for this and as far as possible include these people in the calculating.

³ Truesdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 55.

⁴ Truesdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

identical with that in 1930, the numbers being 944,119 and 272,366.

In order to understand our own people, it is important to recognize this difference between the French Canadians and the English Canadians who have settled within our borders. As will be seen, the French retain a cultural homogeneity, while the English-speaking people have a tendency to merge with the people of the United States.

English-speaking and other Canadians—exclusive of the French. The English-speaking Canadians who have settled in this country tend to seek employment as skilled workmen, foremen, and clerks. A fairly large group have become farmers. For the most part they mingle directly in the communities into which they have moved, especially where there are large or substantial groups of Anglo-Saxon origin, and thus attract little attention and comment. Since their institutional and cultural background is the same as that which predominates in this country, their migration across the border leaves them with little distinction from the rest of the people among whom they settle, except an occasional deep-seated loyalty to everything Canadian, in which respect they do not differ from many other people in the United States.

The French Canadians within our borders. The French Canadians in the United States constitute a distinct cultural group. To their number belong not only migrants of the first and second generations, but many of the third and fourth and even older generations. They number between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 persons, depending upon the source of the figures.⁵ Most of them are concentrated in New England, the Eastern seaboard, and the border states of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Substantial groups may also be found in California and Louisiana.

These people are rugged, virile, industrious, and possessed of loyalty to their parish, family, religion, language, and institutions, all of which is amply testified to by the close relations that tie them together here and with Canada. They are generous and warm-hearted, yet they also know how to save and to exist on very little. Their Canadian experience of competition with the rising tide of English migration, replenished as has been previously explained, has left the French Canadians only one recourse if they are to survive, and that is

⁵ For an analysis of some of these statistics see the discussion and references in Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, "French Canadians in the United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), pp. 132-133.

retention of their culture and large families. This philosophy and this social phenomenon they have brought with them to the United States. In fact there is a belt extending from New York across the Canadian frontier throughout the province of Quebec and the other areas previously mentioned where these people live, work, and grow stronger and more numerous day by day.

The migrations of the French Canadians to this country go back as far as 1623. The earliest settlers located on Manhattan, in Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland, and Rhode Island. The struggle for survival in Canada and the lure of better-paying jobs across the frontier have been the chief incentives to migration during recent years. Most of them have come from St. Hyacinthe, Trois Rivieres, Rimouski, Belle Chasse, and la Beauce, although many have come from other areas.⁶ The greatest influx took place between 1860 and 1890.

In the United States, the French Canadians gravitate to the larger urban communities and seek opportunities as semiskilled workers in manufacturing.⁷ In 1910, over 35 per cent of the immigrant Canadian French could be classed as semiskilled workers, and the ratio remains about the same today. Some continue to farm, some enter the professions, some are wholesale and retail dealers, proprietors, and other kindred groups; but for the most part these latter belong to the second and third generations.

The life of the Canadian Frenchman centers chiefly around his parish and his home. The family is a strong cohesive unit, and this fact has permitted the French groups to survive and grow in this country. Next to the family as a unifying influence is the church, modeled on that of Brittany and Normandy. The home and church influences permeate their literature and their thinking. Schools, too, have a unifying effect. Language and culture have been stressed as parts of the program of survival, and these have been carried forward by French parochial schools, colleges, and other educational institutions, for the Frenchman has feared entrusting his children to the teaching of "strangers." The press, too, has been one of the great vehicles of group unity and cohesion.

Some associations that bind the French-Canadian population both here and in Canada into a united people are the *Societe Lafayette*, the *Societe Jacques Cartier*, *l'Union Saint-Jean Baptiste d'Amerique*, and the *Legion Franco-Americaine*.

⁶ See *The Annals*, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁷ See Truesdell, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

Inter-American Relationships

"Since 1918, immigration from Canada to the United States has practically ceased. However, relationships have been maintained through societies that have a membership in both countries. For instance, *La Societe des Artisans Canadiens-Français*, whose head office is in Montreal, and *La Societe de l'Assomption*, with its home office in Moncton, have many chapters in New England. On the other hand, the *Association Canado-Americaine*, with headquarters in Manchester, has one third of its members in the province of Quebec. All groups meet in general conventions and carry on an interchange of visits. French-Canadian newspapers and books are read by Franco-Americans. Lecturers from French Canada are invited to the United States. Relatives visit one another. Many Franco-American parents send their children, boys and girls, to the colleges and convents of Quebec. In substance, relations are of a cultural nature, economical, political, and social ties being negligible."⁸

The Present and a Look Ahead

The attitude of these people toward the war is one of fullest support to the Allied and American cause. A large number of French Canadians in the army during World War I and World War II would indicate that their loyalty amounts to enthusiastic support. Like most bilingual people in the United States, the French Americans believe that one of the effects of the war will be the teaching in American schools of more modern languages, the unilingual attitude of the past having failed to provide our soldiers with a knowledge of languages necessary to conduct the war.⁹

What the future trend of the Canadian migration to this country may be is impossible to tell. It is possible that, with Canada undergoing an industrial revolution during the present war, the French Canadians in this country may find a new opportunity beckoning them in the land from which they migrated. It is equally possible that the continued growth of the Anglo-Saxon group will cause the migrations of the French to continue in the future. Whichever occurs, there are signs that the French Canadians will find it harder and harder with the passing of years to maintain their cultural and racial unity in this country.

⁸ From a letter of June 23, 1944, from Adolphe Robert, president general of the *Association Canado-Americaine*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

B. LATIN AMERICANS

QUINCY GUY BURRIS

In 1940 the people of Spanish mother tongue in this country numbered 1,861,400.¹ Though they speak a common language, hold a common faith, enjoy a common economic level, and resent in common the racial discrimination sporadically leveled against them, they are by no means one people. In their origins, in their geographical distribution, in their length of residence here, and in their histories they present so heterogeneous a front that no honest discussion of their status as a minority can ignore any of these facets.

Some 428,360 are foreign born. The 8 per cent of these who, according to the census of 1930, came from Spain have no place in this discussion. Another 5 per cent represents the immigration from South and Central America and the West Indies. The remainder, reckoned in 1943² as 421,165, came from Mexico.³ Those born in this country of foreign or mixed parentage, some 714,060, must be regarded as the children of less recent immigrants, likewise preponderantly from Mexico. A third class of 718,980 were born in this country of native parentage. Unlike the first groups, this group falls into two large and widely separated phylons: the children of the third or of some earlier generation of Mexican immigrants constitute one; the other comprises the descendants of those whom the conquistadors left here.

These people are widely dispersed through the United States. In groups of 2,000 and more they live and work in twenty-eight states. In eleven states they are found in areas of heavy concentration: Texas, 738,440; California, 416,140; New Mexico, 221,740; New York,⁴ 129,260; Arizona, 101,880; Colorado, 92,540; Florida, 25,100; Illinois, 23,940; Kansas, 13,060; Michigan, 11,860; and Pennsylvania, 7,360.

¹ *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, Series P-15, No. 1, June 9, 1942. These round numbers were arrived at by the tabulation of returns from a 5 per cent cross section of the population enumerated in the 1940 census. The margin of error is computed to be less than 10 per cent. Various unofficial estimates put the total number much higher—some as high as 4,000,000.

² United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Alien Registration Division, *Registered Aliens Born in Mexico Classified by State of Residence*, June 30, 1943, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

³ No account is given here of the seasonal influx of agricultural workers from Mexico.

⁴ Of this total for New York, 45,973 are Puerto Ricans, of whom 44,908 live and work in New York City.

In the eastern and midwestern states, they have congregated in large colonies in the cities, preserved their language, and presented a solid ethnic front to the world. Many of these people work in the mechanic trades. In the Southwest and on the Pacific coast, however, they lie dispersed in valleys given to agriculture and stock-raising, though they are found in considerable numbers in San Antonio, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Five states, Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, account for 1,570,740, or 85 per cent, of the total Latin-American population. So heavy a preponderance may be explained at once by the fact that, during the decade from 1921-1930, immigrants poured into these states in a tide unequaled before or since. It is reasonable to suppose that, on so extended a border, many crossed into this country without troubling to declare their entry.

This explanation, however, cannot stand without being qualified. The tide of immigrants flowed into Texas, California, and Arizona in overwhelming numbers. In New Mexico, a poor state, and in Colorado, which lies 250 miles north of the border, immigration was slight even in the peak years. The contact of older generations of Spanish-speaking residents with the few immigrants who came to these states was charged with mutual dislike and bore fruit in a distinction: Those who claimed descent from the conquistadors called themselves Spanish Americans and looked with scorn upon the newcomers. Actually, many of the Spanish Americans are of Spanish and Indian blood. So are the Mexicans, with perhaps a little admixture of darker blood somewhere in their chemistry. However trivial this demarcation may appear to be, it is a persistent one, and one which we must take into account from this point on.

The stream of Mexican immigration is young. From its beginning in 1848, shortly after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, it mounted steadily until, fattened by the cheap labor markets of railroads, ranchers, cotton plantations, sugar-beet fields, and pecan shelling, the decade from 1921-1930 showed a total of 459,287 immigrants. Since then it has shrunk to a mere trickle. Almost all of these migrants were laborers.⁵ In California they settled thickly in agricultural and stock-raising valleys, though some drifted to the cities. In both places their life was lowly—mining, sheepherding, agricultural work, and some mechanical work in the cities. In Arizona they followed a similar pattern. In Texas they spread into all but sixteen

⁵ In the years following the Mexican Rebellion of 1911, a good many Mexican families of a higher economic level migrated to this country.

counties, eking out an existence by picking cotton, shelling pecans, and harvesting sugar beets. Their presence in Texas has made one of the ugliest scenes in the theater of cheap labor.

The stream that lodged the children of the conquistadors in the Southwest and on the coast has long since dried up. The story of the settlement of the territories in the Southwest and California by the clergy and the military together is too familiar to need recounting here. Oñate brought 140 people with him in 1598—eighty armored, russet-bearded, blue-eyed soldiers of Spain, their servants, and a few others. There were not many women in the party. In 1695 Padre Farfan brought seventy families from Mexico to refound the razed village of Santa Cruz, in New Mexico.

The Spaniards, with princely grants of land from the king's viceroy, brought with them the economic and land system of the *encomienda*, a lordly system in which the lord of a tract of land controlled the people on it. Presently the people on the grant found themselves in debt to the land-holder, and the system of patron-peon arose. This peonage was based on debt. The patron controlled the land and owned it. Likewise, he owned and controlled vast numbers of people. If it be asked what people, the answer is simple: children born out of wedlock were looked upon kindly. Indeed, the land-grant holders encouraged illegitimate births. The population flourished. In 1804 the population of *Nuevo Mejico* was computed at 39,797 people distributed in three parishes, twenty-six pueblos, and nineteen missions. In 1827, Antonio Narvona reported it as 43,439, and a report of 1840 places it at 55,403.⁶ Today more than 220,000 New Mexicans count the conquistadors among the *lustres* of their ancestry.

In 1848 the same treaty that started Mexican immigration opened the Southwest to the Anglos from the eastern states. Shrewd-eyed, money-minded, land-hungry, and aggressive, they filed into the country in their wagons. The patron retreated, selling his lands for taxes, losing them in litigation, wrapping his shrunken holdings about him. In 1867 the Peonage Law gave the peon a freedom he did not know how to value. His one-time patron still held to his lands and his houses and met the Anglo with hauteur. The peon, landless, was left to his own devices, and in devices outside his dependence on the patron he was and has always been bankrupt. Ultimately he too retreated before the Anglos, took up his residence in the mountainous

⁶ Figures taken from *Noticias Historicas y Estadisticas de la Antigua Provincia del Nuevo Mejico*, compiled by José Augustin de Escudero and published in Mexico, June 22, 1849.

northern part of the state, and settled down in bewilderment to cultivate his green valleys by age-old methods. There he sires a large family, speaks a corrupt and shrinking Spanish, lives in a faded dream of ancestral splendor, and dies too young. His poverty deepens. Memories of the patron-peon system color his view of the nation's democratic processes. To him, an elected official is not a public servant; he is a dispenser of patronage. Every new hardship he greets with a shrug. "*Dios lo quiere.*"

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

These diverse groups, the Mexican immigrants and their children on the one hand and the Spanish Americans on the other, sundered as they are by mutual dislike, nevertheless share certain traits and conditions which draw them together. Certain of these have already been enumerated: language, Catholicism, poverty, a resentment of racial discrimination. There are others.

Though many, out of confusion and want of understanding, do not exercise their rights as citizens and are in no real sense parts of the nation, they are not without organizations intended to correct their shortcomings: In 1929, at Harlingen, Texas, Judge J. T. Canales and some associates set in motion a plan to stir in Latin Americans a knowledge of and a confidence in their status as American citizens. Though prior efforts to achieve this end had met with failure, this one proved to be the nucleus of a movement that swept over all the Southwest and that ultimately took shape in the League of United Latin-American Citizens, with chapters in Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California. The basic purpose of this organization is to Americanize the Latin American. Three of the programs set afoot in this common purpose deserve pointed mention: (1) to urge the necessity of learning and using English; (2) to encourage the development of loyal Americans; (3) to inform an already blindly loyal people in the principles and ideals implicit in American citizenship. The league promises much in the intricate process of drawing the Latin American from his retirement into the full stream of participation in American life.

Contributions to American Life

If ignorance, poverty, and the bent back of labor were all that Latin Americans have brought to the United States, their contribution to American life would be small indeed. With the first puny expedition into the new land, however, came men of understanding, culti-

vated men, men of vision. And they have continued to come. With them they brought the architecture of old Spain. Wherever the friars settled, there rose the cloisters and arcades reminiscent of Moorish buildings. Transplanted from Spain to Mexico and again from Mexico to this country, the Spanish colonial style of architecture distinguishes the Southwest and California with grilled windows, tiled floors, *portales*, and occasional balconies. Some of the earlier ranch houses are fashioned in what is called the Spanish Ranch manner, though in New Mexico much recent public and private building has followed the pueblo pattern and lines.

In the Southwest, likewise, the melancholy that pervades even the gayest of Latin-American music haunts the ear. Some of the songs have been broadcast repeatedly on national radio systems.⁷ Dances such as the *varsouviana* and the *raspals* feature in the social dancing of the Southwest and have been introduced in the East.

The painting of Latin-American artists such as the muralist, Diego Rivera, and his school, has exerted a powerful influence upon art and artists in the United States.

The litigation that clouded the titles of land grants for nearly seventy-five years has added to the legal knowledge of land-grant procedure. We are indebted as well to the Latin Americans for some knowledge of the law as it concerns mining rights, the property rights of women,⁸ and water rights as they concern streams. Indeed, along with this last we have learned something of irrigation rights and procedures. The Southwest has treasured its water by erecting legal defenses. The Latin Americans were before us in this as in other matters.

Our cattle country lore stems from long Latin-American experience with cattle on the ranges of the Southwest, for the Latin Americans bred and herded cattle here for generations before the appearance of the Anglos. Indeed, American English, which borrows freely whatever it finds useful from other languages, has appropriated much of the Spanish vocabulary pertinent to cattle management: *corral*, *lariat*, *chaps*, *rodeo* are only a sampling of such words. Others of a different sort have been taken as well: *patio*, *siesta*, *rio*, *adios*, *arroyo*, *coyote*, and *acequia*, among others.

The history of Latin Americans in this country is opulent in romance and the legendry of early times—a legendry only now, after

⁷ Much music and many dances recently popular in this country have come here because of the heightened friendship of Latin America and the United States.

⁸ Among Spanish-American heirs, daughters and sons share alike.

generations of tale-telling by word of mouth, being written down. A great many writers, among whom J. Frank Dobie, of the University of Texas, is perhaps the best known, have mined and are mining these deposits of folk tale and early romance. Even a partial roll of these writers would be too long for inclusion here.

Though it is hardly a new thing in itself, the Latin American's emphasis upon solidarity in the family is worth mention among his contributions to a society that seems at times bent on forgetting such unity. Similarly, his passionate attachment to the land deserves notice. Cold analysis of conditions among these people in the Southwest may lead critics to observe, as they have done, that the Latin Americans are attached to the land only because they are too poor to leave it. Whatever the cause, the attachment exists and must be reckoned among their virtues as a contribution.

Beside the contributions some other peoples have made to the multi-faceted culture of America, the sum of Latin-American contribution is not great. Nevertheless, it pervades the immense reaches of the Southwest, where it is made the more conspicuous by the absence, until recent years, of any other contribution comparable in power and extent.

Impact of World War II

Despite the attempts of misguided police and an irresponsible press to fasten a charge of criminal inclination upon an entire people, as represented by a few essentially harmless Mexican youths dressed in eccentric suits, and despite attempts to fasten upon the "Zoot-suiters" a connection with the program of Sinarquism in this country,⁹ Latin Americans must be regarded as loyal citizens.¹⁰ World War II is not the first war they have helped us to fight. In 1898 their names studded the rolls of the Rough Riders against Spain. During the first World War the meager population of the Southwest gave heavily of its Spanish men. Casualty lists from France were sonorous with Spanish names. In World War II, 250,000 Spanish-speaking American soldiers served in every corner of the globe to which the war penetrated. One out of every four men on Bataan Peninsula was a Latin American from New Mexico.

⁹ Carey McWilliams, "The Zoot-Suit Riots," *The New Republic*, CVIII (June 21, 1943), pp. 818-820; "Los Angeles Pachuco Gangs," *The New Republic*, CVII (January 18, 1943), pp. 76-77.

¹⁰ Enrique L. Picardo, "Sinarquism in the United States," *The New Republic*, CIX (July 26, 1943), pp. 97-102.

In certain respects, however, the impact of the second World War is destined to work a change in the life of the Latin American in the United States. War-born emphasis upon the principle of equality among us has thrown a searching light upon many of the inequalities to be found in our midst. It has awakened the conscience of America to the presence of depressed minorities in this country, the Latin Americans among them. Our program of friendship with Latin America has raised the question of how well we had done by the minorities who live here.

Moreover, the Latin-American youth, drawn from his quiet village by the draft, trained, and shipped to the distant reaches of the earth, will not willingly return to the cramped outlook of his village. Neither will he submit meekly to the discrimination¹¹ that has hampered him in the past. His horizon has stretched. He has seen the earth and judged it. He knows his citizenship in this democracy, and it will be strange indeed if we do not hear his voice asking for a fuller part in the affairs of his nation.

Problems of Intercultural Education

Before any program of intercultural education can be contemplated, Spanish Americans must be educated in American values. Before they can become a link between the Americas, they must be brought flush with the civilization in which they live.

The difficulties of educating the people of this minority to full participation in the affairs of the nation are bewildering in their number and dimensions. Their present status is a vicious downward spiral of ignorance, apathy, poverty, squalor, antiquated agricultural methods, badly balanced diets, shrinking and impoverished fields, resentment against discrimination, lack of confidence rooted in a feeling of inferiority, and exploitation by their own political leaders. They are apathetic because of their diet; because of their apathy they neglect their crops. Every phase entails another. Where to begin?

Their children, taught to speak Spanish from the cradle, do not flourish in schools where the medium of instruction is fixed by law as English. They find themselves from one to three years behind English-speaking pupils in comprehension and achievement. From the fifth grade on they quit in numbers every year. If they persist through high school and college, even then they face the question of

¹¹ Racial discrimination in Texas has barred Latin Americans from restaurants, theaters, and public recreations. In some sections they must attend schools set aside for them.

getting jobs worthy of their education. Many county school systems will not employ a skilled Spanish American even for the teaching of Spanish. It is no great wonder that they go back to their villages discouraged, there to forget what they knew in the apathy of rural life.

So far as the education of their children goes, the chief barrier is the fact that schools and curricula too often and too consistently take no cognizance of the lingual obstacle these children must meet. Instruction which has proved successful in the East or Middle West fails here. The failure of the children cannot be charged to natural stupidity, racial worthlessness, or biological inferiority. These explanations are too facile; they break down under scientific scrutiny. Poorly qualified teachers and teacher turnover are better explanations.

Experiment and research in the adjustment of curricula and instruction to the needs of these children are not wanting. Colleges and schools of the Southwest teem with ideas and discussion. In Texas, Professor H. T. Manuel of the University of Texas has long been engaged in investigation of nonlingual intelligence tests for Latin-American children. These tests are themselves being tested, and the results are to be published. Under the auspices of the University of Texas and the State Department of Education, Dr. Wilson Little has conducted an Administrative Study of Children of Latin-American Descent in Texas.

In New Mexico, Professor L. S. Tireman of the University of New Mexico has conducted control schools at Nambé and at San José, schools that reached out among the surrounding people to gather information and to make the school the focus of intelligent effort for the whole community. Dr. Michel Pijoan and others have conducted experiments in dietetics and instruction at Taos. Professor Antonio Rebolledo, of New Mexico Highlands University, has reached numbers of the Spanish-American people with the publication of his *Amanecer*, a magazine for schools with a vocabulary based on an actual word-count of the Spanish vocabulary in northeastern New Mexico. During the summer of 1943, at the same university, the writer directed an Institute of the Air under the auspices of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs. Twenty Latin-American schoolteachers from the northern counties of the state were brought together with consultants in sanitation, health, sociology, and many other fields. What we learned there Mr. Ramon Sender distilled into thirty discourses in Spanish for broadcasting. During the winter the

schoolteachers conducted listening centers in their schools. The discourses were broadcast to as many as a thousand people attending the centers. During the summer of 1944, the writer directed an investigation and experiment in English in rural New Mexico, also under the auspices of the Coördinator.

No account of what has been and is being done in New Mexico toward the solution of these problems would be complete without mention of the School of Inter-American Affairs, housed in the University of New Mexico and directed by Dr. Joaquin Ortega. Not only has this organization published important treatises on the Latin-American minority, but it has also encouraged the presentation of programs for rural improvements and helped to finance them. It goes without saying that the educators in California, Arizona, and Colorado are equally awake to the problem and at work on it.

The plight of the Latin-American minority in the United States is too complex to admit of an easy solution. It will not be bettered in a few months. It will take years. We have made a beginning.

C. FILIPINO AMERICANS

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

Filipinos began to migrate in significant numbers first to the Territory of Hawaii about 1906 and then to the mainland of the United States after the close of World War I. The sugar planters of Hawaii, ever on the lookout for supplies of "cheap labor," entered into arrangements with steamship companies to bring Filipino laborers to the Islands in slowly increasing numbers from 1906 to 1920. Beginning in 1920, the planters experienced increasing difficulty with Japanese laborers, and in 1924 the latter were excluded from entry to the United States (and hence to the Territory of Hawaii). Thus, during this period, Filipino immigration increased considerably. From 1925 to 1930 there occurred a large influx of Filipinos into Hawaii. The census of 1930 showed a total of 63,052 Filipinos in Hawaii and a total of 45,208 on the mainland. The census of 1940 gave the Filipino population of Hawaii as 52,569, and that of the mainland as 45,563. A definite decrease in numbers had begun in Hawaii, due to the depression, while the Filipinos on the mainland managed to hold their own.

Since 1930 the immigration movement has been greatly slowed down, while at the same time emigration of Filipinos developed in considerable proportions. Therefore, Filipinos have come to Hawaii and the mainland chiefly during the 1920-1930 decade, with the

highest points being reached during the latter half of the decade. The decline since 1930, due to the depression, will remain permanent, for in 1935, when the Philippines became a commonwealth, the immigration of Filipinos to Hawaii and to the mainland was limited to fifty a year. According to the plans for the establishment of the independent commonwealth, the Philippines were to become a free republic in 1946 and to be given an immigration quota of 100 a year.¹ This arrangement would have put the Filipinos on an immigration quota basis, but it made no provision for Filipino immigrants in the United States to become naturalized citizens.

The causes of Filipino immigration to Hawaii were nearly all economic. The urge for wages that were distinctly higher than in the Philippines was the chief factor. The desire of plantation owners and operators in Hawaii for "cheap labor" was a concomitant primary cause.

Migration to the mainland has taken place extensively on an economic basis. Perhaps two thirds of the Filipino young men have come because of the lure of rural work, and partly because of city jobs and the glamour of urban life. A considerable number have migrated to the mainland in order to get a high-school and college education. This number, a minority of Filipino immigrants, declined greatly during the economic depression. Many of the city workers have been school attendants. As far as their economic resources go, numerous Filipinos have shown ambition, enthusiasm, and persistence in seeking an education in the United States.

Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation

The places of settlement of Filipino immigrants have been plantation communities of Hawaii, agricultural communities in the Pacific coast states, and the larger cities of the United States, not only on the Pacific coast but also east of the Rockies, where there are fair-sized Filipino communities, particularly in Chicago, New York, and Washington, D. C. Many Filipino immigrants do not become permanently settled because they are so widely subject to the fluctuating conditions of migratory labor. Moreover, nearly all have come with the idea of returning to the Islands. Their lack of home life and the absence of Filipino women also account for lack of permanent settlements.

Often their community life takes the form of a labor camp, as in

¹ An exception to these quotas is the arrangement that may be made with the Secretary of the Interior of the United States to admit Filipinos to work in Hawaii under contract conditions.

Hawaii and in agricultural regions on the Pacific coast. Sometimes they work for a labor contractor of their own racial group and room and board together in dormitories or bare halls. In cities, they live in boarding and rooming houses. In the larger centers—for example, Los Angeles, where as many as six thousand have resided—they develop a “little Manila” which is largely a downtown congregating center with a few Philippine stores and clubrooms as a nucleus. On the Pacific coast there has been a considerable movement of Filipinos into rural districts during the spring months. As the harvesting ends in the fall, a return to the cities occurs. Thus, the Filipino population of these cities fluctuates greatly and is largest in the winter.

The ratio between the sexes is important. The population figures for 1940 show that the males outnumbered the females about 14 to 1. This unbalanced ratio creates many social problems relating to marriage, recreation, and the like. Such disproportion suggests a number of problems. In labor camps only young men live for months. The great preponderance of males and the extensive lack of family life not only further migratoriness but promote restlessness, instability of personality, and abnormal social life. Despite these difficulties, the Filipino immigrant has maintained a relatively high standard of morals.

The age range of Filipino immigrants is also important. For the most part they were young men between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five when they came. As the years have come and gone the age level has correspondingly advanced, for few young persons (or older, for that matter) have immigrated during the past fifteen years.

In addition to lack of women, the life of the Filipino immigrant is decidedly abnormal because of the small number of children, the low percentage of persons of middle life, and the absence of older people. Although all these factors mean absence of social restraints, the behavior record of this group of immigrants as a whole is good.

Occupations. On the mainland,² the wages of the Filipinos vary greatly. On the Pacific coast, where the large majority are found, the leading forms of employment in the cities are represented by cooks and dishwashers, janitors, bellhops, and elevator boys. Housework and hotel work, however, are not normal or natural for a Filipino boy. He has done this work because there was little else available to him in the city. At first he lived on enthusiasm and hopes of better days. Then he grew disillusioned. His get-rich plans went astray. In the depression period which began in 1930 he sometimes found himself

² For discussion of the Filipino in Hawaii, see Chapter XI, D, “Hawaiian Minority Groups.”

among the first to be "fired," because he was a "foreigner." With the advent of defense and war industries, he found his occupational opportunities somewhat more varied and his wages increased, but a sense of insecurity was still uppermost in his mind.

Agriculture has been his other main center of activity, particularly in California and Washington. He has worked directly for a labor boss of his own race and has lived "in either dilapidated houses and barns or in large buildings which remind one of hastily constructed military barracks."³

The types of farm work are largely unskilled. He competes chiefly with the white casual laborer. "In the summer and fall he harvests fruit, beans, lettuce, and tomatoes. In the winter he goes south and works in the oranges, olives, and other products of the soil." Usually his services are arranged for through the Filipino labor contractor, who usually deducts a liberal percentage from his wages, but who in turn furnishes him with rice and other cheap foods and simple rooming quarters for \$1.50 or more a day. American growers or farmers usually speak highly of the Filipino. Through the Filipino contractor, he may be employed in small or large numbers, and for short periods or for whole seasons. He "works far better" than does the white casual laborer, or most people of other racial groups. "Since Filipinos are of a very slight build, they are unsuited to certain types of work which have fallen to their lot. For instance, they find it hard, when they pick fruit, to carry the heavy orchard ladders."⁴ Many Filipinos have been accustomed to go to Alaska to work in the salmon canneries in the summers. All the problems of migratory labor are theirs.

Housing conditions are often bad. While improvements have been made in recent years in Hawaii, on the mainland the Filipino rural laborers sometimes live in a made-over barn, a renovated house, or a shed. In order to make every penny go as far as possible, several young men will occupy the same room. A lack of adequate and varied food is also serious. The difference between the climate conditions of the semitropical Philippines and of the North Temperate Zone creates special adjustment problems in clothing and in housing.

Recreation. The leisure-time problems of the Filipino immigrant are legion. In Hawaii, an attempt is made in some of the plantation camps to enable the Filipinos to use their spare time constructively.

³ Donald E. Anthony, "Filipino Labor in Central America," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVI, p. 155.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

In the rural camps on the mainland, spare hours are often whiled away in almost idle fashion. In the cities, the poolroom, the motion-picture show, and the dance halls are favorite gathering places. Barred from normal social life, the "taxi" dance hall enables the Filipino young men to dance with American girls, usually at ten cents a dance.⁵ Poolrooms occupy a great deal of the leisure time of the Filipinos. Prize fights in which Filipino lightweight boxers participate draw a large attendance of Filipino young men.

A number of religious groups, Catholic and Protestant, offer some of the Filipinos an activity program and clubrooms. Filipinos have a number of social clubs and related organizations which provide a helpful atmosphere.

Education. Educationally the Filipinos experience a variety of problems. Since the majority are without families, Filipino children are few and scattered. They are not segregated and constitute no problem.

Among that minority of Filipinos who are educationally minded, there are many who attend adult evening classes. Sometimes they drop out of school entirely for a period of time in order to pay bills and to save a little money, and then they continue with their school-work. Many have shown great and commendable persistence in seeking an education. A few have won the degree of doctor of philosophy in an American university.

Filipino students have had special hardships. The economic problem has been very real. Except for a small percentage who came in the twenties on government fellowships or who have had financial support from parents, the rank and file have had to earn all their own living as they went along. Some have worked long hours in cafes, private homes, and fraternity houses; others have been forced out of school for months at a time in order to accumulate a little money. Another difficulty that some have faced is inadequate preparation in the Philippines. Many have not found it easy to qualify as successful students because of weak secondary school preparation. As a result, they have felt themselves discriminated against by teachers. Still another problem is race prejudice. They have been classed with "Orientals" and thus subjected to all the prejudices that unthinking Americans often express. Although the Filipino dresses unusually

⁵ See Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932.

well, is always carefully groomed, and is youthful and optimistic, he has not been able to achieve the social status that he seeks and deserves.

In the educational dream of many, the goal is the laudable one of the professions, often the law. But the road is unusually long and difficult for the Filipino aspirant. Moreover, he has often suffered from lack of adequate educational advice. In lieu of this help, he has gone ahead on the basis of his own desires and without much guidance.

Fraternities in colleges are not open to Filipinos. The opportunities of fraternal organizations that provide any of the usual forms of insurance are usually not available to them. However, an informal group of Filipinos will stand by one another and share their slender resources with one who has "gone broke" or become ill. Unlimited sacrifices for themselves and for one another comprise the story of the Filipinos in the United States.

Filipinos love music. They entertain themselves for long hours with the guitar, mandolin, and flute. Little is offered them, however, in the United States, to develop their talents in this connection.

The press. The Filipino newspapers and magazines in the United States are a remarkable testimonial to the mental alertness and ambition of Filipinos. The combined newspaper-magazine has been the most common type and contains news items, editorials, signed articles, the writings of columnists, photographs, and advertising. The newspaper-magazine is a wise combination, for the clientele is not large enough to justify the publication of a regular newspaper or magazine as such.

The Filipino press in the United States is unique in that relatively many publications have been printed for a total population comparatively small in number.

In a few cases, the Filipino press in both Honolulu and on the mainland has reached relative importance. In these instances, an efficient business organization has been built up around one or a few capable leaders, and a continuous clientele has thereby been maintained.

Before the commonwealth was established, the Filipino press gave much attention to political matters, particularly to stirring calls to support the cause of independence. Later, however, the emphasis shifted to a discussion of the problems of the Japanese invasion and of the future republic. The Filipino's desire for expression is shown "in the crowded columns of newspapers which give room to the

'Poets Corner,' *Palenque de Opinion*, 'Students' Page,' and 'Our Readers' Views on Lively Topics.'"⁶

The situation could be greatly strengthened by the development of a coöperative press dedicated to meeting the needs of all Filipino immigrants. Such a press might be printed in more than one dialect, as well as in English, and supported by the joint participation of all newspaper-minded Filipino leaders and their followers. Such a plan also would help meet the problem that has arisen from the lack of advertisements.

Religion. In religion, a considerable percentage of the Filipinos come with Catholic backgrounds, and the remainder profess Protestantism. However, because of the migratory life that most must live, and because of the distance to religious centers of worship, there is a drifting away from religion. In the large cities, many live together in small groups without responding very much to religious appeals. Various enticements lead Filipino young men, the same as they do other persons, away from both religious and moral paths. Large numbers of Filipinos go unchurched and gradually lose their religious interests.

Intermarriage. Filipino racial intermarriages in the United States have attracted much attention. The peoples with whom the Filipino intermarries are Mexican, American, English, Mulatto, French, Greek, Jew, and Indian.⁷

A small number of states have prohibited the marriage of Filipinos and Caucasians. In 1935 California passed such a law, mentioning the Filipinos specifically by name. The courts, however, have not been in agreement about the racial ancestry of the Filipinos. Some have claimed that the Filipinos are Mongolian; others, not.⁸ As a matter of fact, Filipinos have several different racial and cultural backgrounds. They are chiefly Malayan, and many of their leaders are mixtures of Malayan with Chinese, Spanish, and other groups. In culture, they are partly Malayan, partly Spanish in religion, music, and traditions; also they have adopted the form of government of the United States. In education and public health they are following patterns derived from the United States.

Rural districts, with their conventional outlook, have objected to

⁶ Serafin E. Macaraig, *Social Problems*, p. 74. Manila, P. I.: The Educational Supply Company, 1929.

⁷ From data gathered by Benicio T. Catapusan, "Filipino Intermarriages in the United States."

⁸ For a careful account of the legal questions raised by Filipino intermarriages, see Nellie Foster, "Legal Status of Filipino Intermarriages."

Filipino-Caucasian unions. Differences in the traditions of Filipino husbands and of their wives give to each different outlooks. Relatives on each side "snub" the spouse representing the opposite side in the marriage. The children are in a difficult situation both within and without the home, being in trouble in the home if they adopt either of the two cultures or if they try to integrate the two. When the parents return to the Philippines, the "foreign" wife is often not well received by her husband's people, and the contacts with people of her race are few or not welcomed.

Problem of social adjustment. The assimilation of Filipinos in the United States has several phases. Few Filipinos came to be assimilated, much less to be Americanized. All have expected to return home after they have reached educational or economic goals. In this attempt, some have absorbed a great deal of the best phases of culture in the United States and have returned to the Philippines to become real leaders and to interpret the United States correctly.

In a study of Filipino students made some years ago, it was found that they were in the main neutral in their attitudes toward the United States, being neither strongly favorable nor unfavorable; perhaps they were confused. At least, they were proceeding slowly up the assimilation scale, due in part to the obstacles to assimilation which they faced at nearly every turn.

Some Filipinos, particularly during the depression years, have failed or have not been allowed to see life in the United States at its best.⁹ Some have slipped backward. Some have fallen into evil ways via the "taxi" dance hall and similar amusement institutions. When they have gone home, they have reported the worst that they have seen, and have shown in themselves the deleterious effects of their life in the United States. Some have gone back to the Islands resentful, poor advertisements of life in this country. Others, all too many, have grown increasingly discouraged in the United States. An uncrossable chasm has existed between them and American life at its best. They have lived in the United States but have not become a part of it; but they have felt the ill effects of life here.

At the worst, they have been the victims, innocent victims for the most part, of race riots. During a period beginning about 1927, they have suffered from anti-Filipino demonstrations. Although the causes are manifold, economic factors have been dominant. Sometimes

⁹ For a discussion of these problems of Filipinos, see Trinidad A. Rojo, "Social Maladjustments Among Filipinos in the United States"; D. F. Gonzalo, "Social Adjustments of Filipinos in America."

organized labor has taken this method of protesting against the presence of Filipino laborers, who, because of simpler standards of living, have been able to work for lower wages. Racial factors enter. Because he is judged an outsider, a foreigner, an Oriental, the Filipino has suffered from unreasonable race prejudice. The lack of Filipino girls and women leads the Filipino to turn his attention toward American girls. His ability to wear the latest styles of clothes captures their admiring glances. When these girls go to dances with Filipino young men, the ire of American men is aroused. In smaller cities, such a condition is considered intolerable.

Restrictive legislation. The restriction of Filipino immigration to the United States has been a troublesome problem. In 1924, Filipino immigrants were declared by Congress not to be aliens. The aim was to permit their continued entry into the United States, for aliens ineligible to citizenship cannot enter the United States as laborers. Since the Filipinos are not definitely Caucasian or Negroid, they are ineligible for citizenship. If not aliens and if not citizens, what are the Filipinos? Their status until the commonwealth of the Philippines was established was that of "wards." With the establishment of the commonwealth, immigrants from the Philippines became "aliens."

By 1927, considerable opposition had developed in California toward the Filipinos, partly on the grounds of labor competition. In 1930 a bill prohibiting further immigration of Filipinos was introduced in Congress. Thoughtful people believed that this was no decent way to treat the wards of the United States, and the bill did not receive favor. The labor and other opponents of Filipino immigration then threw their influence behind the movement for the independence of the Philippine Islands. This recognition was so strongly desired by the Filipinos that they did not object to the provision in the Independence Law limiting the immigration of Filipinos to the United States to fifty a year—virtual exclusion, though, as previously stated, when the commonwealth becomes a republic, the limit will be presumably one hundred a year. In June, 1944, a bill was before Congress which, if passed, would open naturalization privileges to Filipino immigrants.

Repatriation. The Filipino repatriation movement began to receive attention in the United States in 1934. It arose out of several factors: (1) the desire of certain regions in continental United States, particularly California, to cut down their relief problem in so far as it might be aggravated by a considerable number of unemployed Filipinos who would need public aid if the unemployment situation continued

long; (2) the desire of labor groups, especially those in California, to eliminate the competition that they felt came from the Filipinos; and (3) the desire of Filipinos, who had suffered great disappointment, disillusionment, and financial embarrassment, to return to their native Islands, now that a commonwealth of the Filipinos is certain.

All who feared labor competition from the industrious Filipinos joined in the movement looking toward repatriation of Filipino laborers. Many Filipinos, having become discouraged during the depression years and having expended their meager savings, were persuaded to petition Congress to return them to the Islands free of charge. Congress passed such a bill, and, on July 11, 1935, it was signed by the President.

The number of voluntary-at-government-expense repatriates has been unexpectedly small. Filipinos were slow to accept the free return to the Islands for a number of reasons. The improvement that developed in employment conditions in 1937 changed the attitudes of many Filipinos about returning home. The Filipino labor contractors pointed out to them that they were on the eve of receiving good wages at extended employment. A section of the original Repatriation Act read: "No Filipino who receives the benefits of this Act shall be entitled to return to continental United States." This prohibitory feature was distasteful to the majority of Filipinos. They did not want to banish themselves in this way from the United States. The Filipino has a high sense of pride. If he had to return, he wished to return to his homeland at his own, not at public, expense if possible.

With the invasion and capture of the Philippines in 1941 and 1942 by the Japanese, immigration of Filipinos to the United States ceased. As the Islands are again freed, the question of relationship to the United States will undoubtedly be reopened to assure security in the Pacific. Filipino immigrants already in the United States will slowly decrease in numbers. Once they get on their feet economically and occupationally, they will be able to make real contributions to life and culture in our country, and if given the opportunity, a considerable number will become citizens. It is probable that when peace has been restored, many will return to assist in the reconstruction of the Islands.

D. HAWAIIAN MINORITY GROUPS

KUM PUI LAI

Stretched out in a diagonal line from southeast to northwest, in the midst of the Pacific Ocean and north of the equator, the Hawaiian Islands, once isolated geographically and culturally from North America and the Orient but now the crossroads of the air and ocean, are playing a leading role in the drama of modern commerce and modern global warfare.

The "Hawaiians," although considered as indigenous people of Hawaii, were Polynesian migrants who reached the Islands most probably about two thousand years ago. Whence and why they came are still elusive topics and subjects of speculation for anthropologists and historians. However, researches by Dr. E. S. C. Handy, Dr. N. B. Emerson, and other social scientists indicate that they were originally from southeastern Asia, perhaps from India or Malay. It may be that the Polynesians used New Zealand, Australia, Papua, Borneo, Sumatra, and the Philippines as points of transfer on their oceanic trek from the Asiatic continent.

Forces responsible for the voyages of these settlers in their tiny canoes, aided only by the currents and constellations, most probably were the pressure of population and the lack of an adequate food supply in the original place of habitation. It might have been systematic colonization, with adventuresome explorers searching for a new paradise and then followed by permanent colonizers cultivating the new land. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Hawaiians had sailed thousands of miles from their old homes to settle on Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, and Lanai, the principal islands of the Hawaiian Archipelago.

The rediscovery of the Hawaiian Islands by white men was credited to Captain James Cook, who sighted the islands of Kauai and Oahu on January 18, 1778, about two years after the Declaration of Independence by the people of America. Historical research reveals that others probably had preceded Cook, among them Juan Gaetano (1555).

However, in addition to proclaiming the discovery, Captain James Cook recorded impressions of his visits to the "Sandwich Islands," named after his friend, the Earl of Sandwich, in the permanent form of two volumes entitled *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the*

Northern Hemisphere. In a skirmish with the natives, who had believed him to be a reincarnation of Lono, their God, Captain Cook was killed.

Later, other fur traders, whalers, and explorers visited Hawaii and aided in the acculturation of the natives. From the United States came Captains Robert Gray, John Kendrick, and Simon Metcalfe in the years 1789-1790, and from England, in 1792, Captain George Vancouver, who later introduced cattle to Hawaii from the west coast of America. Therefore, when the American Board of Missions, with headquarters at Boston, Massachusetts, sent missionaries in 1820 to the fertile fields in the Pacific Islands, their Christian ambassadors found the Hawaiians had already been exposed to western influences for over half a century and that they had a surprising knowledge of practices in a money economy. In fact, white men served as foreign advisers to royalty as early as the reign of King Kamehameha First (1795-1819) and received generous shares of land. John Young and Isaac Davis were two who gained great favor with King Kamehameha. Then, too, a decade prior to the Christian migration, the people witnessed a religious revolution. Accelerated by foreign contacts, their *kapu* system, including such prohibitions as women eating with men, lost its power. Thus, at the advent of the white ministers, the native Hawaiians were floundering around for a religious faith; during the ensuing decades they accepted the Christian religion most readily, and converts numbered thousands at some baptisms. The countryside, dotted with congregations, resembled revival meetings of the West, with churches organized in every little hamlet and village.

Several European nations had been eager to take over the Islands either through annexation or the inclusion of the Hawaiian Kingdom as part of a great world empire. Russians went to the extent of building a fortress in Waimea, Kauai, in 1817, while Great Britain negotiated to place Hawaii under her protection. Captain Lord George Paulet brought about a provisional cession of the Islands in 1843, but this was abrogated later.

At the same time political activities and economic pressure from American businessmen succeeded in drafting a far-reaching measure, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875, by which sugar and other commodities entered the United States free from duty. This gave impetus to the sugar industry, and within a few decades it ranked as the greatest in Hawaii. Then came annexation in 1898, and another territory was added to the United States.

As the pure Hawaiians constitute but 3.4 per cent of the total

population (1940 census), one cannot deal with the situation adequately without mentioning the part-Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans, as minority groups. The educational and political problems of these groups are alike in many respects, with but slight differences in each. Ever since the systematic organization of public education in 1840, the polyglot representatives of the several groups have been molded from a uniform educational pattern. Thus, facing the peoples of Hawaii, perhaps far more important issues than those of the revitalization of the natives and reorganization of the homesteading system, are the cultural conflicts of the second and third generations of the diverse racial groups, their relationship with the old generation, and the filling of the gap between the educational setup and the plantation system. In World War II, the schools attempted to supply as many semiskilled as skilled workers for Pearl Harbor and other war projects.

Although the population was decreased for several decades by the ravages of diseases such as syphilis, smallpox, and cholera, brought in through western contacts, the pure Hawaiians, as a race, are holding their own. The part-Hawaiians outnumbered them by 36,111 for the period ending June 30, 1940. In 1853, at which time the official census was taken, there were 71,019 Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians. As early as 1850, attempts were made to induce other Polynesian peoples, such as the Pitcairn Islanders and South Sea Islanders, Gilbert Islanders, and New Zealanders, to become Hawaiian subjects. However, racial rejuvenation schemes did not gather momentum but ended toward the end of the century, for the immigrants became undesirable citizens and laborers. Later, in 1896, the Chinese population grew by immigration to form 26 per cent of the total population. They were brought in for work on the sugar plantations and rice farms. Fear was expressed that they would amalgamate so rapidly as to outnumber and obliterate the Hawaiian people from the Islands.

In spite of efforts to keep the Hawaiians from growing smaller in numbers, they intermarried freely with the Chinese and other races. From 1866 to 1940, the pure Hawaiians decreased from 57,125 to 14,359; the part-Hawaiians increased during the same period from 1,640 to 50,470, with the largest percentage of increase since 1920. An analysis of marriage statistics over the past four years shows the very significant fact that there is not a single racial or national group in the entire Islands that does not have representatives who have married Hawaiians. It is therefore not surprising to find that for the period ending June 30, 1940, 3,249, or 34.11 per cent, of all the

children born in the Hawaiian Islands were of mixed racial ancestry.

Current topics of discussion in Hawaii involve issues evident in the passing of a community from a crucible of segregated races to a melting pot of cultures. With the large number of Caucasian servicemen and defense workers in the Islands during World War II, intermarriage was greatly accelerated. For example, for the year that ended June 30, 1943, according to Board of Health statistics, 2,084 Caucasian grooms selected 1,260 Caucasian brides, 447 Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, 139 Japanese, 60 Koreans, 58 Puerto Ricans, 53 Chinese, 48 Filipinos, and 19 of all others.

Among problems which overshadow those of the native Hawaiians are the coordination of the educational system with industry and defense, "ruralism" versus urbanization, race relations, and the inevitable formation of a neo-Hawaiian culture and its problems and adjustments.

Hawaii's political status as an integral part of the United States presupposes that certain problems such as Americanization and eventual statehood affect the relationship. Although the youth of Oriental parentage are far on the road to westernization, the heterogeneity of the population is one of the contended oppositions to statehood. Evidences show no extensive bloc voting by race, while the young Orientals often repledge and reaffirm their loyalty through conferences and expatriation, and volunteer eagerly for services in the United States armed forces. During the oncoming decades, political control will not be vested in the Americans of Japanese ancestry, as the uninformed public fear, but in the ever-increasing number of neo-Hawaiians whose ancestors constitute members of every race on the face of the earth.

To summarize, the problems of the native Hawaiians are being eclipsed and gradually minimized, owing to the synthesis of a neo-Hawaiian culture and the amalgamation of numerous races. Problems of great importance pertain to those of a new American-Hawaiian-Oriental race that gains expression through the medium of a hybrid civilization.

Part III

ACTIVITIES OF MINORITY GROUPS

CHAPTER XII

The Foreign-Language and Negro Press

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

The Foreign-Language Press

THE 1940 census indicates that of the 34,576,718 foreign white stock in the United States—11,419,138 of them foreign born—22,006,240 (3,356,160 not reported) recorded some language other than English as their mother tongue—that is, the “principal language spoken in the home” in their “earliest childhood.” This group was served by 1,092 newspapers and periodicals printed wholly or in part in a foreign language.¹ These newspapers and periodicals were printed in 39 foreign languages, if Esperanto, Carpatho-Russian, Croatian, and Serbian are included as separate languages.² Only 21 out of the 39 language groups had dailies; almost all of them had semiweeklies or weeklies. German (151), Spanish (142), Italian (117), Polish (78), Czech (61), Hungarian (57), and Yiddish (50) were the language groups having the largest number of publications; the Chinese had the largest number of dailies (11). (See Table XVI, page 649.) New York state had the largest number of foreign-language publications (287), followed by Illinois (137), Pennsylvania (89), California (69), Texas (64), Ohio (55), Massachusetts (54), and Michigan (50). Ten states (Alabama, Arkansas, Idaho,

¹ Yaroslav J. Chyz, “Number, Distribution and Circulation of the Foreign Language Press in the United States,” *Interpreter Releases*, XX, No. 37, Series C: Foreign Born in U. S. A., No. 11 (October 13, 1943), pp. 290-297.

² Esperanto is an artificial language. The Carpatho-Russian press is printed partly in Carpathian dialects of the Ukrainian language, partly in Russian. Croatian and Serbian publications use the same language but different alphabets; the former are printed in Latin letters, the latter in Cyrillic. Ladino is Spanish mixed with Hebrew and printed in Hebrew characters. In the past there have been publications in the United States in Hindustani, Punjabi, Persian, Tagalog (Philippines), and Turkish languages.

Kentucky, Mississippi, Montana, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Wyoming) had no foreign publications at all. New York City (237), Chicago (96), Pittsburgh (38), Cleveland (34), San Francisco (26), Los Angeles (25), and Detroit (22) were the cities having the largest number of foreign-language publications.

A considerable number of foreign-language publications are sponsored by fraternal, religious, cultural, political, or professional organizations and societies. Some deal exclusively with organizational topics and appear at monthly, bimonthly, or quarterly intervals; the majority, however, are regular weekly, semiweekly or daily newspapers, carrying general news and features, with only a part devoted to organizational matters. The extremes are represented by the *Hrvatski Svijet* (*Croatian World*), a four-page semiweekly paper published in New York City, using Lilliputian type and read by a few thousand Croatian steel workers, miners, lumberjacks, fishermen, and saloonkeepers scattered over the United States, and the *Staats-Zeitung*, a century-old German daily, housed in its own eight-story building, of which 50,000 copies are shipped to various sections of the United States on weekdays and 80,000 on Sunday.³

Unlike the small sheets, all the big papers are supported largely by advertising and utilize the services of some regular news agency, usually AP or UP. But what is even more important, many received part of their advertisement incomes and their news before World War II from government agencies in their home countries (the Italian Stefani Agency, the German Transocean News Service). The Jews have their own news service, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

Like each immigrant and minority group, each language group of papers has its own peculiarities. They are nearly all full of reports on their mutual aid societies and ever more of political and personal statements reflecting the crosscurrents of the problems of the particular immigrant group. The characterization in the *Fortune* article is apt: "To be a journal of opinion instead of a journal of information is a European compulsion no immigrant paper has been able to throw off."

There are several "chains" and publishing houses in the foreign-language field. The following are among those which own or control two or more publications: August Geringer & Sons (Czech), Martin Himler (Associated Hungarian Weeklies), Val. J. Peter (German),

³ "The Foreign-Language Press," *Fortune*, XXII (November, 1940), pp. 90 ff.

Worzalla Publishing Company (Polish), Augustin Lusinchi (French), and Ignacio E. Lozano (Spanish).

Some 200 publications, chiefly monthlies, are primarily religious or church organs, although some of them now and then comment on current events. Chyz estimates that 175 are devoted to group interests, fraternal activities, or some definite political ideology; about 100 are cultural publications, devoted to literature, science, or art; and another 75 are trade or professional journals and miscellaneous.

The average circulation of a foreign-language daily is about 20,000 and of a semiweekly or weekly, 10,000; but the number of readers is vastly larger. Chyz estimates that the grand total circulation figure for the foreign-language press in the United States is 6,695,700. "While a number of the foreign-language readers may take or subscribe to more than one publication, most of these publications are family newspapers or magazines and are read by two, three, or even more persons. They are read more carefully than are English language dailies and their influence is much deeper and more permanent."⁴ (For a statistical summary of the number, frequency, and circulation of the foreign-language press, see Table XVI, page 649.)

Uses and abuses of foreign-language press. The immigrant press serves the immigrant as a medium for maintaining contacts with nationals in different parts of America with whom he can no longer exchange the gossip of the day in his home village. By encouraging the immigrants to read, the press has made them more literate. By printing the news about America, the press has prepared the readers for American citizenship. Even the advertisement of American goods is an Americanizing influence. The millions of immigrants, who could not be reached until they had learned the English language, have been reached through their own languages. Thus the foreign-language press has been an educational agency without equal.

But the existence of this press has not been without its serious criticism. By its very nature, such a press tends to preserve the language and sustain the feelings that bind the immigrant to his home country. By keeping him in touch with the events at home, it evokes nationalistic and particularistic tendencies. It often creates an antipathy against American life. It is often misused by intellectuals and refugees on behalf of causes that are alien to America's interests. Even Americanization is sometimes deliberately combated in order that the newspaper may survive.

⁴ Chyz, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

Reviewing the changes of the last two decades, Wirth states: "Ever since the first World War the foreign-language press in the United States has been steadily declining. . . . Its potential public has shrunk in numbers because of the virtual cessation of recruitment from abroad and the assimilation of the immigrants remaining here. Prior to the War, the Nazi and Fascist governments, having discovered its uses as a propaganda medium, have in sundry and often devious ways given certain papers a new lease on life."⁵

The result was that, just as in World War I, the people and government of the United States in World War II suddenly became concerned about the foreign-language press. What was it telling its readers? By fostering cultural ties with the old world, was it undermining loyalties to the new? These questions appeared again after 1939, more pointed and more pressing than ever.

The second World War had deep repercussions in the foreign-language press.⁶ For one thing, the publications were weakened financially because their income from advertisement was diminished. First the steamship lines and then the foreign-exchange branches of the banks lost business because of the war and ceased to advertise. Then automobile, radio, refrigerator, and electric appliance advertisements disappeared or shrank as the products became scarce or subject to rationing. Furthermore, the financial support granted by most governments to immigrant publications supporting their policies ceased when the exiled governments could not gather enough funds for such purposes. Another serious factor was the cutting of the flow of old-country newspapers and magazines from which editors frequently reprinted articles, news items, short stories, and whole novels. Few newspapers could afford to pay special writers or translators for original material. Only newspapers published for those groups whose mother country had a government-in-exile or that were recognized as valuable instruments of propaganda by some agency procured original current material in their own language. Material provided by the Common Council for American Unity and by governmental agencies partially filled this serious gap.

But these material and technical hardships are nothing in comparison with difficulties in the ideological field. The immigrant press covers the whole scale of political differences characteristic of all immigrant

⁵ Louis Wirth, "Morale and Minority Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (November, 1941), pp. 421-422.

⁶ Yaroslav J. Chyz, "The War and the Foreign-Language Press," *Common Ground*, III (Spring, 1943), pp. 3-10, is the best available survey of this problem.

factions, with American political colorings and various religious views and beliefs in addition. The editors are also, naturally, more or less prejudiced in favor of their own group and their particular party affiliation inside that group. Many are in that fringe of our population where the word "we" means "we Poles" or "we Mexicans" instead of "we Americans." Thus many of them were suddenly placed in a position in which they were torn between their convictions and the adopted policy of their "home country" or of the United Nations at the moment.

This dilemma and some of the specific problems can be best shown by describing the situation faced by several groups of foreign-language papers.

Hungarian-American press. In general, the foreign-language newspaper mirrors the factionalism of a specific minority. Just before Pearl Harbor, Hungarian-American newspapers, read by many thousands of members of the Hungarian-American working classes, had been openly and strongly pro-German and anti-British in their editorials and in their presentation of news.⁷ An outstanding paper is *A Jó Pásztor (The Good Shepherd)*, which describes itself as "the largest Hungarian weekly newspaper in America" and has been published in Cleveland since 1920. In each issue it emphasized German victories and belittled the war efforts of the British and Russians. "The news [about German losses in Russia] is manufactured in the Soviet capital. The British sources are only anxious to increase this news which never corresponds to the truth," the paper said in its issue of September 19, 1941. "The American radio and news are completely in the service of the British and Moscovite propaganda." *The Good Shepherd* was especially angry about the "thick and thin ink coolies" and "the ink and typewriter coolies" who are Anglo-philis. "The American propaganda newspapers carefully hide from public opinion all events on which conclusions could be traced regarding barbaric cruelty surpassing all imagination that is used by the Russian beasts in this war." The Serb Chetniks, carrying on the fight against Hitler's troops of invasion, were called "bandits." The Hungarian middle-class press was also criticized as it "dares to print recently and more frequently and impudently the treacherous thought that they wish an unconditional victory for England."

Another newspaper that manifested a similar attitude was *Otthon*

⁷ "Hungarian Papers Here Split on War," *The New York Times* (December 7, 1941).

(*The Home*), "the oldest Hungarian newspaper in the central states," published in Chicago for thirty-three years. It expressed the view that Hitler's defeat was not sure; that only the sacrifice of millions of lives was certain. "It becomes more and more evident that when wisdom, cleverness, and foresight were distributed, the statesmen came too late if at all," the paper said. "Nobody should consider it revolutionary if we don't consider statesmen to be infallible, and especially if we don't accept as holy script what they declare about war aims, holy duties, and far-off possibilities of peace."

The Bridgeport Egyetertes (Concord), which represents a small group of Bridgeport Hungarian Nazis, followed about the same line as these papers. When the United States in the spring of 1942 declared war on Hungary, *Egyetertes* ran a perfunctory editorial urging its readers to help the American war effort. In another column on the same page it remarked, "The situation is no different from before, except that unnaturalized Hungarians must be more careful of what they say."⁸

The two big Hungarian dailies, *The Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* in New York and the *Szabadsag* in Cleveland, anti-Nazi in attitude, led a campaign against Hitler's American-American supporters. Many weeklies joined them in this effort.

The German-American press. Out of 178 German-language newspapers, only about a dozen were classed as outright pro-Nazi by the *Fortune* article published in 1940. Among them, in addition to those cited above, were such periodicals as the Portland *Nachrichten*, Taylor *Herald*, Waco (Texas) *Post*, Milwaukee *Deutsche Zeitung*—headed, of course, by Fritz Kuhn's *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* (*German Awakener and Observer*). The *Weckruf* was fanatically isolationist. American defense measures provoked only amusement. Since the sympathizers of this Nazi paper were mostly American citizens, its editors showed no worry about the antialien bill by stating: "No Bund member has any cause for alarm while the Constitution maintains its place." On July 4, 1940, a headline blared: "Administration incites Civil War!"—because Nazis had been barred from WPA.

The vehemence of the Nazi press must not obscure, however, the fact that about 20 per cent of all German papers are distinguished old-time publications (as *Florida-Echo* of Miami, Schenectady *Herold-Journal*, *Gross-Deutoner-Zeitung* of Ohio), which, like many Catho-

⁸ Joseph Bernstein and Paul Milton, *Action Against the Enemy's Mind*, p. 217. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1942.

lic German papers (as *Katholisches Wochenblatt* of Omaha), had no use for Hitler. The most militant anti-Nazi paper is *Neue Volkszeitung*, a Social-Democratic weekly of New York, edited by Gerhart Seger, a German flyer in World War I and a former Reichstag member, which influences the opinion of tens of thousands of the better-educated workingmen. However, both the violently pro-Nazi and anti-Nazi papers are a minority in the German-American press. The others, including the big German commercial press, exhibit a carefully calculated indifference. A survey of the German-language newspapers in America early in 1942 revealed that at least one fifth of them still displayed, "to put it mildly, divided allegiance."⁹ Although, after December 7, 1941, some of the pro-Nazi publications dropped out of sight, notably the *Deutsche Weckruf und Beobachter*, the Portland (Oregon) *Nachrichten*, and the Philadelphia *Herald*; others became more careful of their content. *The Hour*, however, also reported that as late as March 1942 the Buffalo *Aurora* and *Christliche Woche* remained "venomously anti-Semitic."¹⁰ By the fall of 1942, only eight had gone out of business because of federal action. Otherwise, only a few German newspapers with woefully small circulation are aggressively anti-Nazi. The bulk tried to sidetrack the issues of the war, which is difficult in any language, but particularly so in German.

The Italo-American press. The Italo-American press reaches a good portion of the 4,500,000 first- and second-generation Italians. Pro-Fascist weeklies were published mostly in the East (*Gaszetta del Massachusetts*, Boston, *L'Osservatore*, Philadelphia, *Corriere Siciliano*, New York). The most notorious Fascist paper was *Il Grido della Stirpe* (*The Cry of the Race*), whose subtitle admitted frankly that it was a "Journal of Fascist Propaganda." It featured violent anti-Semitic articles, damned "the heresy of racial tolerance," and ridiculed American democracy as "sentimentalism." Like the *Weckruf*, it preached that "true Americanism" is hatred of the British and that the "real fifth columnists" are the English and Anglophile Americans "enslaved by British gold."

On the other hand, there had long been about a dozen anti-Fascist Italian papers that reached some 50,000 people. For the most part, they were struggling liberal weeklies and monthlies, as *La Voce del*

⁹ "Steam from the Melting Pot," *Fortune* (September, 1942), p. 132.

¹⁰ *The Hour*, No. 130, March 21, 1942, p. 3. This was a mimeographed news service, 100 E. 42nd Street, New York, edited by Albert E. Kahn, co-author with Michael Sayers of *Sabotage!* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942.

Popolo of Detroit, the small Socialist weeklies of New York, as *Il Martello* and *La Barola*, and a liberal-democratic monthly, *Il Mondo* of New York.¹¹

In 1940, the Mazzini Society estimated that 80 per cent of the 120 Italian-language publications in the United States were then Fascist, 10 per cent were anti-Fascist, and the balance were neutral.¹² Subsequent studies seem to indicate, however, that, by and large, the avowed Fascist and anti-Fascist press was in a minority among the Italian-American language newspapers. But in their periodic statements of loyalty to the United States, one thing is, however, lacking in all the protestations: enthusiasm for America and its democracy. While the majority of the German-American press made an attempt to be noncommittal about Nazism, the Italo-American press was preponderantly pro-Fascist, and most Italian editors argued that it was perfectly possible to favor Fascism for Italy and democracy for America. Good examples are the two largest Italian dailies in the United States, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *Il Corriere d'America*. The former was owned by New York sand-and-gravel tycoon Generoso Pope, who was accused of hobnobbing with Fascist big shots, of employing Fascists on his editorial staffs, of printing pro-American editorials in English and pro-Mussolini editorials in Italian.¹³ He publicly expressed his embarrassment when Italy joined Hitler in the war and when Mussolini took up anti-Semitism. Avowed Fascists gradually disappeared from his papers, and his United States-born, United States-educated son Fortune, 24 years old, was given more and more editorial authority. The final turning point came in August, 1941, when Pope put his papers in the hands of the Institute of Public Relations, Inc. Soon thereafter Gene Rea, *Il Progresso's* number one reporter, went to a Montana internment camp and reported that Italian prisoners were most happy and excellently treated. But *Il Mundo* disbelieved Pope's "new-found loyalty" and challenged him to print his denunciation of Mussolini in his papers in Italian. Pope did so a couple of days later.

The United States government was forced, however, to divest Dominico Trombetta, who until December 13, 1941, edited and published *Il Grido della Stirpe*, of his United States citizenship on Sep-

¹¹ *Fortune*, *op. cit.*, p. 102, states that "most of the material on the Italian fifth column used (often without credit) in American publications has been taken from its English-language section."

¹² Mazzini Society (Press release of the Italian News Service), August 29, 1940.

¹³ "Americanization of Mr. Pope," *Time*, XXXVIII (September 22, 1941), p. 57.

tember 28, 1942; he was seized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a dangerous enemy alien. According to United States Attorney Harold M. Kennedy of the Eastern Federal District, he secured American citizenship "under false pretenses," printed the speeches of Mussolini, and "a great many of the articles published by (him) originated with the Ministry of Popular Culture of the Fascist Government."

With the fall of Fascism and the invasion of Italy, the formerly pro-Fascist press again modified its policy.^{13a}

The dilemmas facing other papers and periodicals. The general dilemmas confronting the editors of various foreign-language groups are not limited to the press we have discussed. For years, for instance, several Greek-American editors had defended the idea that Greece should be a democratic republic, opposing the return of the Greek monarchy to the throne as well as the semitotalitarian regime established under the king by the military dictator, General Metaxas. Then came the Italian attack upon Greece and the heroic struggle of the "evzones" in Epirus and Albania. The Greek-American editor knew that the heroic resistance was inspired by the old spirit of Thermopylae and Missolonghi and not so much by Metaxas. Yet, the English-language press made King George and General Metaxas national Greek heroes. The Greek struggle became, through American newspapers and official pronouncements of the United States government, identical with monarchy and dictatorship. Open denial would have meant undermining the sympathy American people felt for Greek heroism.

Furthermore, the Greek government-in-exile repudiated the ideals of the Greek republicans. But it is this government that was able to procure help from the United States and the United Nations. The Greek-American editor certainly had a difficult job in reconciling his ideals to the unity necessary for victory over Hitler.¹⁴

The Finns were faced with a similar problem. President Roosevelt's and Secretary Hull's statements at the start of the Russo-Finnish war made Finnish Americans proud of their kinsmen (with the exception of the few Finnish Communists who stuck to the Soviet puppet premier Kuusinen, the Quisling of that day). And then things changed. The Finns in 1943 were fighting the same foes as in 1939-1940; yet indirectly Finland had become America's enemy,

^{13a} See John Norman, "Repudiation of Fascism by the Italian-American Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, XXI (March, 1944), pp. 1-6.

¹⁴ Summarized from Chyz, *op. cit.*

since Russia had meanwhile changed allegiance from Hitler to us. What a puzzle to solve for the Finnish-American newspaper editor!

During the two decades between the World wars, Ukraine went through two government-made famines with a loss of two and four millions of its population. Part of it was subject to brutal "pacification" by the "punitive" squads of the Polish army and police, and later it endured the "scorched-earth" policy of modern war. Democratic Ukrainian Americans think that much of the suffering of the Ukrainian people could have been avoided if the Ukraine could have had an equal measure of autonomy beside or in some federation with its Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, and Slovak neighbors. But to advocate such a solution would have meant to antagonize several of the United Nations. Here, too, is a problem for editors!

The editors of the Polish- and Yugoslav-language press in America gained the favorable position of being able to bring some controversial questions into the open. Hitler's cruelty against their European brethren put them beyond suspicion of "Hitlerism," while the heroic stand of Draga Mihailovitch and other Yugoslav partisans did the same for many of their American kinsmen. This enabled the question of the postwar Polish-Soviet border to be openly discussed. But the Lithuanian-, the Estonian-, and the Latvian-American press were not so fortunate as were the Polish and Yugoslav. Their writings might have offended the Soviet Union. Therefore they had to "lay low" and keep quiet about their fears that their countries would be retained by the Russians. They propounded the extermination of Hitler, but were more or less afraid to speak their mind against Stalin. The burning issue of Palestine and its future is of utmost importance to the Yiddish, Hebrew, and English-Jewish press. Macedonians and Bulgarians have their unsettled problems, which have occupied many a column in their newspapers. Syrian independence belongs to the same category, as do also such questions as the remnants of feudalism in Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. The Mexican and South American mistrust of the "giant of the North" is often reflected in the Spanish-language press.

Communism and the foreign-language press. Many Americans suspect the "alien" press to be Communist. But the fact is that the church has a much more powerful hold on the foreign-language press than the Communists have ever had. The Catholic publications in this country, especially those of the Poles, Slovaks, and French, are more Catholic than are those of their brethren in France. Half of

the Norwegian and Danish papers are religious. The only big pro-Communist papers in foreign languages are the Yiddish *Freiheit* and the Russian *Russky Golos* (*Russian Voice*), both New York dailies with a combined paid circulation of 80,000. Altogether, out of more than 1,000 immigrant publications, hardly more than 30 are Communist, and these reach 300,000 readers at the most (less than 1 per cent of all the immigrants and their children). It is to be noted also that the American Communist Party has withdrawn official organs from the immigrant press and encourages instead "progressive" papers with Communist contents. Whatever the language, all Communist immigrant papers translate "the general line" from the English-language *Daily Worker*, which must have gone through untold mental contortions.

The picture of division would be incomplete without noting that among the Czechoslovaks in the United States there are only a few Communists; but these have been able to support two papers: Slovak *Ludový Denník* and Czech *Nová Doba*, published in Chicago. Until the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact in 1939, both papers tried hard to create the impression that they supported the anti-Nazi movement, and even proclaimed themselves to be the only real and dependable leaders in the struggle against Hitler. "Stop Hitler" was the most popular slogan of these papers at that time. Thereafter, they adopted a change in policy and became the most rabid adversaries of President Beneš and his followers, denouncing him as a willing and unprincipled tool of the British lords. With Hitler's attack on Russia in June, 1941, the editors of course changed their mind again about the movement for a free Czechoslovakia.

The Quisling press. In the spring of 1942, the government studied the question of putting restrictions on foreign-language newspapers and periodicals. A few of these, even while the United States was at war, openly flirted with sedition,¹⁵ as was proved by pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi sheets that turned up among the Croats, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Bulgarians, which represented the mentality of the Quislings of their native countries. A newspaper man who knows his Japan very well protested in *Editor & Publisher* against the continued publication of Japanese-language newspapers in the United States, pointing out the danger of secret communications through the 30,000 characters of the Japanese language; he also added that the great February 26, 1936, revolt in Tokyo was started by a signal in the

¹⁵ For a survey of some American seditious periodicals, see "Voices of Defeat," *Life*, XII (April 13, 1942), pp. 86-100.

classified columns of the *Tokyo Asahi*.¹⁶ He declared that one Pacific coast newspaper carried a straight report of General MacArthur's arrival in Australia in its English-language section, while its Japanese news hinted through the use of ideographs that the general had deserted his troops and fled to Australia.

The future of the foreign-language press. How to solve the problem of more than 1,600 foreign-language publications in America is a problem that perplexed the officials of both the Justice and War Departments. Army officials were reported in 1942 to favor suspension of publications in German, Italian, and Japanese and licensing of papers printed in any other foreign language. The Department of Justice, on the other hand, favored some system of general licensing which would make it possible to weed out undesirable periodicals without forcing all papers in languages of America's enemies to cease publication.¹⁷ The attorney-general's office pointed out that such publications as are not un-American are extremely useful in bridging the gap between the government and unnaturalized residents—as was proved by the department's experiences in alien registration, enemy alien identification, and surrender of contraband. Elimination of the foreign press might lead to unrest in certain areas; many aliens, loyal to America but not yet able to read or speak English, would lose all contact with policies of their adopted land; and the government would be deprived of a useful medium for gauging sentiment in regions populated largely by aliens.

The agitation by the emigré politicians was also noted in Washington. Parts of the foreign-language press carried on campaigns against regimes or peoples, thus stirring up ancient feuds and religious passions. Rivalries and disputes on the Vistula and the Danube were carried into communities of European origin that played conspicuous roles in America's war-time production. Foreign politicians used America's foreign-language press to bring pressure upon the United States government for or against policies or individuals in Europe, in anticipation of the peace settlements that were to come. Official efforts were made, therefore, from Washington to suspend for the duration the publication of statements that would incite division among Americans or residents of America of European descent. The foreign-language press was asked by the Office of War Information not to create dissension by arguing about future frontiers or emphasizing divisions among the Allies.

¹⁶ "A Present Danger," editorial, *Editor & Publisher*, LXXV (May 16, 1942), p. 20.

¹⁷ "What To Do with Foreign Press Puzzles Officials," *Advertising Age*, XIII (April 20, 1942), p. 25.

These plans, however, have not been too successful. On the whole, the foreign-language press agreed "on the vigorous prosecution of the war, realizing what an Axis victory would mean to all they stand for." But the editors "differ in the realm of postwar settlement." Chyz, in fact, concludes that "it is necessary, of course, to distinguish between controversies in the press that are fanned by groups and individuals whose aim is to create disunity, and those that reflect already existing honest differences of opinion. Most of the controversies fall into the second category and are worth general American attention." Furthermore, Chyz propounds (as an experienced publisher of a Ukrainian periodical, formerly at Scranton):

If the editors of the American foreign-language press could believe that the fate of the lands from which they and their readers came will not be decided by international intrigue and power politics but by the free will of their liberated peoples; if they could feel a real assurance that the United Nations are not committed to a preservation of empire or the perpetuation of the prewar political and social status quo; if they could present to their readers the blueprint of a world where peoples and nations will live freely next to each other and with each other . . . enjoying the same rights and responsibilities; if they could know that such a world is definitely and irrevocably the aim of the United States and the United Nations—then an overwhelming majority of them would become the most ardent apostles of "the gospel of American democracy" throughout the world.¹⁸

The point of view represented by Chyz is interesting but, in our opinion, based on a wrong premise. The United States need not apologize to its minorities for its international policies and even less for its aims. After all, the aims that ought to be of utmost importance to each foreign-language editor are the aims of the United States rather than the aims of the politicians and statesmen representing foreign factionalism. Surely, America's foreign-language press would be more useful to itself and to its readers if it would give up reiterating the never-settled old-world conflicts and devote itself to the concept that its readers, as American citizens, have given up their allegiance to the "old country" and have thereby assumed new obligations to the United States.

The Negro Press

In view of the social gulf separating the two so-called races in the United States, it is not surprising that most Americans were unaware until recently that there existed a powerful Negro press which for

¹⁸ Chyz, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

more than a century had been shaping and expressing the thought of colored people.

The Negro press is a mass press. It has been the most consistent champion of liberty, equality, and democracy in this country. It forever wars against disfranchisement, lynching, residential segregation, and educational inequality based on "race." While it is understandably critical of organized labor, it sponsors no antilabor newspaper. Leading Negro newspapers have Indian, Chinese, Japanese-American, and white columnists. In 1944 there were 210 Negro newspapers with a combined weekly circulation of about 2,000,000. Half of this total came from about twelve papers. The most widely circulated was *The Pittsburgh Courier* which sold 235,000 copies weekly in this country and 15,000 abroad, the *Afro-American* with about 150,000 circulation, and the *Chicago Defender* with 125,000. About twenty papers sold more than 10,000 copies weekly. There was one daily, *The Atlanta World*, whose owner has a chain of weeklies throughout the South.

The Negro newspapers reflect the full realization and concern of the Negro in the struggle against the totalitarian powers and against undemocratic procedures in the United States toward its Negro citizens.¹⁹ The Negro periodicals supported the country in the war, but also carried on a vigorous fight for democracy and equality for the Negro. The discussions on the war dealt largely with the issues, grievances, and demands of the present day that have arisen out of the inferior position that slavery, social heritage, and race prejudice have assigned the Negro. When, on January 25, 1942, one month and eighteen days after Pearl Harbor, a Negro was lynched in Sikeston, Missouri, the *Chicago Defender* of March 14 printed the following slogan and expressions: "Remember Pearl Harbor . . . and Sikeston Too!" "Remember Pearl Harbor! Remember Sikeston! Japan and Sikeston, Both Must Fall!" "Japan Lynched Pearl Harbor; Sikeston Lynched Democracy."²⁰

Grievances, protests, and demands as occurrences in Negro life and as recorded and discussed in Negro papers reflect the social conditions that produce and perpetuate the Negro newspaper. Thus, the *Baltimore Afro-American* of June 27, 1942, pointed out, "Even Axis Cannot Make Dixie Give Up Its Hate."

The recognition and achievement of Negroes also constitute items

¹⁹ Ralph N. Davis, "The Negro Newspapers and the War," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVII (May-June, 1943), pp. 373-380.

²⁰ Quoted by Ralph N. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

of both importance and significance. But reports concerning the promotion of war, the battles, and the general problems of the war did not appear frequently in Negro papers. There were but a few Negro war correspondents. The one continuous exception to what may be styled as news formula (grievances, protests, demands, and opportunity) was the policy followed by the *Atlanta World*, owned and edited by Negroes. In addition to the news formula, the *World* carried news concerning the war and other significant news items of general interest.

Continuous, conspicuous, insistent, and emphatic were the published accounts of the demands made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the March on Washington Committee. These demands covered all phases of Negro life and problems and connected, contrasted, and compared events and happenings with the ideals and principles for which the war was being fought. It was equally made clear that protests and demands should not be lessened because of the war but should be definitely associated with the ideology of democracy.

These ideals were fostered by a militant Negro press as part of its program of race consciousness. The Negro press is a powerful propellant in the new movement, because detailed news of the backward steps in lynching and the forward steps in recognition are always fully reported.²¹

²¹ Roi Ottley, *New World A-Coming*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943.

CHAPTER XIII

Foreign-Language Broadcasts

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

WHEN the United States went to war, it became urgent to keep all Axis propaganda and communication off the air. For the half dozen busy government agencies—FCC, OFF, FBI, Office of Censorship, Army and Navy Intelligence—which cupped ears to the country's own linguistic babel, the question was: What were these United States foreign-language stations telling or hinting to their listeners?

Of 915 radio stations in the United States, 205 stations broadcast in twenty-six foreign languages to a potential audience of 15,000,000 persons,¹ an estimated three million of whom neither speak nor understand English. In the first thirty days after Pearl Harbor, they put on 6,776 hours of programs in twenty-nine tongues ranging in time on the air from Italian, Polish, Spanish, Jewish, and German with the most hours, to Armenian, Slovene, and Mesquakie (a dialect of the Algonquin tongue for Indians in Iowa) with the least.² Nearly three fourths of the time is given for Polish, Spanish, Jewish, and German language broadcasts.

The foreign-language radio broadcasts may have been a factor in the decline of the foreign-language press after World War I and, says L. Wirth, is presumed "to have compensated in some degree for the reduced influence of the immigrant newspaper."³ He also feels that "because of the nature and control over radio in this country, radio is less susceptible than the press to direction from abroad and lends itself less readily to exploitation in behalf of causes contrary to public policy."

¹ *Time*, XL (July 13, 1942), p. 64.

² Edward Jenks, "What Are They Saying?" *The New York Times*, June 28, 1942.

³ L. Wirth, "Morale and Minority Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (November, 1941), pp. 421-422.

Low cultural level of foreign-language broadcasts. A study, made in mid-February, 1941, by Rudolf Arnheim and Martha Colling Bayne, pointed out that the cultural level of the foreign-language program is low.⁴ The advertiser, aiming to sell his goods to people who still speak European languages, "must generally face an audience of lower economic and educational status than the average population." Furthermore, "At a time when the country is most interested in speeding up the assimilation of its national minorities who have recently immigrated, the advertiser unconsciously retards this process by utilizing the national feelings of these groups as a sales appeal for his products."

Most of the foreign-language broadcasts (about 73 per cent of all their radio time) are devoted to musical items. But at the same time, most foreign-language programs "typically conjure up a rather anachronistic picture of the home country," sentimentalizing the particular bit of homeland that the listeners had left years ago, and which "by virtue of time and distance has become to them some sort of earthly paradise." Thus these programs are clearly directed to the older people, not well acquainted with the English language and emotionally involved in the country of their youth. Little or no effort is made to catch the interest of the younger people born or reared in America.

News programs contain about four times as many foreign as domestic items. Thus, at least until Pearl Harbor, foreign-language news bulletins had complemented American news fare with a greater supply of items from foreign than from domestic sources. Although the German and Italian program announcers were careful about the political implications of the news, the selection of the stories, and the editorial work done on the translations, the very emphasis of the announcers' voices gave definite slants to their bulletins. Furthermore, items from Axis sources were usually given more in detail, while those from the Allied capitals were often compressed into a few words or a single sentence. On the other hand, there was, on the east coast, one Italian program openly anti-Fascist, anti-Franco, and anti-Axis.⁵

Anti-democratic influences. Other studies give even more convincing evidence of the effects of slick, insinuating, antidemocratic

⁴ Rudolf Arnheim and Martha Colling Bayne, "Foreign Language Broadcasts Over Local American Stations," Chapter I, pp. 3-64, in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, Editors, *Radio Research*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941.

⁵ Above quotations are from reference cited in Footnote 4.

propaganda upon the thinking of immigrant groups. Friedrich⁶ notes some "shocking cases of treason and sabotage," due to the dependence of the small station upon the whims and prejudices of local advertisers who so often had been the more or less willing channels of Fascist and Nazi agents in the United States. Not infrequently the pressure was exerted through the consulates. Importers of the products of the home country, such as olive oil and macaroni, were readily persuaded of the wisdom of employing such men as Guidi, since "he sold the stuff." The free-lancer announcer-salesman was left pretty much to himself. The German and Italian governments both set up special services to "aid" the announcers by furnishing them special news items and other Axis-slanted program material. This manipulation of information and propaganda worked to the detriment of our immigrant groups for years. Often deeply disappointed about their lot here, these aliens were prepared to listen to antidemocratic, pro-Fascist interpretations of the news and in course of time became embittered and frankly hostile.

Short-Wave Listening Among Italians and Germans

Short-wave listeners. Studies of foreign short-wave broadcasts indicate that special efforts were made by foreign broadcasters to reach certain foreign-language groups in America.⁷ Intensive studies of selected groups of German Americans and Italian Americans showed that there is not a disproportionate amount of short-wave listening among these groups. Most of the listeners confined their listening to newscasts and devoted three times as much attention to Italian as to English broadcasts. The closer the relationship of the respondent to Italy, the greater appeared the amount of his short-wave listening. While the second-generation Italian Americans were little interested in tuning in on Rome, more than half the immigrant short-wave set owners listened to these broadcasts from Italy. Men, rather than women, old people rather than young, were the predominant listeners. Most short-wave radio ownership occurred among those with moderate incomes, a group that also listened more than the poor or the

⁶ Carl J. Friedrich, "Foreign-Language Radio and the War," *Common Ground*, III (Autumn, 1942), pp. 65-72; see also *The New York Times*, August 18 and 26, 1943, for the reports of the hearings before the congressional committee investigating the Federal Communications Commission, detailing the employment of a Fascist and a Gestapo man by foreign-language stations.

⁷ Harwood L. Childs, "America's Short-Wave Audience," in Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton, *Propaganda by Short Wave*, pp. 328-333. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942.

wealthy. The great majority of short-wave listeners were immigrants, noncitizens, much more at home with the Italian than with the English language. Country of birth, then, plays a larger role in listening than does national interest.

Dr. Bruner and Miss Sayre's study of short-wave listening by Italians in Boston revealed several interesting facts about motivations for short-wave listening:⁸ (1) listeners revealed a complex attitude, composed of militant identification with Italy and resentment toward America; (2) they were skeptical about the truth of news to be obtained from domestic sources; (3) they were more generally skeptical not only in regard to domestic news but also to the news to be heard over the short wave; (4) in their activist attitude toward the radio in general, the short-wave listeners interviewed stood out, almost without exception, from the domestic listeners; (5) short-wave listening appeared to be a predominantly male pattern; (6) casual short-wave listening had two motives: (a) the desire for a "thrill" or "fun" characteristic of radio fans in the early 1920's and of radio "hams" at the present time, and (b) the satisfaction derived from scoffing at what they heard over the short wave; (7) some short-wave listening appeared to be motivated by the need for prestige, the purveying of short-wave news being apparently a mark of superiority; and (8) rationalization for believing what is heard over the short-wave followed two lines: (a) among the militant Italians simply, "Italy can do no wrong," and (b) among other individuals assertion that they believed what they heard because it came from where the events were occurring.

The study of short-wave listening among German-speaking people in Yorkville, New York City, showed that, as in the case of Italians, the amount and extent of short-wave listening appeared to be small.⁹ But curiously enough, short-wave listening among women was slightly more prevalent than among men. News programs were the ones most often listened to; musical programs were second.

Italian broadcasts and World War II. A study made in the North End of Boston showed that 70 per cent of this Italian-American community listened at some time or other to radio news programs in English, but 60 per cent listened to the news in Italian before it was eliminated on Italy's entrance into the European phase of the war. The favorite Italian news commentator was Ubaldo Guidi, notoriously

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-332. See also: J. S. Bruner and J. Sayre, "Short-Wave Listening in an Italian Community," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, V (1941), pp. 640-656.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

undemocratic in his point of view.¹⁰ For the large group (about a fourth of the total) who cannot understand English, the loss of news in Italian was crucial. Some of the listeners when they could no longer get Italian news from American stations turned to short wave from Italy.

Many of these immigrants, who had come here before the days of the Nazis and Fascists, were simple peasants who had escaped from the poverty of southern Italy. They had banded together into relatively self-contained communities and never had felt much need to solve the dilemma of the old world versus the new. Many of them had not become citizens, although in the past few years they have taken out their first papers because of the agitation against aliens. Predominantly illiterate and still largely unversed in the American language, they "constitute the enthusiastic core of the audience for local Italian programs."¹¹ As a group they are suspicious, fearing particularly exploitation by strangers—an old story to them. They revere the "Great Men"—the King of Italy and the Pope. "They love the old language, the old music, the old jokes," and "so long as a program is in the only language they know, they are very uncritical of it." For them, Italian programs are a neighborhood matter. Even the more assimilated ones like the old Italian music particularly.

There were of course also those who identified themselves almost completely with the American way of life; they were wholeheartedly behind the domestic and foreign policies of the president, admiring him as well as Paul Dever, La Guardia, and Curley. On the whole, they listened to few Italian programs and these were primarily musical.

Miss Smith ends: "An examination of the programs available in Italian in Boston, and of listeners' attitudes and preferences for them, lead us to the conclusion that the job being done by such broadcasting was not a constructive one for two reasons. First, it failed to give specific information, either in current news or background material, on the nature of the world today and the struggle of the Democracies against Fascism. And second, it retarded the broader process of Americanization (the acquiring of new habits and attitudes that would support a loyalty to this country) by catering to the most constricted attitudes in the community." It is true that "the audience to local Italian programs is not Fascist, but there are few Fascistically minded

¹⁰ Jeanette Sayre Smith, "Broadcasting for Marginal Americans," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VI (Winter, 1942), pp. 588-603; for the pro-Fascist ideas of Guidi, see p. 591.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 593.

persons in it who may make headway in selling their gospel if positive steps are not taken to inform the community of the case for the Democracies. The lack of information on world affairs is pitiable. . . . Because of the inadequacy of newspapers in Italian, and the high rate of illiteracy, radio might have helped those who could have been reached by the Italian programs. It did not."¹²

Governmental Restrictions

Through the winter of 1940-1941, the Federal Communications Commission labored in more or less splendid isolation to check what was going on, with the Department of Justice and the Office of Education about the only agencies making any constructive efforts in regard to the alien and immigrant problem in general, as epitomized in their programs of "Americans All—Immigrants All" and "I Am an American." The government, eyed with bitter hostility by the Fascist sympathizers in America First and other such organizations, had to step with great caution, especially since Senator Wheeler as chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee held the whip hand over the regulating agency of broadcasts.

On December 11, 1941, the National Association of Broadcasters advised the radio stations of the United States to continue foreign-language broadcasts. To drop the foreign-language broadcasts would "tend to demoralize large segments of our population," the association said. It added: "We believe it is of greatest importance that these people, who can best be reached in languages other than English, be kept reliably informed of developments as well as entertained, lest they turn to short-wave propaganda of the enemy." The foreign-language broadcasters were urged, however, to use "extraordinary precaution" in checking on the background of their writers and announcers.

The Federal Communications Commission did a number of things: it set up an elaborate monitoring service; called for effective studio supervision and control; and sent out a five-page questionnaire to all foreign-language stations—foreign linguists, as the trade calls them—asking them for help "in securing information concerning the present extent and character of broadcasts other than English, the part these broadcasts play in the lives of the foreign-language groups, and the comparative value of such broadcasts to advertisers and others

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 600. It is worth while to read here the author's section, entitled, "Where Lies the Blame?" pp. 601-603.

as a means of reaching such foreign-language groups." The questionnaire inquired about the nature and sponsorship of such programs, the station's policy with regard to them, the reasons for discontinuance or refusal of particular programs, and the methods of controlling their content. On the basis of a rather full answer, the FCC compiled a comprehensive survey of the extent and nature of such broadcasts, which became the basis of their monitoring service. At the same time, the commission definitely decided against stopping foreign-language broadcasts. James Fly, the chairman, stated publicly that the government did not wish to see them stopped.

Wartime code. Foreign-language stations waited five months after Pearl Harbor before drawing up a wartime code. In May, 1942, the radio industry formed the Foreign Language Radio Wartime Control, which adopted a code calling for: (1) advance approval of all scripts by the stations; (2) monitoring of all programs; (3) extensive investigation and fingerprinting of personnel; and (4) assumption by each station of full responsibility for program content and loyalty of employees. In July, Censor Byron Price's revised code for wartime radio incorporated the rules that the foreign-language stations themselves had made.

Thus the Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters of June 15, 1942, pointed out specifically in regard to foreign-language programs:

Broadcasters have recognized that the loyalty of their personnel is of supreme importance in voluntary censorship; they recognize the dangers inherent in those foreign language broadcasts which are not under the control at all times of responsible station executives. Station managements, therefore, are requested to require all persons who broadcast in a foreign language to submit to the management in advance of broadcast complete scripts or transcriptions of such material, with an English translation. It is further requested that such material be checked "on the air" against the approved script, and that no deviations therefrom be permitted. These scripts or transcriptions with their translations should be kept on file at the station.¹³

Difficulty of control. Control of foreign-language programs is difficult on two counts. First, some stations broadcast in from six to ten languages. The station management cannot understand all of them. Translators and monitors must be hired, and because small stations operate on small budgets, the pay for the work is low. A

¹³ United States Government, Office of Censorship, *Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters*, p. 8. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942.

second difficulty in the way of full control is the practice known as "block time selling." "Nearly half of the foreign-language stations sell time to brokers who are not station employees," according to the FCC. Many of the brokers act as their own announcers. The practice of "block time selling" places responsibility on the stations for announcers sent in by clients, some of whom—whether from choice or business necessity—have had Axis connections in the not-too-distant past. Some stations, in turn, have been slow to act in cases of doubtful loyalty.

Jenks points out that foreign-language programs and sponsors "are coöperating generously in giving time for spot announcements about the war effort. But it is worth noting that outspoken anti-Axis programs in German and Italian are broadcast almost invariably on sustaining time. Patriotic and anti-Axis material is incorporated into the sponsored programs in these languages far less than on English, Polish, and some other programs."¹⁴

The Future for Foreign-Language Broadcasting

Few regular programs are designed primarily to hasten the re-education and assimilation of the foreign born. All stations broadcast most of the transcribed programs produced by the government and private agencies; but there is a dearth of programs that would meet the needs of special groups of listeners.

Over the long years, the problem of foreign-language broadcasts will disappear. Data presented throughout this volume indicates the rapid decrease in the familiarity of second- and third-generation foreign born with the language of their forebears. In the interim, broadcasts in the mother tongue will be an important channel of communication to the foreign born and a means of maintaining in youth an appreciation of the language and the culture of their elders.

¹⁴ Edward Jenks, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER XIV

Fraternal Organizations of Nationality Groups

YAROSLAV J. CHYZ

AS WAS pointed out in detail in the previous discussions of the individual groups, fraternal beneficial associations are one of the oldest and most enduring forms of organization among the nationality groups in the United States.¹ For some of the groups they are the main centers of their social, cultural, and political activities. For most of them they have performed and are performing an extremely important function: helping their members in cases of sickness or injury, and providing them in old age, or their families in case of death, with financial benefits which not only defray the costs of burial but are often the only sums of money available to help the widow and the children at a time when such help is very welcome. Only a few of the groups, such as the Greek and Finnish, have only local or very insignificant national beneficial associations. They are instead well organized in corporative, cultural, and other forms of societies.

The oldest of the existing fraternal beneficial associations, the Bohemian-Slavonian Benevolent Organization, which after union with several other Czech associations became the present Czechoslovak Society of America, was founded in 1854. The German Order of Harugari, founded in 1869, seems to be the oldest existing German-American fraternal society, and the Polish Roman Catholic Union (1873) is the oldest in the Polish American Group. The *Uniao Portuguesa do Estado da California* (1880), the Danish Brotherhood of America (1881), the Lithuanian Alliance of America (1886), the Hungarian Verhovay Fraternal Insurance Association (1886), the National Slovak Society (1890), the Greek Catholic Union of Russian Brotherhoods (Carpatho-Russian, 1892), the Scandinavian American Fraternity (Swedish, 1893), the *Allianza Hispano Americana*

¹ A more detailed treatment of the same subject appeared in *Interpreter Releases* of the Common Council for American Unity, New York, August, 1944.

(1894), the Ukrainian National Association (1894), the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union (1894), the Croatian Fraternal Union of America (1894), the Sons of Norway (1895), the Italo-American National Union (1895), and the Serb National Federation are the oldest existing fraternal associations in their respective groups. Of course, there are, here and there, older organizations in existence but they do not belong to the fraternal group as discussed in this article.

Most of the groups did not limit themselves to one fraternal organization. Sometimes another association was formed in a different immigration center of the particular group or in another part of the country. More often, new societies came into being because of splits in existing associations caused by political, religious, and frequently personal, differences. New fraternal bodies were founded for the same reasons. Socialists and free-thinkers did not want to belong to associations dominated by the clergy or by a religious majority. Members of the same nationality group, but of a different sect or religion, preferred to have separate associations for each denomination. Even political views in regard to their countries of origin played an important role in such splits or in the formation of new societies. Also, special women's associations and societies composed of immigrants from some particular region of a national territory abroad were formed.

On the other hand, mergers occurred. Better means of communication often made separate organizations of the same group unnecessary. Ideological similarities drew other associations together. But the most common stimulus resulted from the tightening of insurance laws by some states. Much of this legislation made the existence of smaller organizations difficult and forced them to band together, or to merge with larger societies, in order to fulfill their obligations to their members.

Organizational scheme. Local societies, called lodges, branches, assemblies, circles, brotherhoods, or sisterhoods, form the basis of all fraternal associations. The individual adult members belong through such lodges to the parent organization, pay their dues through them, and participate, through direct vote or through delegates, in directing their affairs and electing their supreme officers. The children of members, usually up to the age of sixteen or eighteen years, may also belong to the lodge or to its junior section and may benefit from various juvenile insurance features. They, of course, have no right to participate in elections or in other administrative activities and

decisions until they reach the age at which they can be transferred to the adult division.

The lodges are managed by elected officers—usually a president, vice-president, financial and recording secretaries, treasurer, sometimes a standard-bearer, a sergeant-at-arms, and “visitors of the sick members”—whose duties are described by their titles. The lodges hold monthly meetings at which dues are collected and other affairs discussed and decided. Part of the dues is sent to the home office, the rest is held in the local treasury for such expenses as the lodge may have. Limited sick benefits for members for a few weeks or months, maintenance of a school or of a club, are often the purposes for which such lodge funds are used.

In several organizations the local branches are banded together in state or regional (Eastern, New England, North-Western, and so on) lodges, which are intermediary centers entrusted with certain administrative and organizational functions, mostly with the purpose of spurring social activities of local lodges. In some associations the delegates to main conventions are elected at “grand lodge” or regional conventions, in which the delegates from the branches participate.

Supreme officers of fraternal associations are usually elected at such conventions, held every two, three, or four years. Some associations choose their officers by popular vote of the whole membership, often with an elaborate system for nomination of candidates and the final vote. At conventions, binding decisions are taken as to the use of association funds—of course, within the limits of the state’s insurance laws—necessary changes are made in the bylaws, and other matters are decided.

The president, one, two, or more vice-presidents, one or two secretaries, and the treasurer usually constitute the executive committee of a fraternal association. Sometimes it is limited to three persons—president, secretary, and treasurer—and sometimes includes five, seven, or more officers.

The conventions also elect other supreme officers, such as three or more auditors, the manager of the association’s printing plant, the editor of its newspaper or magazine, and in some cases, medical and legal advisers or, in some strongly religious associations, the spiritual advisor, usually a clergyman. The board of directors, and various special committees, such as press, orphanage, home for the aged or whatever may be the added activity of the organization, are also elected at the convention. The executive committee, the auditors, and the directors often constitute the so-called “supreme council” of the organization

which convenes once a year between conventions and makes decisions on current matters of the organization over which the executive committee has no jurisdiction. Such a "supreme council" often has the rights and obligations of a "board of directors" under the laws of some states.

Insurance features. The insurance feature of fraternal organizations started with a very simple form of death benefits: sums paid out to sick or injured members or to their beneficiaries in case of death have been assessed against the rest of the membership with a small charge for administration expenses and a reserve fund for unexpectedly large disbursements. The assessments were made monthly, bimonthly, or quarterly. To this a press fund for the organization's printed organ was added so that members could learn in advance how much they would have to pay the next month. In this way, all members, young and old, carried the same burden, paid the same dues, and received the same benefits.

After fraternal organizations became more stabilized, a more just and at the same time more elaborate system of insurance was established. The members paid their dues according to the age at which they joined the organization and depending on the size of the death benefit. The use of funds was regulated, with parts of the dues going into the mortuary, indigent, reserve, administration, press, and other funds. The dues for the mortuary fund were computed on the basis of calculations accepted by the National Fraternal Congress and its tables were accepted by most of the organizations and by insurance departments of most of the states. This happened at a time when immigrant workers had not settled permanently in either job or home and often changed their places of work and, dropping their insurance in one place, took it up with some other fraternal society in another. Thousands of them came for a short stay in this country and, after making a few hundred dollars, returned to their homelands.

Fraternal Congress tables did not provide any cash surrender. Only the member or his immediate family could receive the benefits of his policy. Two or three months of nonpayment of dues during a strike or during unemployment left him without insurance, and on rejoining the organization he had to start anew with dues determined at his current age. In case he returned to his country of origin, his insurance ceased and the money paid by him enriched the treasury of the association unless he was willing to send dues from abroad, which few did. This was hard on such members but of advantage to the organizations in that, with funds left by suspended and departing

members, the associations were able to keep their rates low. They began to accumulate considerable sums of money and invested them in real estate (mortgages) and in securities.

The picture changed after immigration became stabilized and the turnover of membership ceased. At the same time the competition of insurance companies with their varied forms of insurance, cash surrender, and paid-up insurance features, and even loans on policies, made itself felt. In order to meet mounting obligations and to compete with stock companies, the fraternal organizations began to change from National Fraternal Congress tables to the generally used American Experience tables based on mortality statistics and the general experience of their chief competitors. One after another either changed to this modern method of insurance or included policies based on American Experience tables in their program. At present, only a few organizations still cling to the Fraternal Congress tables or the assessment system. The majority of the fraternal associations offer their members the whole scale of 65, 70, 75, and 85 (whole life) insurance policies, various endowment certificates, and other kinds of insurance for adults and children, with cash surrender, loan and paid up provisions, and even double indemnity in case of accidental death. In all cases the benefits are limited to the immediate family although they may include third or fourth degree of relationship. Sometimes they are left to welfare organizations or institutions that take care of the members in their old age. All these insurance activities are under the strict supervision of insurance departments of those states in which the organizations do business, and they are obliged by law to submit to those departments certified annual reports on the basis of which they obtain licenses to operate in those states. Smaller organizations have licenses in one or two states, larger ones in more, with several being licensed in 30, 40, and more states, United States possessions, and Canada. Occasional audits by state inspectors remind them that they are being watched, sometimes with not so benevolent an eye, especially in states where the influence of big insurance companies is strong.

Other activities. Besides insurance, fraternal organizations and their branches devote themselves to various cultural, social, and political activities. Many local lodges are at the same time singing societies, sports clubs, or church brotherhoods and sisterhoods. Many maintain evening classes for children, teaching them their native language. Others have reading clubs, folk-dance circles, or amateur theatrical groups. Some of them have libraries; others maintain

orchestras or bands. Many lodges own homes with halls and club rooms that are social centers of their communities.

There may be one or more branches of the same association in one locality. As indicated above, the members are grouped according to meeting facilities, by their parishes or religious affiliations, or, and it happens very often, according to the place or region of their origin abroad. Such *landsmannschaften* are especially popular among the Jewish Americans but occur frequently in the German, Scandinavian, and other groups. As to size, the branches range from societies of one thousand or more members to small circles of a dozen or even fewer members constituting a household on some remote farm. The scope of their activities—social, cultural, and political—depends largely on the size and the uniting principle of the lodge.

Central organizations often maintain orphanages, homes for the aged, or summer camps for their members and their children. Some of them support schools or give scholarships to student members. Almost all of them publish newspapers or magazines.

In many groups, fraternal organizations are the most important factors in their political activities, especially those concerning their countries of origin. They form the basis of war relief and often of political action in the Czech, Polish, Ukrainian, Yugoslav, Hungarian, Lithuanian, and other groups.

Organizations by groups. Almost all fraternal organizations originally admitted to membership only immigrants of their own nationality group, their relatives by marriage, and their descendants. Lately the strict rules were relaxed, but only a few organizations, mostly religious, are open to all comers provided that they are of the same faith. Only one organization, the International Workers Order, admits members of all nationality backgrounds, having for each nationality a separate section, with one for the English-speaking whites and Negroes.

The Common Council for American Unity of New York City collected data on 158 such organizations, counting each nationality section of the International Workers Order and those Grand Lodges of the Order of Sons of Italy that have mortuary benefits as separate associations. The data, tabulated as of January 1, 1944 (with a few exceptions where date of January 1, 1943 was used) show that 155 of these organizations had 2,883,541 members in 31,990 local lodges, and \$423,188,655 in assets. They carried insurance to the amount of \$2,700,000,000.

The table on page 650 shows the distribution of branches, members,

and assets by individual nationality groups. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of organizations for which the particular data were available. The figures for branches and assets of the International Workers Order are for the whole organization. The membership was included in each nationality group.

Nonbeneficial fraternal organizations. Several fraternal orders do not have mortuary funds and benefits and therefore are not registered as fraternal beneficial societies by insurance departments of various states. Their activities are in social, philanthropic, cultural, and educational fields. Oldest among them is the Ancient Order of Hibernians, founded in 1836 and composed of members of Irish birth and descent. In 1942 it had some 900 lodges with 40,000 members. Members of Irish, Italian, and German descent can be found in large numbers in the Knights of Columbus which, in the same year, had 2,480 lodges with 415,170 members. The International Order of Good Templars, with its 401,000 members, has still many Swedish-speaking lodges and the Scandinavian immigrants are a dominating element in the whole organization. The largest Jewish organization, *B'nai B'rith*, with 644 lodges, 330 auxiliaries, and 252 juvenile units, spreads over all 48 states and has over 172,000 members. It was founded in 1843 and up to 1890 carried mortuary benefits. At present it helps in Americanization of its members, extends help to Jews abroad, watches over its youth, and works for better understanding between Americans of Jewish and other faiths. The Order of Sons of Italy in America unites more than 100,000 Americans of Italian extraction in some 1,500 lodges for social purposes, for promotion of interest in Italian culture, and for organized participation in American political life. Five grand lodges of the order have fraternal benefit features, and their 496 local branches with some 40,000 members are included in statistics of fraternal beneficial associations. There are many German-American lodges in the Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons in and around New York, as well as Czech and German lodges in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

The press. As mentioned above, almost all fraternal organizations publish a printed organ by means of which the main office keeps in direct contact with the membership. At the same time such publications fulfill the educational and cultural obligations of the association and very often serve to promote certain political ideas or trends. In older organizations, especially in the German and Scandinavian groups, many publications have dwindled to monthly fraternal magazines devoted mostly or exclusively to organizational matters. Many of them are published in two languages, or in English. Most of the

fraternal publications use the native language of the group and also deal with other than organizational topics.

Out of 138 such fraternal publications, 112 are owned outright and published by organizations themselves. The other 25 are supported by organizations in the sense that they pay the publishers for inserting at certain times organizational reports, appeals, and announcements, and for mailing each issue to the members of the association. In one case, the organization publishes its own weekly and supports a daily.

Three dailies, 5 semiweeklies, 37 weeklies, 7 semimonthlies, and 57 monthlies are owned by fraternal associations. Eight dailies, 4 semiweeklies, 13 weeklies, and 1 quarterly are used as media of communication between the management and the membership of 25 associations. This constitutes about 12 per cent of the whole-foreign-language press in the United States.

Role of fraternal organizations in group life. The influence of fraternal organizations reaches far beyond their actual membership. Through organizational contacts and through their press they have become leading centers of group life among many Americans of foreign origin. They publish books, subsidize historical and social research, and introduce the immigrant and his family to American life. All this is provided in addition to the material support and care which for many decades was the only "social security" of the worker who gave his strength to developing "bigger and better" America.

Still another side of fraternal activity is aptly described in *The Fraternal Monitor* of September 1943:

. . . Starting from scratch these hardy pioneers, unable to speak the language of the country, unfamiliar with its form of government . . . set up institutions that not only took care of their dead and their needy, but provided a realistic school for learning the fundamentals of representative government and training their members in the art of self-government. They raised revenues to take care of their needs, they set up checks and balances to make sure that no one man could secure complete control of affairs, they provided for election of all officers (from the most insignificant sergeant-at-arms at the local lodge to the "Supreme" President of the national Body) by popular vote. They loved this idea of a voice in electing people so much that most of them elected even medical and legal advisers rather than have them appointed by the governing body. They provided that the delegates from local lodges and not some intermediate body should consider and decide all questions, great and small, affecting the conduct of the organization. Maybe they made mistakes. Some of them were serious, but they learned, as no other immigrants to this country before their time, the true meaning of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

CHAPTER XV

National Minorities in Domestic Politics

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

AMERICA'S crosscurrents, which divide the nation into opposing groups in politics, are to a considerable degree complicated by racial and nationalistic groups. Without implying whether it is beneficial or otherwise, it is true that the existence of national minorities increases the difficulties of political leaders in holding together a combination powerful enough to govern.¹

It is difficult, of course, to evaluate with any definite degree of exactness the relative importance of different national groups in America's political life. The Germans, A. B. Faust asserts (page 101), "have contributed over 25 per cent of the flesh and blood composing the present white population of the United States." Similar claims are made for the Irish, and varying degrees of such claims are continually put forward by most American minorities. The claims can be, however, minimized by the fact that after two or three generations in the United States intermarriage and intermixture make it impossible accurately to apportion the population into national-origin groups. The census figures furnish accurate statistics only on the foreign born.

The sequence of political assimilation. The sequence of national immigration has spaced the problem of political assimilation. In 1890 the Germans made up the largest single group of foreign born, but prior to that time the first great wave of immigration had come from Ireland. After 1900 the source of immigration shifted from northern Europe to southern and eastern European countries; by 1930 the largest single group of foreign born was from Italy, with Poland and Russia occupying positions of relatively greater importance than in 1890. Thus, each of the immigrant nationality groups has been forced to accept an apprentice position in one of the established

¹ V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, "Racial and Nationalistic Groups," pp. 149-161. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942.

parties. First, the Irish constituted the great group of alien culture. The Irish had won a place in politics when the great movement of Germans arrived. Later, Jews, Poles, and Italians came on the scene and went through the same experience.

Dependence on two major parties. An outstanding fact is that the formation of small, separate parties has always been difficult in the United States, and their establishment by ethnic groups has been surrounded by such hazards that every such group has chosen to seek recognition through one of the major national parties. The term and the conditions of the apprenticeship which a nationality group must serve in one of the major parties are, of course, determined in large part by the value the group has to the party. Thus, the German group, so valuable to the young Republican Party's strategic necessities between 1856 and 1860, was admitted almost at once to the full privileges of membership. But in general, the more important considerations have to do with characteristics of the group itself.

Perhaps the most important factor affecting the status of the immigrant group within a party is the presence or absence of a language barrier. The relative ease with which the Scotch-Irish and the Irish groups entered the party system and rose to prominence is in large part explained by the advantage that each derived from familiarity not only with the English language but also with the nuances of its political usage as well. Closely associated with language is the factor of cultural and political similarity or dissimilarity. The Scotch-Irish and the Irish have had advantages here not shared by other immigrant groups, for they had, upon their arrival, a background of participation in political institutions and practices almost identical with those they encountered in the United States.² It has been noted, too, that the Norwegians had an important advantage over other Scandinavian immigrant groups in the United States.³ Nationality groups without such background have been under the necessity of learning not only a new language but also the subtleties of new institutions. Frequently, a generation is absorbed by this process.

Complications arising from the urban pattern. The fact that modern immigration is from rural areas to urban areas (see Table XVIII, page 651) also affects the status of immigrant groups within

² Cf. Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America*, Chap. 8, "The Irish," pp. 129-186. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939; Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America*. New York: Peter Smith, 1941.

³ Kendrick Charles Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States*. p. 141. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914.

the party system. In the urban environment, adaptation is more difficult. The energies of immigrant groups are dissipated by the tasks of learning a new way of living, and the party can impose a longer apprenticeship. The German and Scandinavian groups made rapid strides in party adaptation because of their settlement in rural areas of the Middle West where they escaped, during the period of their novitiate, the special problems of the urban community; while the Jewish immigrants have profited from their long familiarity with urbanism.⁴ Other immigrant groups have served lengthened indenture in the party system while assimilating the new patterns of urban behavior.

On the other hand, if the members are scattered thinly over the country, concerted action is difficult, but concentration of strength in a state, a city, or a county may give the group the balance of power. Large blocs of Jewish voters can exert considerable pressure in New York and Chicago. About 75 per cent of the Italian population of the United States has congregated in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. Chicago has more Poles than has any other city of the world—even the late Warsaw.

Language, political experience, and concentration of votes, particularly in urban centers, or in the states, determine the status of the immigrant group within the party system. The easy blending and territorial dispersion, on the other hand, destroy the ability of such groups to exert political pressure. For example, the English, who blend readily with the prevailing ways, have never been talked about in terms of the "English vote." The Italians, however, are not only a minority conscious of its characteristic, but also are considered as a minority by the general American public; their self-consciousness, then, and their geographical concentration, make them important in certain parts of the country as a political power.

The preference in party allegiances. It is, of course, hazardous to label immigrant groups according to political affiliations. Politicians have appealed to the racial pride and clannishness of neutralized voters—sometimes successfully; but in the long run they have followed the channels cut by the native born. But the importance of the immigrant vote has been growing in recent decades. The choice of the particular party to which allegiance has been given has been

⁴ Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff.; Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 2, pp. 39-41. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1908-1909; Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*, *passim*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

determined by a variety of factors, in which party issues, precedent, party effort, relations between immigrant groups, economic status, and political maturity of immigrants have varying weights, depending upon time and circumstance. The student of American history must reckon with the "foreign vote" in certain presidential elections—notably in 1860, 1884, 1916, and 1920.

The nativist and puritanical tinge of the Republican Party, a heritage from the years of Know-Nothingism, determined to some degree the political affiliations of the old immigrants. The Germans, Scandinavians, and Dutch showed favoritism to the Republican Party; the Germans who came to the United States after 1848 generally accepted the then liberal views of the young Republican Party, and to this same political loyalty most of the Scandinavians who later settled in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, and Nebraska also adhered. The Irish, on the other hand, because of their religion and urban residence, remained Democratic. For it was the Democrats who opened both their hearts and their jobs to the newcomers.⁵ Two later developments tended to strengthen their allegiance to the Democrats. Because of the large influx of Germans and Irish, an antipathy to them of formidable proportions had developed by 1840, particularly against the Irish, both as aliens and Catholics. In the midst of the Know-Nothing Party came the Democratic assurances of an unrestricted immigration policy and an easier naturalization process. The slavery question, as a second factor, also identified them with the Democratic Party. The aristocratic Americans who spoke of the "low Irish and the niggers" drove them into the arms of the Democrats; furthermore, the Irish, fearing competition with free Negroes in the labor market, stood firmly with the Democratic Party in favoring the continuation of slavery.

The Germans have rather consistently remained under the Republican banner. When Bryan led the free-silver movement, German leadership was prominent on the side of "sound money." But in spite of their general conservatism, large numbers of Germans, as well as others, have turned their backs on the "Grand Old Party."⁶

⁵ Edward F. Roberts, *Ireland in America*, pp. 110-130. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, pp. 35-36. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.

⁶ In fact, in spite of the German immigrant's general conservatism, the Germans have stood high in the councils of the Socialist and other radical parties. Socialism, which had its beginnings in America before the Civil War, was confined almost wholly to German immigrants of the working class. See W. S. Sayre, "The Immigrant in Politics," in F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, *Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937), pp. 650-654, and A. B. Faust, "German Americans," in *ibid.*, pp. 178-182.

Peculiar minority issues. From time to time our minority groups have been swayed by the issues that have arisen from the peculiar problems agitating minority as minority. For example, in the middle of the past century, the Germans of Ohio and Pennsylvania fought for the introduction of German instruction into the public schools.⁷ In turn, during World War I, various states prohibited instruction in the German language, a policy voided by the Supreme Court; in 1940, congressional legislation excluded members of the Nazi Bund from employment on relief projects or in factories engaged in national defense preparations. Hawgood, in fact, goes so far as to claim that the nativism of certain American societies turned the Germans into hyphenated citizens.⁸

Nativism. Nativism has also at times influenced party choice by the immigrant groups. It was first encountered by immigrant groups in an organized form in the period between 1845 and 1846, when the Native American (or Know-Nothing) Party developed considerable strength around a platform of hostility to foreigners. Its implicit affiliations with the Whig Party was the primary barrier between the latter and the immigrant groups. The managers of the Republican Party in its formative years were energetic in their efforts to disguise all dealings with the "Know-Nothings," fearing the loss of their immigrant following.⁹ The short-lived American party has had no successor, except in such quasi-party organizations as the American Protective Association and the Ku Klux Klan,¹⁰ but the immigrant resentment which the movement engendered has added to the Democratic drift of the newer nationalities, for the skillful organizers of the Democratic Party have not neglected to emphasize the historical affinity between Whig nativism and the Republican Party.

By and large, nativism seems to have a relation to the intensity of hard times in areas of noteworthy minority population. Less widespread minor nativist movements, such as those directed against

⁷ A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 151. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

⁸ John M. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942.

⁹ G. T. Stephenson, *History of American Immigration, 1820-1924*, pp. 104, 125 ff.; Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926.

¹⁰ Donald Young, *Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression*, Bulletin 31, p. 133 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937), points out: "Throughout the history of the United States there seems to have been a direct correlation between the peaks of nativist spirit and the valleys of exceptional economic difficulty."

Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos on the west coast, Italians in Louisiana, and the French Canadians in New England, showed no serious departure from the rule, although World War II indicated the relationship of such movements to our pro- and anti-minority attitudes based on the fortunes of the war, particularly in the case of the Japanese on the west coast.

Religious and racial issues. Appeals to different groups and sections of the United States during national election campaigns are as old as the political history of the United States.¹¹ Similarly, overtures to religious and racial groups attuned to their possible specific interests in national or local issues are also familiar tactics. A good example is furnished, as already pointed out, by the Native American Association of 1837 and its successor, the Know-Nothing movement which, as the American Party in 1853-1855, succeeded in winning numerous public offices in both the state and federal governments merely by playing upon the fears of an alleged plot by Irish Catholic immigrants to dominate the country. After World War I, anti-Catholic appeals were renewed by the Ku Klux Klan, culminating in 1928 in a whispering campaign against Alfred E. Smith.

The anti-Catholic prejudice in America is traced, by an American Catholic, to the antipapal passion of Queen Elizabeth.¹² Catholics and not Protestants, a claim is made, have been the strongest champions of separation of church and state, as is shown by the union of church and state in many of the original colonies. Religious qualifications for office favoring Protestant sects were not removed from statutes and constitutions until well into the nineteenth century. The progressive democratization of other departments of our national life has not, however, yet removed the undemocratic anti-Catholic prejudice, claims Byrne. This prejudice has played a part in practically all national campaigns, probably a decisive part in the election of 1884; but though it has been most evident in relation to the office of the president, it has caused numerous storms of protest against executive appointments to cabinet and judicial posts. When religious differences are added to party nativism, an almost impassible barrier is erected between the immigrant and the party. In the party history of the United States, Catholicism has had a firmly established affinity

¹¹ W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), is a mine of information on almost every significant sect in American history.

¹² Edward John Byrne, "The Religious Issue in National Politics," *Catholic Historical Review*, VIII (October, 1928), pp. 329-364.

with the Democratic Party, arising out of the anti-Catholicism of the nativist wing of the Whig Party during the early years of Irish immigration. The alliance has extended beyond the boundaries of the Irish group and has included most of the German Catholics as well as the Catholic communicants among the newer immigration.¹³ The Republican Party has made valiant efforts to free itself from Whig heritage in this field, notably in the campaign of 1884, but it has been impossible to break the pattern of immigrant Catholic habit except in the Southwest where the Mexican immigrants find the Democratic Party as yet inhospitable.¹⁴

At the start of the 1940 campaign, the confluence of the religious and racial factors, among others, as the war in Europe and Nazi propaganda against the Roosevelt administration, led to the belief that an artificial Jewish issue might be created.¹⁵

Hitler's bid to manipulate American public opinion occurred when American Nazis and Fascists threw their entire support behind Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican candidate. This was done not because Willkie had manifested any desire for such support or could be expected to feel friendly toward the Axis in return. As a matter of fact, Willkie had emphatically announced his opposition to Nazi Germany. But the Nazi-Fascists threw their support to him primarily to create an artificial issue where a real one did not exist, and thereby to provide a basis for confusion and bitterness. There was talk of a "Jewish vote" and veiled calls upon Jews to vote for Roosevelt as their only bulwark of defense against Fascism.

Political pressure was exerted also upon Negroes. On the one side, Willkie was attacked on the basis of his German ancestry. On the other, pro-Willkie literature was based upon the allegation that the entry of refugees into the United States meant fewer jobs for Negroes,

¹³ Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 517 ff.; William Starr Myers, *The Republican Party: A History*, pp. 40-58. New York: Century Co., 1928. Notice, for instance, that when the International Congress of Raphael Societies (emigrant aid societies) submitted, through P. Cahensky, to Pope Leo XIII a memorandum which urged, because of its alarm over the loss of many thousands of German-Catholic immigrants, the organization of separate national agencies to take care of the various national groups of Catholics entering the United States, this program aroused a strong wave of protest from the native Catholics, especially those of Irish descent. The German Catholics were accused of being traitors to the United States. Cf. Max Grosser, "Die deutschamerikanischen Katholiken im Kampf mit den Nativisten," *Gelbe Hefte*, 5 (February, 1929), pp. 281-295.

¹⁴ John T. Russell, "New Mexico: A Problem of Parochialism in Transition," *The American Political Science Review*, XXX (April, 1936), pp. 285-287.

¹⁵ N. H. Goodrich, "Politics and Prejudices," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, III (November-December, 1940), pp. 571-576.

the inference being that Roosevelt was responsible for this immigration. One circular blamed the New Deal for lynching.

Appeals to Catholics were particularly vehement. The Christian Front trials and Father Charles Coughlin's violent opposition to the administration influenced some Catholics against Roosevelt. The hostility of Irish Catholics to Britain and the feeling that the administration had favored the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War were made the bases for an anti-Roosevelt campaign. The legitimate issue of the third term was described by some partisans as a threat to "private school," an adjective which Catholic voters immediately understood to mean parochial schools. The most spectacular anti-Jewish candidate was Joseph E. McWilliams of New York, leader of the Christian Mobilizers and a collaborator with the German-American Bund.

Anti-Semitism was an issue when Gerald B. Winrod, anti-Semitic pro-Nazi propagandist, ran for United States Senator from Kansas in 1938; in the same year, a whispering campaign was conducted against Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, when he ran for re-election. In Congress, it was reflected in the anti-Semitic speeches of the late representative Louis T. McFadden and later of Representative Jacob Thorkelson.

There was, however, this distinction between the anti-Catholicism of yesterday's politics and the anti-Semitism attempted in the campaign of 1940. The former was nurtured as an outgrowth of the nativist and anti-immigrant sentiments of some Americans. It played upon a fear of succumbing through Catholic office holders to direction from the Papacy, a fear present among Protestants in many nations during the mid-nineteenth century. It was directed mainly at keeping Catholics out of office. Anti-Semitism in American politics, however, appears to be an imported prejudice patterned on the anti-Semitism of Germany.¹⁶ Its importers have been the proponents of Fascism in America. As a result, the nation witnessed one of the bitterest political campaigns in many years, characterized by numerous appeals to special national and religious groups. The appeal to anti-Semitic prejudices was but one facet of many group appeals and threats. Negroes, Irish, Italians, Germans, Poles, and other ethnic groups were addressed by political workers of both parties. In addition, European countries tried to influence their former nationals in favor of one or the other presidential candidates. The Nazi short-

¹⁶ Joseph S. Roucek, "Fifth Columns, the Strategy of Treachery and Total Espionage," Chap. 25, "Jew-Baiting in the United States," pp. 723-724, in T. V. Kalijarvi, *Modern World Politics*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942.

wave radio worked its most notorious commentators overtime in an unceasing barrage of words calculated both to confuse Americans on the basic issues at stake and to alienate the loyalty of German Americans in the United States and transfer it to the Fatherland.¹⁷ Italian Americans were subjected to similar pressure from overseas. Likewise, such Axis vassals as Hungary, Spain, and Slovakia attempted to sway their former nationals. Communists, of course, followed the party line, with particular emphasis on winning Jews over by stressing British policies in Palestine and the absence of official anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R.

Foreign policies and national minority groups. The foreign policy advocated by each of the major parties has been an important influence in determining immigrant affiliation. In the years immediately following the Civil War, Irish hostility toward the Republican Party was intensified by the determination of the national government to check Fenian raids across the Canadian border; and in 1872, the German leaders, including Carl Schurz, protested against the sale of arms to France in the preceding year. In the campaign of 1888, the Republicans, in order to win Irish votes, charged that Cleveland was controlled by British interests. Other incidents that stirred the feelings of naturalized citizens, particularly the Irish and the Germans, were the Samoan and Venezuelan questions (1886-1896), the former involving America's relations with Germany, the latter our relations with Great Britain. The Democratic Party found foreign policy a difficult problem, losing heavily in its German following as an aftermath of its war policy from 1917 to 1920. This loss was in part compensated, however, by the enthusiasm with which the Slavic Americans greeted Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for small nations. The Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Yugoslav voters, previously inclined toward the Republican Party, showed a marked trend toward the Democratic Party after the announcement of Wilson's "Fourteen Points."¹⁸

Traditions of affiliation. Only slightly less important than issues are the precedents set by the "pioneer" leaders of each immigrant group. The early affiliation of the Pennsylvania "Dutch" with the Jeffersonian movement undoubtedly influenced the political affections of later-arriving Germans.¹⁹ The identification of New York City's

¹⁷ This aspect of our politics is discussed in the subsequent chapter.

¹⁸ E. G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, p. 394. New York: Charities Publishing Company, 1910. Postwar trends are based upon the writer's own observations.

¹⁹ Henry R. Mueller, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania*, p. 245. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.

first Irish leaders with Tammany Hall democracy set the pattern for all succeeding waves of Irish immigration.²⁰ Carl Schurz, as the outstanding German immigrant of the 1850's, established a lasting German Lutheran precedent when he joined his fortunes with those of the rising Republican Party. Among the newer immigrant groups, Charles Jonas, a graduate of the Polytechnic at Prague, came to Racine, Wisconsin, in 1863 to edit the *Slavic*. "Such was the weight of his word that his views and his opinions on matters relating to the national life of the Czechs in America were regarded as final; not perhaps because he was always right, but because it was Jonas who said it. About 1872 the *Slavic* ranged itself openly on the side of the Democratic Party, with the result that probably the majority of Czechs followed Jonas willingly and embraced the creed thereof."²¹ In turn, in New Mexico, the issues that might provoke racial difficulties are avoided by both political parties because of its large bloc of Spanish-American voters.²²

The disinclination to retain ancestral identities, on the other hand, affected the young people among the Scandinavians, the Czechs, and the Poles before 1939. "Only the Irish and the Jews have been able to capitalize those very characteristics which distinguish them from the 'average American.'" ²³

The Poles are chiefly democratic. Although inclined to support Republican candidates in national elections, unlike their brethren in Chicago, they have been given very few favors by the party machine. They derived some power because they were masses in certain pivotal assembly districts, such as the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Assembly Districts, in Kings County (New York).

The Czech, Armenian, Greek, French, Syrian, Puerto Rican, Jewish, Ukrainian, and Hungarian clubs are generally affiliated with the Democratic Party, but their loyalty is uncertain since they are usually starved for patronage. The Republicans have the almost undivided support of the Swedes (organized on a national scale as the John Ericsson Republican League) and of the Norwegians.

The Slavs make periodic attempts to combine themselves into a Slavic bloc. Thus, in 1933, an effort was made to combine ten

²⁰ Gustavus Meyers, *History of Tammany Hall*, p. 54 and *passim*. New York: The Author, 1901.

²¹ Thomas Capek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, pp. 183-184. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.

²² J. C. Russell, "Racial Groups in the New Mexico Legislature," *The Annals*, CXCIV (1938), pp. 62-71.

²³ Roy V. Peel, *The Political Clubs of New York City*, pp. 257-258. New York: J. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935.

Slavonic clubs into a Council of the Slavonic Democratic Clubs in New York "in the interest of the regular Democratic nominees for the city-wide offices."

Recognition granted to immigrant vote. Organization efforts of the parties greatly affect immigrant party loyalties. The large and frequently decisive vote cast by immigrant groups is too important a prize to be neglected by ambitious and realistic party leaders. Particularly in doubtful areas, overtures from the competing party organizations may become so generous that the immigrant groups are given opportunities to bargain for "recognition." In the belt of industrial states from Massachusetts to Illinois, where the immigrant vote determines the outcome of all elections, party leaders have developed with great skill the two main methods of "recognition": a proportionate distribution of the patronage of the party, and the "balanced" ticket on which nominations are carefully distributed between the various nationalities. The Fusion ticket for the 1933 municipal election in New York City presents a striking example of the practice. The nominee for mayor, Fiorello H. La Guardia, represented the Italian-American ambitions for high city office; while Bernard S. Deutch, nominee for president of the Board of Aldermen, and Arthur Cunningham, nominee for comptroller, represented the Jewish and Irish groups respectively. The opposing tickets revealed a similar "balance" of the city's important nationality groups. When *The Saturday Evening Post* published, on March 28, 1942, an article dealing with the Jewish people, written by Milton Mayer, which was the subject of wide protest by people of various races and creeds, Wendell Willkie wrote an article on "The Case for the Minorities," published in that periodical on June 27, 1942, built on the thesis that "the full recognition of the rights of minorities has been a gradual evolution in America," that "as citizens, we must fight in their incipient stages all movements by government or party or pressure groups that seek to limit the legitimate liberties of any of our fellow citizens." Added Republican Willkie: "I have been sickened to see political parties flirting with remnants of anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klanism and hesitating to denounce the anti-Semitism of Coughlinites and others."

Economic factors and the rise of native-born leaders. Two main forces serve frequently to modify the allegiance of an immigrant group. The economic motive will slowly overcome an incompatible nationality loyalty. Thus, the Scandinavian groups, characterized by an early and long-continued allegiance to Republicanism, have

progressed in the last half century from insurgency to independency (as in the Progressive Party of Wisconsin and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota) or Democratic allegiance, as the economic interests of the Upper Mississippi and the Northwest deviated from the Republican formula.²⁴ The more recent revolt from Republicanism by the Italian and Slavic voters of the Pennsylvania mining and industrial centers demonstrates a similar modification of immigrant party behavior by economic factors. In like manner, the growth of "Irish Republicanism" in the New York metropolitan area (of which the nomination of William F. Bleakley as Republican candidate for governor and Alfred E. Smith's "walk" into the Republican Party are symptomatic) is largely the product of the rise of the Irish leaders to a state of economic well-being.

Economic success is, however, one of the dissolving forces disintegrating our minority groups. A successful German businessman may not show his interest in the Nazi Bund because of his idea that the Republican Party success might be more important to him than the victory of Hitler. Or a Scandinavian farmer may be more interested in the farming policies of his candidates than in the vote-catching references to the glorious past of Scandinavia.

The second prominent factor in the modification of established immigrant party loyalties is the rise of native-born leaders of the group. This is particularly important in groups whose foreign-born members are separated by a language barrier from full participation in the party system. It has been the native-born leaders who have led the transfer in party allegiance of Scandinavian voters, and, more recently, of Slavic and Italian voters. Minority groups see in the attainment of public office a recognition of their kind; thus in local and state elections there is a tendency to include in the ticket persons from each of the groups, carefully apportioned according to the strength of the minorities represented. In Chicago, for instance, it has become customary for the precinct captain to be of the dominant nationalistic group in the precinct; these functionaries are usually second-generation foreign stock.²⁵

Influences in state and local elections. Minorities obviously can be outvoted, except in areas of local concentration. In state and local elections, the naturalized voters have frequently held the balance of power. Let us document this assumption by quoting from

²⁴ Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-178.

²⁵ Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 64. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

the 1930 population census for a few great United States cities. In Boston, for example, there are 50,000 foreign-born Irish, 100,000 Scandinavians, 111,000 Germans, 150,000 Poles, 50,000 Czechs, 25,000 Austrians and 74,000 Italians. New York City is another welter; 221,000 foreign-born Irish, 440,000 from Italy, 442,000 Russians, 238,000 first-generation Germans, 35,000 immigrants from Bohemia. Cleveland, a center of defense industry, is a Slovak town; Buffalo, important in the aircraft industry, is Polish.

How well the concentration of the foreign born in certain cities was known to the politicians of the previous century is reported by a well-known American historian, who informs us that immediately upon his arrival in the United States he found that immigrants were under the watchful eyes of politicians who regarded them in the light of potential voters. Some immigrant stocks were even called "voting cattle" and were "herded" to the polls by bosses and ward heelers.²⁶ In cities like Chicago and New York, the days preceding elections witnessed the fraudulent naturalization of hundreds, if not thousands. However, many states conferred the right of suffrage on immigrants who had taken out their first papers.

The importance of the immigrant voter led—for instance, in the two decades preceding the election of Lincoln—to special efforts to capture the Irish and German vote, which had become self-conscious partly because of the antiforeign Know-Nothing Party.

The Irish have probably exerted greater influence on American politics in proportion to their numbers than have any other alien group. They have usually remained faithful to the Democratic Party. In many cities, as New York, the Irish have controlled city government and the party machine for generations, although in New York City the Irish domination of Tammany Hall has been shared, in recent decades, with Jews, Italians, and other more recent arrivals.

The Slavs, especially the Poles, have recently become an important element in American politics. Settling in the cities, they often contested Irish supremacy. At first, the Slavs joined the Republican Party because this was the organization favored by their employers. But many did not like Prohibition, enforced under Republican auspices, and turned to the Democrats. Now they form a significant group in the Democratic ranks of Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New York. The Democrats elected Anton Cermak, a Czech. as

²⁶ G. M. Stephenson, "Immigrants in Politics," *Dictionary of American History*, III, p. 73. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. See also E. F. Roberts, *Ireland in America*, pp. 85, 111-113, 115, 179-180; C. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 483.

mayor of Chicago, our second largest city, and they hold the balance of power in several other cities.

The Italians also tended to join the Republican Party to please their employers, but they likewise were unhappy about Prohibition. Many deserted to the Democrats. The most notable of Italian politicians is Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York.

The immigrant vote has not, perhaps, seriously affected the outcome of national elections, although political observers have credited the immigrant in earlier instances with special importance.²⁷ For example, in the national election of 1844 the Whig press attributed the success of Polk in New York state to the votes of 10,000 Irishmen employed on internal improvement works. In the national election campaign of 1852, both parties made a systematic effort to win the German and Irish vote. The political strategy in the four years preceding the all-important election of 1860 consisted in dangling tempting bait before the immigrants in order to entice them into the rival political camps.²⁸ Although the foreign-born voter has a definite influence on elections, his decisions tend probably more and more to be made on the basis of his social and economic interests rather than because of the symbols identified with the interests of his "old country." In some states and communities he holds occasionally the balance of power, and politicians in making up party slates and writing party platforms are compelled to take account of this fact. This influence seems to have been increasing in recent years. Although the United States is still called an Anglo-Saxon country, the relative importance of that stock has considerably declined as a result of the predominance of central and eastern Europeans in the immigration of the last fifty years. Assimilation has been imperfect, as the existence of the hyphenated American suggests, and the result is that America has a great many fault lines ready to become fissures and lines of cleavage, especially during the times of possible and real wars, when foreign quarrels create ethnic frictions on this side of the water and every European war becomes potentially a domestic conflict.

The most deplorable effect of immigration on American politics has been the close connection of the racial and national minority vote with the corrupt political machine—although native citizens have given equal evidence of poor ideals of citizenship. J. T. Salter in his

²⁷ Cf. C. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166; George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration*, pp. 118-119, 125-133, 153, 198-200. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1926.

²⁸ George M. Stephenson, "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IX, pp. 185-202.

study of Philadelphia concluded that the "machine" works most effectively among the socially handicapped groups—the poor and ignorant—and that these are found most numerous in the foreign-born and colored districts.²⁹

Racial, national and cultural heterogeneities of the various groups with different traditions have brought conflicts in loyalties. The varying degree between native-born young voters and their naturalized foreign-born parents of identification with the country of origin decreases the unity of appeal and the homogeneity of action. As this process continues, minority groups as such will play little part in domestic politics. Their votes will be cast as a result of individual judgment rather than because they are members of a group.

²⁹ J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics*, pp. 6, 55, 75 ff. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935.

CHAPTER XVI

America's Minorities and Foreign Politics

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

THE foreign-born citizen, applying for American citizenship, completes the Americanization process legally, giving up his allegiance to the "foreign potentate" that is, to the government of his country of birth, and by swearing allegiance to the United States. But the legalistic procedure does not, unfortunately, transform overnight the complicated social attitudes of the newly certified American citizen. He not only does not and cannot wholly give up his emotional ties and interests in the internal and international politics of his native country, but also he continues, in many cases, his more or less active participation in the processes affecting the fortunes of his native country. In this respect, his interests differ only in degree from the interests of the American-born citizens who pass daily all kinds of judgments on foreign events, the course of which bombards them daily from radios, newspapers, periodicals, books, and lectures.

One of the cardinal principles of the United States in ordering its foreign relations has been its predilection for the encouragement of democracy throughout the world and its favoring of the diffusion of popular government.¹ Always ready to denounce despotism, dictatorship, and all forms of repression, the government has been nearly always quick to recognize republics set up by popular revolt (as in South America), nearly always glad to welcome rebels like Kossuth, and nearly always ready to give moral and other support to oppressed peoples. Thus, America has always been a place of refuge for the political refugees, unable to achieve their political aims within their own states, who have continued their revolutionary activities on behalf of their causes from American soil and with the help of their nationals in the United States. Groups from countries under foreign or oppressive rule have always worked on behalf of the liberation of their

¹ Allan Nevins, *America in World Affairs*, p. 12. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942.

native lands in this country. Each violent overturn of a regime in Latin America brought refugees to New York. Ever since Latin America freed itself from Spanish rule, New York has been a center of opposition movements by refugees; and many historical figures, including ex-presidents, dictators, and cabinet officials, have spent years of exile here. The movement for the independence of Cuba was greatly aided by the revolutionary junta in New York, under the leadership of the Cuban patriot, Jose Marti. When the exiled adherents of a cause returned to the homeland, following a revolution, their opponents often took their place here as exiles. In the case of Spain, almost all the refugees who came to New York were workers forced to flee from the homeland following the periodical violent suppression of the labor movement.

But as far as the immigrant and refugee is concerned, here is a curious phenomenon which troubles the student favoring cultural democracy and which focuses itself around the following questions: how far has the foreign-born immigrant the right to continue his active participation in the politics of his native country, as an *American* citizen, as well as in the politics of the United States on behalf of or against the fortunes of his native country? How far has he the right to insist on thrashing over the bitterness and experiences of the politics of the "old country" in the "new" country and to inflict their continuation on America and on his children?

The importance of these activities can be better understood by recalling that beyond the ambitions of these foreign-born people lives a larger body still of American people whose parents or grandparents were foreign born, and who still feel some tie with the motherland. Thus, certain of the racial and other minority groups have not hesitated to take an active part in American history on behalf of the lands of their forefathers. Irish-American organizations, German-American and Jewish organizations, have been especially active in foreign affairs in this respect.² When the nations of the world are

² Allan Nevins, *America in World Affairs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 37; Sulamith Schwartz, "Zionism in American Jewish Life," pp. 231-250, in O. I. Janowsky, Ed., *The American Jew* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942); Tom Ireland, *Ireland, Past and Present* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), contains interesting passages, taken largely from Gwyenne's biography, on De Valera's activities in the United States; C. J. Child, *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939), analyzes the purpose and activities of the National German-American Alliance; M. J. Kohler, *The United States and German Jewish Persecutions—Precedents for Popular and Governmental Action* (New York: The Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Bulletin of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 1, 1933); Leon Israel Feuer, *Why a Jewish State* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940); J. S. Roucek, "Foreign Politics and our Minorities," *Phylon*, 11 (First Quarter, 1941), pp. 44-56; Oscar Jaszi, "Political Refugees," *Annals*, CCIII (May, 1939), pp. 83-93.

stirred particularly by wars and political storms, the United States foreign groups, and many of their American friends, are likewise stirred. Ever since United States Jacobins paraded New England streets in 1793 wearing tricolor cockades and chanting slogans of France's revolutionists, Americans have been quick to take up causes of their minorities to which they subscribed.

Identification of minority and traditional causes. It is true that minority agitation has never been powerful enough to control the main course of American foreign policy. Minority groups are seldom united in supporting the policies of the homeland, and the more discreet minority leaders are well aware of the dangers for the group if it appears to place the native land too directly ahead of the new land. The exceptions to this general tendency, the prototalitarian minorities that existed prior to America's entry into World War II, involved only a very few of our minority groups.

It is interesting to note, however, that the pressures exerted on behalf of foreign causes are just as much the result of the spontaneous ideological urges of our foreign-born citizens as of the agitation carried on by political exiles and refugees from oppressed countries in the United States.³ The "old-country" complex is important not only in the minds and feelings of immigrants but also of many old-stock Americans. Adamic states, for example, that the Aid-to-Britain movement was initiated during the early stages of World War II primarily not because Hitler menaced the Western Hemisphere, but "simply because vast masses of the dominant old-line American strain reacted instantly and passionately to England's sudden and extreme danger—England: the home of Magna Carta, of Shakespeare and of Milton and Keats and Shelley, of the King James version of the Bible; their imperishable 'home.'" Thus it was an old-stock American, Governor Robert O. Blood of New Hampshire, who, when presenting John G. Winant, the newly appointed ambassador to the Court of St. James, to his state legislature in February, 1941, called him "the man who is going over to represent us in our fatherland." Although "seven members of the legislature protested to the governor that England was not 'our fatherland,' that 'we Americans cannot have two fatherlands,'" no reply came from the governor.⁴

The unneutral neutrality. Although the Neutrality Act of 1937 registered the high-water mark of isolationist sentiment and power in

³ Cf. Frances L. Reinhold, "Exiles and Refugees in American History," *Annals*, CCIII (May, 1939), pp. 63-73; Blair Bolles, "The Stew in the Melting Pot," *Harpers Magazine*, CLXXXVI (January, 1943), pp. 179-186.

⁴ The above quotations are from Louis Adamic, *Two-Way Passage*, pp. 59-61. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941.

the United States, its fictional aspects soon became apparent. America's sentimental attachment to France, her many ties of blood, culture, political tradition, and material interests with the British Commonwealth, and the loyalty of Americans to the democratic ideal, soon evoked actions which nullified this act, and especially when the disasters in Europe took up their rapid march from one conquest to another. The annexation of Austria to the Reich in March, 1938, was accepted with only sporadic expressions of disgust and alarm. The Czechoslovak crisis in September, 1938, agitated public sentiment to the degree that the Administration took a long new step toward vigorous participation in world affairs. The American people, it is true, rejoiced over the calling of the Munich Conference, but they did not rejoice over its result—and the settlement made the very name of that city a term of reproach and bitterness.

The feeling against the Nazis hardened and found its expression in the completion of the Czecho-Slovak Pavilion at the World's Fair of 1939 with the funds collected under the auspices of American public leaders and Mayor La Guardia, in coöperation with Minister Hurban of the Czechoslovak Legation. Not only the Czechoslovak but also the Polish diplomatic and consular representatives were allowed to stay in this country; they naturally continued organizing their minorities as well as America's public opinion on behalf of their cause. Hundreds of American Finns departed with "un-official" blessing for Finland in 1939 in order to fight for their country against Russia, and in December of that year President Roosevelt was thanked for "the offer of his good offices to avoid war" by the Finnish Workers' Educational Alliance of New York City. In addition, the resolution said that

. . . the Finns and Americans of Finnish descent have complete faith and confidence in the Finnish people, their heroic fight to maintain the political independence and domestic liberty of Finland, and pledge all material assistance within their means to the victims of Russia's attacks.

Under the Neutrality Act of 1939, all organizations engaged in "the solicitation or collection of funds and contributions to be used for medical aid and assistance, or for food or clothing to relieve human suffering" in countries the president had proclaimed to be at war were to register to be exempted from the law's general prohibitions against such activities. The question of registration arose in September, 1939, when the German Army invaded Poland and Roosevelt declared that a state of war existed. Previously, in the interval

after April of that year, when the Spanish Civil War was officially declared at an end, there was no neutrality proclamation in effect in regard to any part of the world, so registration for collection of funds was not required. A sidelight on the trend of American sympathies was shown in an analysis of the contributions in December, 1939: 151 organizations were raising money for Poland; fifty-four for France; twenty-three for Great Britain; nine for Germany; four for Palestine; and one each for India, Canada, Bohemia-Moravia, Australia, and New Zealand. Finland was not covered "because there has been no proclamation that she is at war."⁵ In January, 1941, 1,000,000 men and women were engaged in war-relief work. After September 6, 1939, and until late 1944, more than \$36,000,000 had been raised by the 304 miscellaneous agencies, and more than \$27,000,000 in cash and goods had been sent abroad.

To help fight China's undeclared war with Japan, the American Chinese were digging deep into hidden stores of wealth. As early as 1890, the Chinese immigrants were supporting Dr. Sun Yat-sen with their money.⁶ "The overseas Chinese," he himself said, "were the Mother of the Chinese Revolution." Both before and after the revolution of 1911, the overseas Chinese contributed millions of dollars to patriotic funds. They have been credited with a large part of the success of the general strike in China in 1925 and of the northern expedition led by Chiang Kai-shek in 1926. It was these same Chinese who, during the period of Japanese aggression in the Far East, kept up an incessant protest in California, picketing the Japanese consulates, marching with banners in protest against the shipment of scrap iron, petroleum, and war supplies to Japan. Even before Pearl Harbor, west-coast Chinese had enlisted in China's Air Corps; Portland alone sent thirty-three trained pilots to Chiang Kai-shek. Los Angeles gave to the Chinese Air Force one of its greatest heroes, "Buffalo" Wong, who shot down more than thirty-five Japanese planes in the pre-Pearl Harbor days of Japanese invasion of China.

Reactions to Hitler's aggressions. With Hitler's ascent to power, Americans in general became absorbedly interested in the old continent, and the immigrant groups more than ever before focused their anxiety on their respective old countries. The resurgent attention

⁵ Note, however, that the Neutrality Act required registration only of societies raising funds for war relief. An organization that sought funds to aid the emigration and resettlement of refugees was not required to register.

⁶ Carey McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin*, p. 92. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943.

to the "homeland" reached its first climax at Munich, its second at the invasion of Poland, and its third during the fatal spring of 1940. After that the antipathies and sympathies against and for the subjected and aggressive countries of the world integrated themselves with the attention paid by all Americans, regardless of background, to the war. The Norwegian Lutheran Church in America at its biennial convention in Minneapolis in June, 1942, urged its 536,000 members to give "full support to the war efforts of their country with their substance and, if necessary, with their lives."⁷ Reason for this shrill small voice was the anti-Quisling stand of their mother church in Norway, which had convinced Norwegian Lutherans in the United States that militancy is the best policy.

The Self-Determination Pressures in America

The nationalistic aspirations of the small nations received a strong impetus during World War I from the support of their compatriots living in America, which comprised a welter of movements of the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Lithuanians, the Balkan and Baltic peoples, and others.⁸ The liberation of Czechoslovakia received powerful support from the organized American Czechs and Slovaks, led by Dr. Thomas Garigue Masaryk; after Hitler's absorption of Czechoslovakia, Masaryk's successor, Dr. Eduard Beneš renewed similar activities in America on behalf of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from Hitler. The Polish Americans, interested in the liberation of Poland during the first World War, contributed substantially to its realization. The Polish National Alliance in the United States was an important aid to Paderewski and Pilsudski in their drive for the reconstruction of the Polish state. Many American Slavs found prominent posts in the new Slav government. Prohibited in Russia and suppressed in Prussia, Lithuanian cultural and patriotic activities were transferred to the United States,

⁷ *Time*, XXXIX (June 29, 1942), p. 70.

⁸ For an interesting survey of such activities of the Italians, Irish, Poles, Hungarians, and Germans, see Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. V: *Over Here, 1914-1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), Chap. V, "Evolution of American Thought," pp. 133-144, and Chap. VIII, "German Plotting Exposed," pp. 184-196. Emanuel Voska and Will Irwin, *Spy and Counterspy* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), is the story of how American Czechs worked against German agents in this country in World War I. We cannot accept Adamic's assumption, in his *Two-Way Passage* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), p. 67, that "in the 1920s and early '30s a great many older immigrants ceased to worry about the countries of their birth." This interest has continued and has expressed itself in other forms. But Adamic is right in seeing the influence of the trips that thousands of young Americans of recent-immigrant derivations took abroad (see pp. 67-68).

and the contact between those who had remained at home and those who had emigrated was a major factor in arousing the national aspirations of the Lithuanians under Russian rule. Rarlis Ulmanis, the head of the present government in Latvia, was implicated in the revolutionary movement in 1905 and had to remain in America from 1907 to 1913. Faik Bey Konitza, an Albanian leader against the Turks, came to America in 1908 and strengthened the smouldering Albanian nationalistic spirit by forming the Pan-Albanian Federation of America, which loaned a considerable sum of money to King Zog after World War I.⁹

Pressures exerted on Wilson by American minorities. Both in making peace at Paris in 1919, and in his fight for the League of Nations afterward, President Wilson was faced with endless pressure by American minority groups.¹⁰ The Italian Americans pressed him to support their motherland in demanding a Tyrolese frontier that included the Brenner Pass; they resented Wilson's course with regard to Fiume. Since Massachusetts had a host of Italian-American voters, Senator Lodge propounded that this port was as essential to Italian welfare as was the possession of New Orleans to the United States. The Irish Americans were, at the same time, affronted because Wilson refused to press Great Britain for the erection of an Irish Republic. Other groups also pressed the claims of their respective countries of origin.

Anti-German policies and German Americans. In the period preceding the first World War, the German-American Alliance and associated societies of persons of Germanic origin agitated and petitioned against policies of the Wilson administration that they deemed favorable to England and unfavorable to Germany. When their efforts failed to influence the course of administration foreign policy, they turned their energies to the election of 1916 and sought to swing the German vote to Hughes.¹¹ A similar sequence of events occurred in the 1940 campaign. The Steuben Society supported Willkie, and political commentators expressed the opinion that the "German vote"

⁹ Joseph S. Roucek, *The Politics of the Balkans*, Chap. V, "Albania," p. 98. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939; Roucek, "Social Character of Albanian Politics," *Social Science*, X (January, 1935), pp. 71-79.

¹⁰ Allan Nevins, *America in World Affairs*, pp. 37-38. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942; Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. V, *Over Here, 1914-1918* (New York: Scribner's, 1933), Chap. V, pp. 184-196, describes political activities of America's Italians, Irish, Poles, and Hungarians.

¹¹ Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War*. Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1936; C. J. Child, *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939.

went to Willkie in protest against the Democratic foreign policy.¹² Theodore Hoffman, president of the Steuben Society of America, was authorized in 1940 by his organization to solicit the membership "for a \$10,000 fund to fight British propaganda and influence in the United States." He asserted that "an American has a right to endeavor to keep this country out of war. The policy of this organization is that of George Washington—friendship to all and no foreign entanglements. The Steuben Society is minding its own business." Asked why the society antipropaganda fight was aimed only at Great Britain, Hoffman asserted: "Because Great Britain, with its propaganda, is trying to get us into war, and we don't want that." He then was asked if the society was not against Nazi propaganda. He replied affirmatively and insisted that "the only foreign propaganda that is trying to get us into war is British propaganda. It's a vital American question." In reply to the question whether he was against Nazism in this country, Hoffman asserted: "We're against all isms. Any man who migrates here should leave all political questions behind."

The cause of Irish Americans. The anti-British motif has always been a potent force in American politics, especially when fanned by the Irish Americans. Some three million Irish Americans reflect the forces of the Irish nationalism, even today. From 1840, when the Friends of Ireland societies were formed in the United States, until Ireland acquired home rule in the 1920's, the Irish immigrants in the United States maintained active and organized interest in Irish freedom, and Parnell, O'Connell, O'Connor, and De Valera each depended heavily upon Irish-American support. Agitation against England continued, and Irish immigrants bequeathed hatred of England to their children. During the first World War, the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, an affiliate of Fianna Fail, was particularly aggressive in demands for Irish freedom.¹³ The recently published Lansing Papers reveal that in 1917 President Wilson instructed the American ambassador in London to ask Britain to grant home rule in Ireland so as to take the Irish question out of American politics (a grant made for other reasons in 1922).

But even the granting of independence of Erie did not settle the

¹² V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, p. 152. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942.

¹³ Warner Moss, *Political Parties in the Irish Free State*, p. 44. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. E. F. Roberts, *Ireland in America*, pp. 80-92, 124-127, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931, is also a good discussion of the place of the Irish in American politics.

Irish problem for some Irish Americans. The eighteenth annual convention of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic condemned, for instance, on November 8, 1937, Roosevelt's foreign policy as a "cat's-paw of Britain's selfish purposes." Continually, the German and aggressive foreign governments have used the anti-British elements in the American electorate as a weapon against England. And thus, many Irish Americans could not get enthusiastic over America's alliance with Great Britain in World War II, although "this Irish stock is thoroughly American, perhaps more so than any other immigrant body."¹⁴ One section of the Irish-American community is lukewarm with regard to helping England. Another section, not more numerous but more influential, favored the use of every means to defeat Hitler even before the declaration of World War II. But that the division was there was known even to the leaders in Ireland. On October 17, 1941, Frank MacDermot, senator of Eire, broadcasting over Station WEVD, on his visit to America, advised Americans of Irish descent that they should remember that "if they play Hitler's game by obstructing either America's defense or American aid to Britain they are . . . unconsciously hurting the interests of the people living in Ireland." He continued:¹⁵

It hurts us here in public opinion that many of our race who are American citizens should sometimes seem to think more of Ireland's wrongs than of either America's duties or America's rights; that they should think more of them, indeed, than of developing a system of world coöperation without which a worthwhile civilization cannot be restored or maintained. When thinking about Ireland they should be more interested in the present and the future than in the past, and so far as they do think of the past they should remember that to understand is often to forgive and that there is something to be said on the other side in nearly every story.

Governments-in-exile. As the shadow of Nazism began to spread over Europe and nation after nation was overrun by Hitler's hordes, the homeless and harried leaders of the conquered states started seeking refuge in America or England. In 1942, eight legal sovereigns of their nations—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia—were located in London as the "Allied governments in London" (or the "legal governments abroad," as they usually preferred to be called, to avoid the

¹⁴ "Steam from the Melting Pot," *Fortune* (September, 1942), p. 75. See also Suzanne La Follette, "America's Role in Irish Independence," *The Nation*, CLIV (January 31, 1942), pp. 126-129.

¹⁵ *The New York Times*, October 18, 1941.

opprobrium of the term "in exile"). They were supported by their funds abroad (particularly in the United States and Great Britain), the contributions from their nationals or former nationals all over the world (and especially from the United States), and United States lend-lease agreements.¹⁶

Others, both officially recognized and unrecognized leaders, went to the United States and Canada. Royal families, countesses, and numerous writers and scholars, started a procession headed by the Imperial House of Hapsburg, whose seven members first found shelter in a United States colonial house in Royalston, Massachusetts. Empress Zita never let Europe or America or her children forget their Hapsburg claim to the throne that once ruled all central Europe as the Holy Roman Empire. Archduke Otto has spent his life as Pretender in sober study of the art of government, and with his brother, Felix, he appeared in state at New York's St. Patrick's Cathedral as the ranking Roman Catholic layman in the United States.¹⁷ Otto and the others of his kind, as heirs presumptive to toppled thrones, have come to America not to settle but to wait and hope for the day when they may return to their own homes. Their stay in the United States is also the continuance of their families' claims in a re-established Europe.

Not less distinguished but even better known was the personage of Dr. Eduard Beneš, Masaryk's successor in the presidency of Czechoslovakia, who paradoxically enough helped to destroy Otto's Austro-Hungarian Empire, and whose government-in-exile was definitely opposed to all Hapsburg ambitions in that direction. Beneš lectured at the University of Chicago and throughout the United States, helped to organize a Czechoslovak revolutionary movement in this country, and then took up his residence in London as the head of his government. He was followed by Jan Masaryk, son of President Masaryk and foreign minister of the Czechoslovak exiled government, and Antanas Smetona, president of the Republic of Lithuania before it was taken over by Russia in 1940, who arrived in March, 1941.

All of these movements and organizations disagree on their aims and possibly their methods, but they all agree on the tactics: the

¹⁶ See the president's sixth report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations, September 14, 1942, 77th Congress, 2nd session, House Doc. No. 839 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office), p. 11; Winifred N. Hadsel, "Allied Governments in London—War Efforts and Peace Aims," *Foreign Policy Reports*, XVIII (December 15, 1942), pp. 254-255.

¹⁷ "Refugees, Children of Europe are America's Wards," *Life*, IX (December 16, 1940), pp. 89-96; "Rich Refugees," *Fortune* (February, 1941), pp. 81 ff.

best possible propaganda to convince the people of the United States and their representatives of the "righteousness" of their cause and the need to grant full support to each particular cause. All of them flooded this country with many kinds of information, true, partially true, and partially false. This propaganda found expression in publications, releases, motion pictures, posters, circulars, reports, and all other kinds of this type of "information."¹⁸ It is addressed not only to the average American, but also to foreign-born citizens and their descendants sympathetic to the particular cause.

Governments-in-exile and America's minorities. The help of these governments-in-exile in mobilizing manpower among their own nationals was considerable. As propaganda agencies, they encouraged and organized resistance at home and informed the Allied world of its progress. They were the focal points in America where all the efforts of their American compatriots got their directions (as far as they were willing to take them).

Old quarrels revived. The most significant fact, however, is the inability of nearly all the governments-in-exile to induce their American compatriots to come under their leadership. There is abundant testimony to the fact that—although these people are almost without exception loyal to the United States—they have been unable to rid themselves of their distrusts, suspicions, doubts, fears, and ambitions rooted in the wrongs and maladjustments in the old country. There is little unity among them, and old divisions are perpetuated. These attitudes are of deep concern to the representatives of European governments-in-exile.¹⁹ It sharpens political differences among the immigrants themselves to whom the war has brought home the deep-seated struggles of diverse elements in European politics even within a single country.

The Slavs, the largest single bloc of foreign stock in the United States, succeeded in spite of the feuds of centuries in bringing together thirteen national groups in a meeting in Detroit in April, 1942. But this did not mean unity. The frictions and differences continued even among their smallest groups. The Ukrainians distrusted Russia and sought deliverance from rule by Germany, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Many Slovaks favored the separation of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia and actively opposed the work of

¹⁸ For a list of such materials, see: Vernon McKenzie, "United Nations Propaganda in the United States," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VI (Fall, 1942), pp. 351-366.

¹⁹ Joseph S. Roucek, "Foreign Politics and Our Minority Groups," *Phylon*, II (First Quarter, 1941), pp. 44-56.

Beneš and his government-in-exile. The Poles were divided among themselves on how far the government-in-exile ought to allow Russia to dominate or acquire the portions of Poland lost to Russia after Hitler's invasion. The Baltic minorities were divided among those supporting the liberation of their countries and those favoring their absorption by Soviet Russia. The Yugoslavs were split into those supporting separatistic Serb, Croat, and Slovene groups—and in addition by the pro- and anti-Communist factions. The Macedonians still continued to work for a free Macedonia, while the Bulgarians tried to give the impression that the regime of Sofia was something entirely alien to their hopes and aspirations. The Hungarians had their pro-Axis proponents, but there were also liberal leaders who protested vociferously against the pro-Nazi Budapest government. The Greeks had their pro-King and anti-King spokesmen; a substantial number of former inhabitants of the Dodecanesian Isles were organized into a Dodecanesian League in the United States dedicated to a throwing off of the Italian yoke and to a reunion with Greece.

Not to be outdone, the Germans had not only their pro-Nazis (Bundists) but also numerous movements that opposed Nazism, and the Italians their anti-Badoglio and anti-King movements. The Austrians had at one time no less than four separate groups—with the dividing line separating the prodemocratic forces from the pro-Otto cluster. If the fate of Finland was a headache to the State Department, it was much more so to America's loyal and democratic Finns. Only a few communistically minded did not favor the continuation of war with Russia.

Refugees and America's minorities. Several of the recent political refugees, soon after their arrival, have sowed their fears, suspicions, and hatreds in American soil. They have brought with them their understandings, misunderstandings, sufferings, and memories of Europe. While a number of them helped our war efforts (such as Beneš, Halecki, Pribichevich) because their cause was our cause—or vice versa—there were others, without reputation, who handicapped our war efforts by their endeavors to stir up and keep alive Europe's quarrels. Archduke Otto has already been mentioned, and his agitation on behalf of the "Austrian Legion" ought to be remembered with laughter as well as with tears²⁰ for our gullibility and naïveté regarding political realities of Europe. Tibor Eckhardt, former Hungarian minister, earned for his activities the title, "Horthy's paratrooper."

²⁰ See: Joseph S. Roucek, "The 'Free Movements' of Horthy's Eckhardt and Austria's Otto," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII (Fall, 1943), pp. 466-476.

Constantine Fotitch, Milan Hodža, Egnatius Matuszewski and Jovan Duchich stirred up the Yugoslavs, Slovaks, and Poles over the future of their "old country." These were only a few of the many issues stirring up our "melting pot."

Washington's policy toward United Nations propaganda. After some preliminary shifting of responsibilities, Elmer Davis was appointed director of the Office of War Information. On paper, at least, he was given jurisdiction of propaganda and associated activities, with two exceptions: he could not interfere with the program of intercultural education in Latin America or with the activities relating to censorship. He was empowered to establish liaison with foreign-government agencies active in the United States. It was decided that regular returns must be made to the director of the Office of War Information regarding the activities of any nation or "free group" engaged in the dissemination of information in this country. The returns, demanded also in most cases by the Department of Justice, involved a tremendous amount of detail. Presumably, every "communication" sent to more than twenty persons had to be filed with the O.W.I. The material to be filed included press bulletins and releases, information papers, reprints of speeches and official documents, radio scripts, posters, drawings, photographs, matrices, exhibition and display material, recordings, transcriptions, and documentary films; even the circulation of library books had to be reported.

The official policy of the Department of State deserves our special consideration. The department adopted, at first, a noncommittal attitude toward "free movements" and offered any number of good reasons for such reserve. To put its authority behind one of the many factions competing for leadership of a foreign-language group might establish United States recognition of specific claims for the peace settlement. Besides, the overwhelming majority of these groups are American citizens, exercising their right of political activity on United States ground; by definition, such activities are outside the State Department's jurisdiction.

Yet, on December 10, 1941, the department sternly advised United States citizens not to participate actively in "free movements," which should be left to foreign nationals.²¹ But to discourage United States citizens from shaping the character and policy of these groups would mean only the withdrawal of the most dependable patriotic elements. Consequently, the State Department did not insist on a narrow inter-

²¹ H. B. Hoskins, "American Unity and our Foreign-Born Citizens," *Annals*, CCXX (March, 1942), pp. 153-157.

pretation of its advice and actually kept up constant contact with the United States branches of most "free movements." In fact, the uniform politeness of these day-by-day dealings was the very problem; practically all foreign-language organizations claimed to be in excellent standing with the department, and while it thus got passively involved in embarrassing controversies, the State Department denied itself the advantage of directing, supervising, or arbitrarily using these groups.

The department showed its teeth, however, by ordering the Finnish Information Center in New York on December 29, 1942, to cease issuing news releases and pamphlets as a result of the difficulties faced by the United States representatives in Helsinki.

Van Loon's suggestions in regard to titled claimants. A taint of sarcasm pertaining to one side of this problem was presented by Henrik van Loon (in his review of E. B. White and Katherine S. White's *A Subtreasury of American Humor*):²²

If I were a rich man . . .

. . . I would forward copies to all the ex- and future Excellencies who either headed or who hope to head governments . . . Imperial, Royal and Serene Highnesses, the moment they are safely re-established on the throne of their ancestors, and these eminent statesmen would enclose in their letters of acknowledgment an imposing collection of pamphlets and brochures which they had written on the Future of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lombardy, Jutland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Lithuania, and threescore others.

. . . I would offer copies of this book to all the members of the Honorable Opposition of the aforementioned governments-in-exile, who hope to follow in the wake of the American tanks, carrying their former masters back to their Imperial, Royal and Serene palaces, and who then expect to do a little fishing of their own in a great deal of troubled waters of their native ponds. These minor lights of statecraft would also favor me with pamphlets in Polish, Danish, Czech, Frisian, and Lett, and their conclusions would be in direct contradiction to everything I had received the week before from the bona fide Excellencies.

. . . I would smuggle these books into the apartments of all the distinguished immigrants who changed from the Ritz-Chambord in Paris to the Chambord-Ritz in New York as soon as the swastika was hoisted on top of the *Tour d'Eifel*, and who are deeply disturbed whenever they discover that their *cotelettes des saumon* have been prepared with the best of our American Burgundies instead of with the indifferent original article from the vineyards of their beloved France. . . .

. . . I would give copies to all those staunch men of business who, even

²² *Tomorrow*, I (February, 1942), p. 52.

in their dire hour of banishment, continue to confuse their own interests with those of the people whom they left to their fate the moment Herr Hitler's cohorts descended upon their unfortunate native lands.

Of course, this campaign of enlightenment would cost me a pretty penny, but it would be well worth while, for on the steps of this literary subtreasury those visitors from abroad might at least learn something about the people with whom they will have to deal when the final hour of settlement comes.

Van Loon's sarcasm was not without its value; and particularly so when we survey the free reign granted to the propaganda activities of von Eckhardt of Hungary and Pretender Otto of Austria.

While in the heat of war, all of us have a deep interest in the future of individual nations and the world. If to this inevitable interest is added even the faintest residue of national consciousness, the activities described above are normal and, unless carried to extreme, are wholesome. They do not imply a lesser loyalty to America, and with the return of peace and the eventual re-establishment of national boundaries, emotional concern for European nationality groups will lessen and virtually disappear.

The immigrant and radicalism. One further statement is necessary, and that concerns the frequent charge of radicalism levied against the immigrant. It is true that ²³ left-wing parties are more active than are regulars in organizing clubs among the Slavs, the Finns, the Lithuanians, the Hungarians, and others. The activities of these nationality clubs vary. The Italians often use their own language, except where the club membership is composed chiefly of young people born in this country. This applies also to the Germans, Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians. Practically all the other clubs employ the English language, securing the "national" atmosphere by characteristic songs, performances, and subjects for discussion, and performers appear in native costume.

Owing, to a considerable degree at least, to the activities of these clubs, the charge of excessive radicalism against the immigrant voters was exceptionally strong during the depression. It is true that there are individuals among immigrants whose "radicalism," reflecting the resentment against the oppressive regime of the countries wherefrom such individuals had emigrated, is still propounded in terms that remind us more of the prewar days of "socialism" and "anarchism" than of the burning ideological questions of today. Locally, radical-

²³ Roy V. Peel, *The Political Clubs of New York City*, p. 259. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935.

ism made sporadic advances among minorities, not because of the appeal of radicalism itself, but as Young says, "because organizers offered a means of fighting a particular unbearable condition, as in sections of some sweated urban industries and among certain groups of hard-hit colored tenant farmers in the South."²⁴ Young also adds: "There is also reason to believe that some of the apparent success of radical leaders in encouraging minority violence has in fact been a form of profiteering in race riots and other disturbances among minorities which were cleverly adopted as propagandistic evidence of strength." However, "oppressed minorities seem generally uninterested in adding the stamp of radicalism to their other handicaps."

²⁴ Donald Young, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

Part IV

RACIAL AND CULTURAL CONFLICTS AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER XVII

Prejudice and Minority Groups

EVERETT ROSS CLINCHY

THE problem of prejudices, the pre-judgments of a person or a group, is clearly an important one, for the special danger of the present century, as Irving Babbitt of Harvard pointed out, is an increasing material contact between national and racial groups that remain spiritually alien. Prejudices against aliens rest upon customary, group-accepted ideas, stereotypes, and emotions about *all* the people in another group *thought of as a unit*.

When applied to the Negro, for example: "A Negro is not first Mr. George Johnson, with a certain background of experience which sets him off as an individual in our own society, but he is first of all to many of us a Negro, a colored man, and only incidentally, and perhaps not at all, a person in his own right."¹ Such emotional reactions, not checked at all by rational considerations, slow up desirable social processes. When prejudice comes in the door, justice, amity, understanding, and coöperation are likely to fly out the window. A community of cultures cannot be made to integrate if each group making up a population acts upon a basis of "automatic emotional responses."²

Origin of Prejudice

Every child is born *not* into human society in the large, but into what Socrates called "a fragment" of civilization, that is, a *culture*

¹ K. Young, *An Introductory Sociology*, p. 424. New York: American Book Company, 1934.

² William Biddle, *Propaganda and Education*, a dissertation, Teachers College. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

group. Each culture group has its own magnetic field, and the group polarizes its individuals. The result is what Franklin Giddings, in his *Principles of Sociology*, called "the consciousness of kind." Giddings may have overstressed the habit individuals have of tending automatically to associate with persons like themselves, and, spontaneously, to dislike the unlike. Nevertheless, the fact remains that men and women live in culture groups as truly as bees live in hives or monkeys in troops. They are jealous of their distinctiveness. Each group prides itself on its culture, that "complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs."³

Moreover, as Clark Wissler pointed out in *Man and Culture*, all individuals are bred in a culture group in whose superiority they firmly believe, and for whose continuity, in a crisis, they would die. People of one culture group figuratively build fences between themselves and outsiders. For example, they anathematize intermarriage. They are disposed to regard *their* group as the center of their existence, nourishing a collective sense of pride, asserting a sense of group worthfulness, and exalting the culture's tested values and standards. They are bent upon saving their own individuated group life; they are *ethnocentric*.

As was pointed out in Chapter I, the origin of social prejudice arises right here. The "individuated" people becomes a closed group. Every language has developed opprobrious epithets for outsiders. "Irish mick," "dago," "Protestant pup," "uncircumcised pig-eater," "sheeney," "nigger," and "white trash," are some of the derogatory names marking the contemptuous feeling toward people who are biologically or culturally different. Every racial and cultural division in history has suffered from such names, and minorities as well as majorities have used them.

The out-group psychology issues in ridicule of "foreign" ways of behaving. In self-defense, the in-group exaggerates the eccentricities of the out-group; believes all manner of evil about them; generalizes about an entire outside group as though all individuals in the other culture were the same disagreeable, untrustworthy beings. These attitudes toward outlanders are in the subconscious. They are associated with the deep emotion of fear—fear of the "outlandish ways," fear of the unknown. It frequently develops that this is the basis of prejudice.

Furthermore, the in-group and out-group psychology issues in two contrasting sets of ethics. While people multiply personal friend-

³ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Seventh Edition, Vol. I, p. 14. New York: Brentano's, 1924 (Coward McCann, Inc.).

ships with those within their group, they keep away from outsiders. While they encourage and help members of their own clan to live successfully, they discriminate against and annihilate, if they can, the outsiders.

This oversimplification of the picture may leave the reader with the feeling that prejudices are tribalistic, that only relatively primitive folk act this way. The truth is that there are no individuals, however "sophisticated," however "scientific," who are completely emancipated from social prejudices. To a less degree but with equal finality these same individuals and all of us ascribe uncomplimentary encomiums to those who differ from ourselves in color, race, or culture. It is an occasion of wonder why otherwise thoughtful men and women, prejudiced against one or another group, do not pause and ask "How did these 'strange' people get that way? What is the history of their cases? Have individuals within the group anything in common with me? Do they not seek the same fundamental values that are the concern of all of us?"

The fact that so few people ask themselves such questions, or indeed seek to evaluate their prejudices, reveals how profound a domination the customs of one's group have over the individual. The individual has been given his outfit of notions, beliefs, and tastes; has had his mental patterns and ways of doing things prescribed by the *mores*. The stranger with *alien mores* appears, at first sight, to be an enemy of all that is sacred.

The danger of prejudices is that they call forth automatic emotional responses. They tend to make people act without thinking. The sympathetic nervous system through which prejudices react, physiologically, is the most elemental, the most primitive equipment man has. For a long span in the ordeal of the civilizing process in which mankind is still engaged—and very likely we are even now in the early stages of the process—man made an emotional adjustment to his environment. More and more, man has called upon another level of his equipment, the cerebral cortex of the *central nervous system*, which integrates brain, spinal cord, and all muscles under conscious control. The educational task, then, is to lift the concerns of human relationships up from the automatic emotional-response level, the prejudice area, into the thought-taking control of the cerebral cortex. Legislation and police are gradually doing away with any necessity for rapid, automatic emotional responses of fight or flight. Mankind has arrived at the stage of civilization where group rights can be collectively safeguarded. A culture group can now afford to condition emotions of appreciation of outsiders and

still expect to maintain group individuation. Prejudices can be sloughed off as vestiges of outmoded tribalisms.

Complicating Factors

This discussion has assumed that there are no "instinctive prejudices." Children are not born with racial, nationalistic, religious, or other varieties of prejudice. This discussion has, however, indicated that culture groups will forever tend socially to create loyalties and antipathies, likes and dislikes.⁴ The societal problem of intergroup adjustments will always exist. Even if currently existing cultures disappear, new groups will form and multiply which will give expression in social collectives to the fine distinctions of free minds and express the varied tone, color, and tempo of different traditions and spiritual insight. George Santayana has noted that in his opinion all men are destined eventually to live in terms of a common civilization of science and morals, but as they attain it they will more and more creatively differentiate on the cultural plane. Cultural divisions, then, will always characterize human civilization.

One complicating factor in dealing with prejudice, therefore, may be posed in the question: How can a group ensure cultural loyalty among its members, develop an enthusiasm which makes its people feel that they have a sense of mission in the world, and at the same time instruct its constituency in appreciative understanding of other cultures? To put this concretely, can a nation escape the disintegration that comes with enervation of its patriotism without beating the drums of jingoism? For a decade before the outbreak of World War II, Italy, Japan, and Germany had said that it could not be done. They inculcated in youth a sense of the superiority of their own cultures and derided all others. They relapsed to primitive groupism, and war—cruel and to the death—resulted.

Intergroup conflict exists in direct proportion to the degree to which in-group zeal is pressed. When normal national pride is pressed too far, war is inevitable. When a reasonable sense of worth in any racial division of the human family is carried out hysterically, as in a lynching, it becomes chauvinistic superiority that does not make sense. When exaltation of its values is promoted fanatically by a religious culture, with no respect for the personality or traditions of other religious cultures, it leaves no chance for respect for the rights of others to their reverences. The Greek philosophers proposed a

⁴ Julius Drachsler, quoted in *Jewish Experiences in America*, edited by Bruno Lasker. New York: The Inquiry, 1930.

golden mean. Can a group maintain a range of individual warmth which sane people would consider a golden mean of cultural loyalty, escaping both the extreme of enervation and the equally disastrous extreme (socially speaking) of chauvinism?

A second complicating factor is the inevitability of intercultural conflict. As long as men and women live in groups, and that, as Santayana pointed out, will be always, and in ever-increasing variety, conflicts between cultures are inescapable. This problem is to be faced by engaging in a perennial and continuous task of civilizing the forms by which the unavoidable conflicts are permitted to express themselves. To illustrate—the rules of play in football are modified experimentally year by year to make the game safer for the players and to speed up the play so that it may be more interesting to all concerned. When clipping a runner from behind was discovered to be fatal to a number of players, it was ruled out. Slugging, an automatic emotional response to a conflict situation, was one of the first acts outlawed. So, too, in the conflict of cultures, the competition might be watched that the mores of world human relations would ever be characterized by higher levels of fair play and good sportsmanship.

By this test, what would be ruled out in present-day relationships? Would social ostracism of so-called aliens, the immigrants and children of first-generation Americans, be longer tolerated? Would the dominant religious groups in the community tacitly exclude those of another faith from procuring positions of trust, especially in the teaching profession? Would the disposition of Protestants in the United States to frown on high federal offices for Catholics and Jews be ruled out? Would college fraternities and sororities continue to exclude out-group individuals who were otherwise qualified for membership? Would economic and professional parity be denied American Negroes? Would enforced segregation of certain cultural, racial, or national immigrant groups be permitted to continue?

Prejudices and Education

The data from researches into the emotional responses called prejudices reveal that prejudices are built up, "conditioned," all along the careers of men and women, from their earliest years onward. By this conditioning is meant the social environment, replete with admonitions positive and negative which tend accumulatively to fix attitudes. Individuals "catch" their prejudices like the measles. A year-old child takes over the emotional atmosphere of the circle in

which he lives. It is more than imitation. As the child grows, he senses the taboos. He learns to act only in approved ways. The evidence indicates that a child—or an adult—experiences the emotion of hate or worry or joy that is in the emotional climate of his society.

To educate a child, if the above is true, it will be helpful to introduce into his experience out-group individuals in such a way that the child will have warm, pleasant emotional experiences. Gradually a child can be immunized against infection from germs of age-old prejudices lingering in the social heritage of his group. For example, let the American Catholic boy of Irish descent grow up with Catholic boys of Italian parents, with happy associations among Lutheran and other Protestant groups, with Jews, with Negroes, and with Orientals of his own cultural level. As he matures, lead him to see America as a land of many different cultures, with the conscience and aims of none inimical to the others. Encourage him to picture the United States as a nation of differences in culture, in tradition, in outlook—differences which contribute to a various, rich, and interesting society. As the teacher guides his work in courses, and as the dramatic opportunities in school assembly periods follow each other, let the student thrillingly appreciate the contributions made by men and women of all world cultures to his America—if only he is sensitive enough to become aware of them; if only he has capacity to appreciate the culture of the Czech boy, the Negro artist, the Jewish scientist, the Anglo-Saxon genius, the Scandinavian experimenter in coöperatives, the Oriental philosopher, the German architect. It is the ensemble of many cultures that makes America.

One thing more is necessary in educating American children. John Dewey⁵ has defined true democracy as that society wherein all individuals of all groups contribute freely and receive freely the peculiar value, essence, quality, and contribution of every other individual and culture in the community. The child must see that even from a selfish point of view his own individuality is variegated, enriched, and diversified in proportion to the many and various contacts with the many types, classes, and traditions to which he can expose himself.

Narrowness, bitterness, and meaningless exclusions vanish, as Irwin Edman pointed out, when a child is taught the mistake of asking "Where does this person come from?" He should be habituated to

⁵ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 100–102. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

ask, "What has this person accomplished? To what does his way of life lead?"

The educational task in dealing with prejudices, then, is to lead people away from the association of inferiority with physical differences, with other national origins, with out-group religious convictions and ceremonials, and with foreign accents and habits. Positively, education must lead the child and the adult to an association of appreciative mental pictures with other groups. People always will take short-cuts in an attempt to sum up out-groups.⁶ An individual, no matter how intelligent, catches at best only sketchy ideas about the larger number of out-groups. It is possible, however, to create appreciative stereotypes, accurate as far as they go. People should not be too gullible about *any* stereotypes, good or bad—all stereotypes should be held lightly and modified willingly. But if men are to lessen, if not remove, prejudices, some constructive attempts must be made to provide fair-minded mental images suggesting what the "other people" are like. Education should also bring about an association of the concept of harmony with differences, as in the figure of the ensemble of many instruments in an orchestra producing blending notes in symphonic music.

The social process itself, in the end, must be so directed as to develop appreciations, minimize social distance, and build a sense of understanding between the in-group and out-group, whether among a conglomerate people such as makes up America or among the nations of the world. First responsibility rests with the school and the community. Later chapters will indicate specific things that can be done. The challenge of the future of mankind, not only in the aftermath of war but for the long future, demands the best efforts of every individual in the development of means to eliminate prejudice—one of the basic causes of war.

⁶ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, pp. 81 ff. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

CHAPTER XVIII

The American Indian and Government

BYRON BROPHY

(or WAMBA DI TANKA, "BIG EAGLE," Adopted
Santee Sioux Name)

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
Yet simple nature to his hope has given,
Behind the cloud-topped hill, an humbler heaven;
Some safer world in depths of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No friends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
To be contents his natural desire;
He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire;
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.

—Alexander Pope
in "An Essay on Man"

The tragic and important role played by the American Indian in the rapidly moving drama of American expansion and development has been told by Clark Wissler in a previous chapter. In the light of his discussion, we shall attempt to consider some of the problems of the Indians of today. We shall not attempt consideration of those problems that are common to all minority groups, including the Indians, but shall concentrate upon a few of the problems that are outcomes of government control and that apply only to Indians. These relate to what Dr. Wissler refers to as "so unique a legal and social status" enjoyed by the Indians. They evolved in the process of our national expansion by necessity and have continued as an expression of our complete misunderstanding of problems related to the Indian.

Illustrative of the problems that are outcomes of unique government control are unanswered and basic questions such as: What is

an Indian? Who is an Indian? In a democracy such as ours, and under our Constitution, how can we justify one being a full-fledged citizen and at the same time a ward of the government? How can Indian Bureau domination of every aspect of Indian life be reconciled with the basic principles of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution? How can such devices as Indian reservations, Indian segregation, rations, and wardship be reconciled with full citizenship? Why do we conduct a federal system of schools for Indians when public school education is the responsibility of the state and the right of everyone without regard to race? How do we justify our failure to satisfy the provisions of Indian treaties, and when will these commitments be carried out? How do we justify race legislation for the control of Indian citizens? These are only a few of the problems with which the Indians of today are struggling without too much success.

Since our first contact with the American Indian, our primary concerns have been the acquisition of his possessions and the development of effective devices for his control. Our dominating purpose, conscious or otherwise, and carried out without much real regard for his rights or best interests, has been that of compelling him to submit to our will. This is almost as true today as at any time in our history. The only difference today is a difference of attitude and the means we use to accomplish our purposes.

Our national attitudes and the devices we developed to impose our will upon the Indian have evolved with changing circumstances and needs. Today we are governed in our determinations by misguided sentimental emotionalism quite opposite from the hatreds developed during the period of frontier wars. The resulting paternalism of today is almost as vicious and destructive in its results as was the cruelty and ruthlessness that prevailed during the frontier days. Our great need today is for a sound and consistent program for the assimilation of the descendants of a people whom we conquered. Correction of past mistakes can only come by the elimination of the force philosophy which has always predominated and the substitution of a philosophy of self determination as provided for in our Constitution.

In order to understand the significance of the various devices and institutions that our government has devised for the control of Indians, it is necessary to consider them in perspective. Government institutions arise in response to needs but do not always terminate with the termination of the needs that established them. Frequently they crystallize and become a part of the traditional structure. They survive long after the need for them has passed. This is exactly what

has happened in our evolving relationships with Indians, as can readily be seen by a brief review of the development of government control of Indians. The evolution of government control of Indians roughly divides into four periods.¹

1. Period of control by community diplomacy with Indians 1607-1778
2. Period of control by treaties 1778-1871
3. Period of control through segregation and pauperization on reservations 1871-1887
4. Period of control by legislation:
 - a. Americanize the Indian: Destruction of tribal organization and seizure of Indian lands under provisions of the General Allotment Act.... 1887-1934
 - b. "Indianize" the Indian: Government efforts at tribal reorganization under the provisions of the Reorganization Act 1934-1944

Period of control by community diplomacy, 1607-1778. Our earliest relations with Indians were probably the fairest and most satisfactory we ever had, because the philosophy of force which dominated all our future relations was less expedient when we were not strong and when we were ever threatened by the potential interference of foreign nations who fully recognized the value of Indian favor and coöperation. Just as soon as these threats were removed and other methods became more expedient for the accomplishment of our purposes, we resorted to them. We should note, however, that the Quakers developed this method very effectively and have never departed from it. During this period each settlement or community dealt with the neighboring Indians by whatever means seemed best to it. The results were dependent upon the wisdom of the leadership on both sides. The record registers many mistakes.

Period of control by treaties, 1778-1871. During this period, we recognized, by implication at least, the sovereign rights of tribes and periodically made treaties with them. The first treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe was made with the Delaware Indians on September 17, in the year 1778. No treaties have been made with Indian tribes since the passage of the act of March 3, 1871, which was based on the theory that the federal government

¹Lloyd E. Blanch and William Iverson, "Education of Children on Federal Reservations," The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 17 (1939), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

cannot recognize an independent nation or sovereignty existing within the borders of its own territory. With the termination of the practice of making treaties as a means of control, we passed to the stage of development in which we are at the present time. Control of the Indian is provided for by special legislation for Indians which in reality is race legislation.

The status of treaties with the Indians is indicated in a Supreme Court decision which in substance held that a treaty with Indians is of no greater force than an act of Congress and that Congress has the right to abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty. There are approximately 370 Indian treaties on the statute books.

Most treaties were forced upon the Indians by one means or another and were made for the purpose of obtaining some advantage, such as land acquisition, right of way, or additional control. In return, they usually made certain provisions for the Indians. Many of these provisions have never been satisfied, and this fact constitutes a retarding influence of major proportions in Indian development. A good example is the claims of the Sioux Nations, which run into millions. Hope springs eternal, however, even among Indians. Each generation plans on acquiring its long-standing claim, and the total effects include bitterness, disappointment, the conviction of persecution, and the loss of a stimulus to struggle.

Settlement of the Indian claims based upon treaties is an urgent need, the satisfaction of which would probably do more to accelerate Indian development than would most of the legislation we could devise. When the treaties are wiped from the books and further claims are impossible, it will be a great day for the Indians. It will then be possible to proceed along intelligent lines without coming into conflict at every turn with some provision of an almost forgotten treaty. Settlement of the treaties finally and irrevocably is an important aspect of the Indian problem, for we cannot expect much faith from the descendants of those from whom we took so much and to whom to date we have returned so little.

As we grew stronger nationally and the threat of foreign nations was removed, there was less compelling reason for recognizing the sovereignty of Indian tribes, and, as we have indicated, the practice was discontinued. Legislation was substituted as a means of control, but it had to be supplemented by armed force until the Indians were thoroughly subdued. New demands resulting from the continuously increasing opposition of the Indians necessitated the creation of new devices for their control. We immediately devised two which have

proved their effectiveness. We created the Indian Bureau and the Indian reservation. They are still in effect.

The Indian Bureau was created in 1824 as an arm of the War Department to supplement the efforts of the Department to control the Indian. It remained in the War Department for twenty-five years, during which time the philosophy of force was so firmly established that it is still operative in spite of all the efforts of innumerable reformers.

From its birth "its mission largely was to treat with the Indians for cession of lands and recommend to the War Department 'chastisement of the hostiles' when the Indians did not comport themselves agreeable to the Bureau. The public of today cannot know the injustices which have come down to the Indians directly from this department of government the past 160 years."²

The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs before he became the head of the Bureau said: "Our Indian Bureau is paternalistic and bureaucratic and pretends to do through paid employees all and everything which human beings normally do for themselves. Coupled with this paternalism is the Indian Bureau's policy of monopolizing the Indian Service and of duplicating, through pigmy services of its own, the work of the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Reclamation, the work of the state agricultural, educational, health, and welfare departments, and even the work of the courts. Mr. Collier has not reduced these services but rather has increased them. The Indian Bureau has had between eight and nine thousand employees requiring approximately 30 million dollars annually from appropriations and tribal funds."³ From all sources it has been estimated as high as 60 million dollars in one year.

Lyman K. Wilbur while Secretary of the Interior said that the "Bureau of Indian Affairs should work itself out of a job." Mr. Moore's statement quoted above indicates how the self-liquidation of the Indian Bureau should be accomplished. However, it is very doubtful that it will be done until Congress sets a time limit for the Bureau to turn its services into normal channels provided for all citizens. This is what should, and eventually will, be done.

The cost of the services rendered to Indians by the Bureau of Indian Affairs is constantly increasing. According to Senate Report No. 310, the money spent during Commissioner Collier's administration would have permitted a per-capita payment of \$2,500 to 200,000

² E. H. Moore, the Hon., *Extension of Remarks*, Senate of U. S., Feb. 25, 1944.

³ *Ibid.*

Indians, which is probably considerably more than are actually under Bureau supervision. The same report points out that the \$500,000,000 spent would have settled every claim the Indians now have against the federal government through treaties.

To free the Indian people from its shackles, the Indian Bureau must be relegated to the scrap heap with all the other devices of control developed to conquer and subject the Indian people. Its period of usefulness has long since passed and, together with the Indian treaties, the Indian Bureau should be liquidated as rapidly as possible. A period of ten years should be adequate as a maximum time limit allowed for the transfer of all special services such as education, health, agriculture, forestry, irrigation, law and order, land conservation, and so on.

When Franklin K. Lane was Secretary of the Interior, he made the following very significant statement relative to the results of the controls we have placed upon the Indians:

That the Indian is confused in mind as to his status and very much at sea as to our ultimate purpose toward him, is not surprising. For 100 years he has been spun around like a blindfolded child in a game of blindman's buff. Treated as an enemy at first, overcome, driven from his land, negotiated with most formally as an independent nation, given by treaty a distinct boundary which was never to be changed "while water runs and grass grows," he later found himself pushed beyond that boundary line, negotiated with again, and then set down on a reservation, half captive, half protégé.

Period of control by reservations, segregation, and pauperization, 1871-1887. "Necessity is the mother of Invention." The resistance of the Indians to ever-increasing pressure that was being put upon them necessitated the development of effective controls, and between 1871 and 1887 government policy turned to the segregation of Indians on reservations. Reservations had been established previous to this time, but they were not an important consideration. It would be difficult to conceive anything more destructive to the moral fiber of a self-sufficient people than to round them up like so many cattle and confine them to limited areas from which they could in no way extract a livelihood. As a further means of control the system of rationing them was established. We thus converted by force a formerly self-sufficient people into unwilling wards of the government.

By 1887 most of the tribes had been separated from their vast areas of land and assigned to particular and restricted reservations.

The reservations chosen for them were for the most part in sections of the country then considered unfit for white habitation. The lands taken from the Indians were then opened to homestead entry by the federal government.

Most of our Indians are still living on reservations, and rationing is still not too uncommon. These institutions are contrary to every principle of Americanism and have long outlived their purpose. They should pass into history as soon as possible. They are an instrument of the Indian Bureau, and with their abolishment there would be little excuse for continuing the bureau.

An Indian reservation, even today, is a little kingdom or federal state, ruled over by a representative of the bureau called the superintendent. With his staff of employees, he attempts to duplicate practically every service normally carried out by the state, and some others. In addition to operating schools, police force, health department, social welfare, agriculture, irrigation, land conservation, and other normal functions of the state, he rules on matters of the most intimate nature, such as authorizing an Indian to spend his own money, stock his ranch, send his children to school, make improvements to his property, and so on. The Sioux call him Ateyapi, or Father. He is more than that, however, for he has the power to give or to take. He has jobs and rations and many other gratuities at his disposal. He can truly be an autocrat, if he so desires. Fortunately, however, most superintendents are devoted to the cause of their wards and would be a blessing to them if the policies of the Indian Bureau made it possible. The writer has known many of these men intimately and has the highest regard for their ability, sincerity, and integrity. Their sterling characters, however, are no justification for a system which is totally contrary to every principle of government we avow. The system is fundamentally wrong, a grave injustice to Indians living under it, and obnoxious to all thinking Americans.

Reservations, segregation, rationing, and wardship all spell inevitable pauperization and degradation. They are devices of control and white domination, the need for which has long since passed. They now constitute major factors in the retardation of the Indian establishing his place and making his rightful contribution to the "democratic way of life." Elementary justice demands that the Indian be freed from these shackles and granted the full rights of citizenship which were granted to him by Congress in 1924. Then, and then only, can he determine his own destiny in this republic under the same laws that apply to all of us.

Period of control by legislation: destruction of tribal organization and seizure of Indian lands under the provisions of the Allotment Act, 1887-1934. An outstanding example of the fallacy and menace of class or race legislation, no matter how well intended, is found in the General Allotment Act of Feb. 8, 1887. In a democracy, there should be no class or race legislation, and the truth of the statement is clearly demonstrated in the unexpected results of the Allotment Act. Although well intended by its advocates, it was a severe blow to Indian welfare and particularly to tribal organization. The weakness in such legislation is that it does not provide for self-determination in carrying out its provisions, for synchronizing its departure from common pattern with general practice, or for adequate assistance.

The act provided that eventually every Indian would be given a share of his reservation to be held in trust for a period of twenty-five years, during which time it would not be taxed and could not be sold. After that time he would be given fee patent and would be declared competent to manage his own affairs. It is estimated that Indians were separated from some 86 million acres, or more than 60 per cent of their holdings, in 1887, as a result of the Allotment Act.

Part of the difficulty lay in the restrictions on the sale of the lands. Heirs could not settle their estates except through subdivision, and that became very complicated. Another outcome was the practice of leasing land to whites; and the results of this practice still constitute a major problem with Indians. With good administration, sound supporting education, and provision for flexibility, the results would have been better. However, the matter of how Indians hold their lands should be a matter for Indians rather than Congress to decide. Congress would not dream of legislating similarly for any other minority group. Indians would be better off if all legislation specifically directed at "Indians" could be stopped.

Governmental attempts at tribal reorganization under the provisions of the Reorganization Act, June 18, 1934,⁴ 1934-1944. The Indian Reorganization Act is another example of control by race legislation. While the Allotment Act attempted to Americanize the Indians too quickly, the Reorganization Act goes to the other extreme and attempts to "Re-Indianize" the Indians. Its general acceptance would establish a bigger and better Indian Bureau permanently. It would give permanent status to Indian reservations and provide for estab-

⁴ 48 Stats., 984.

lishing new reservations as needed. It gives the Secretary of the Interior and, through him, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the final say in all matters pertaining to those operating under the act.

A report of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (No. 1031), June 22, 1944, declares that "the Wheeler Howard Act has been a perfect failure from the standpoint of Indian Welfare and should be repealed." This report in effect states that the act, among other effects, results in:

1. Perpetuating a system of indefinite land titles which insures perpetual government supervision and control.
2. Complete incompatibility of Indian land policies with the American system of land tenure.
3. Placing more than a half million acres of land under Indian Bureau supervision, much of which will be unused.
4. Providing for complete regimentation of Indians through the system of loans.
5. Strengthening and perpetuating the reservation system which is obnoxious to all thinking Americans.

The Reorganization Act has the merit of encouraging organization of Indian tribes for consideration and action on their own affairs. If it then gave them responsibility for the administration of their reservations, it would be good. There is no such provision, however. The superintendent and his staff remain totally independent of the people they serve. Such a fundamental institution as the schools for their children are entirely independent of the Indian people. They have no voice in the determination of the curricula, employment of teaching personnel, formulation of policies, or any aspects of education. Even in those matters over which they are supposed to have some voice, they are subject to the pressures which the powerful Indian Bureau representative in the person of the reservation superintendent can apply as the need may arise. Reservation superintendents are sometimes very active and effective in controlling those who are elected to the Indian councils. Democratic processes are not always possible under the present system of administration of reservations. Elimination of the Indian Bureau and its representatives is the only way in which it could be made possible, and the act does not provide for that.

The Reorganization Act provides for granting federal charters to Indian tribes that accept the provisions of the act. The charter is one of the major weaknesses in the act. If it were a state charter, similar to those granted cities and towns in the state, it would eliminate

a host of confusions which now exist. It also provides for a constitution decided on by the people but approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The net result is that the constitutions are the work of the bureau. They have even been standardized by the legal department, which sends them out, and the reservation superintendent has the responsibility of getting the tribe to approve what is written.

Educational controls. The Indian Bureau attempts to duplicate practically every public service, and education is no exception. An extensive system of schools is administered by the bureau, with little if any reference to the Indian people they are supposed to serve. This is a serious problem to thoughtful Indians. Every change of administration means radical changes representing someone's pet theories about how to solve the Indian problem. The pendulum swings from one extreme to another. At one time vocational education is the cure-all for every evil, then the swing is to agriculture, Indian arts and crafts, home economics, or something else. Continuity and stability is of short shrift. Change is the outstanding characteristic: change of personnel, change of policy, change of curriculum.

However, these are not the most important weaknesses of Indian education, for it would be possible to overcome any or all of them. The great weakness of Indian education is the complete lack of Indian participation in its administration. It is an imposed education, completely lacking in those close community relationships through which evolved the great American system of community schools which are the very backbone of our nation. Another great weakness of the Indian educational system is that the schools are almost entirely for Indians only. In segregation, the Indian people are expected to acquire the elements of a culture with which their only contact may be their teachers or employees of the Indian Service. Progress has been slow, and it is not surprising.

Indian attitude toward education can be judged from the fact that as early as 1840 the Cherokee National Council passed legislation for the establishment of a system of common schools for the Cherokee Nation, and in 1841 the Council of the Choctaws passed similar legislation. The Five Civilized Tribes also operated their own schools in the early days without federal assistance, and until 1850 most of the Indian schools were supported from Indian funds. Some of our great universities, too, such as the University of Michigan and Dartmouth, were assisted by Indian grants conditional upon them keeping their doors open to Indians. Most of the treaties contained meager

provisions for some sort of education, which also indicates recognition on the part of the Indian of the need for education.

The first education for Indians was provided for by missionaries. By 1860 the first Indian reservation school was established at Yakima, Washington, and in 1871 an appropriation of \$100,000 became available. The nonreservation boarding school became an important part of the program after 1878. Use of the public schools for Indians began in 1890 and has been increasing gradually ever since. Approximately 50 per cent of the Indian children enrolled in schools are now in public schools. For those who are not in public schools or private schools, the government, with some help from tribal funds, operates so-called community day schools, reservation boarding schools, and nonreservation boarding schools. Contracts are made with mission, private, and state schools, and assistance is provided for higher education.

Since the first annual appropriation of \$10,000 in 1819 for Indian education, the annual appropriations have increased to more than \$10,000,000 for the education of approximately 65,000 Indian students. Beginning with the Rhodes-Scattergood administration and following the Merriam Report, vast improvements have been made. The most essential step, which has not been taken, is to make the Indian educational system an integral part of our national public-schools system, returning control of the schools to the people they serve and eliminating segregation wherever practical.

The report of the Institute of Government Research in 1928 stated: "The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational, in the broadest sense of that word." The survey staff found the provisions for the care of the children in the Indian schools grossly inadequate, roundly criticized boarding schools of all types, and commended the growing practice of putting Indian children in public schools where practical. This report resulted in vast improvements in the educational system for Indians.

The report of the National Advisory Committee on Education in 1931 stated that the educational policy of the federal government could be regarded as little more than a tragic failure and that the policy had, in a large degree, pauperized the Indian and left him about as helpless in the face of a strange economic civilization as he had been before. The report also recommended delegation of the management of Indian affairs to local officials wherever possible.

Education of all children of all races is a constitutional responsi-

bility accepted by most states. Indian children should be educated in the public schools, not as Indians, but as American children. The responsibility of the federal government should be to see that schools are provided as needed on bases equivalent to the standards set for white communities. Education is one function of the state that should not be assumed by the Indian Bureau or the federal government. The whole so-called Indian problem is essentially an educational one, and the most fundamental need is amalgamation with the public schools, coupled with the recognition that education of an Indian child involves the same considerations required for the education of any child; that the content, methods, techniques of such education must all be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs.

Our forefathers wisely recognized the importance of the location of educational control and provided for a system of schools that have truly been the peoples' schools. Federal control of education, even for a minority group, is extremely dangerous, as has been demonstrated by recent European developments in that respect. Control of education for Indians today is by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has vested interests and does not necessarily express the wishes of either the Indian or the general public. The control of Indian education should be returned to the community and the state, and Indian education should become American education, adapted to the needs of Indian children. We would not deny Indians the right to send their children to private or special schools, but that should be their own decision and at their own expense.

In closing, the words of Walt Whitman seem pertinent: "Political democracy, as it exists and works in America, with all its threatening evils, supplies a training school for making first class men. It is life's gymnasium, not of good only, but of all." Or, in the words of Aristotle: "If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when *all* persons alike share in the government to the utmost." American democracy must be the same for all, even for the Indian. We destroy it when we try to withhold any part of it, even the bad. It works only on the basis of all or none. In simple justice then, we should give the Indian his full chance in this great laboratory under the same rules that we demand for ourselves.

CHAPTER XIX

The Negro and Racial Conflicts

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

THE PRESENCE of the Negro in American society today is due to the economic expansion of Europe, which began during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The initial impulse behind the economic expansion of Europe was the search for precious metals in oversea colonies; but when this proved to be a false hope, the colonial powers began to exploit the productive powers of their colonies.¹ In the tropical regions the plantation system of agriculture, requiring a cheap labor supply, became the characteristic form of industrial organization. In the West Indies, Brazil, and the southern part of North America, an attempt was made to enslave the Indian; but after the Indian was exterminated or proved to be a less efficient source of labor than imported Negro slaves, Negro slavery became the basis of the colonial economy.²

During the first two centuries of the development of the colonial economy, the white race had occupied only a small part of North America and a few settlements in Asia and Africa. But during the nineteenth century the world was to witness the growth of large communities of whites in Africa and America. The growth of a large white community, dependent in part upon Negro slave labor, provided the setting for the race problem in the United States. The social organization that grew up as a part of slavery provided a form of accommodation for the two races. Since the emancipation of the Negro and his endowment with rights of citizenship by the federal government, the chief problem has been his integration into the economic and social organization of American life.

Economic and Social Backgrounds

The Negro is differentiated from other racial and national groups in American life in that his cultural ties with his homeland have been

¹ "Colonial Economic Policy," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 3.

² See A. G. Keller, *Colonization*, pp. 142-145. New York: 1908.

completely severed. The loss of his African cultural heritage was due partly to the manner in which he was enslaved and partly to the character of American slavery. During the course of his capture and sale on African slave markets and his transportation to the West Indies, where he underwent a process of being "broken" into slavery, the Negro lost much of his cultural heritage. Moreover, since in the United States the slaves were scattered in small numbers on relatively small plantations over a large area, it was difficult for them to reknit the strands of their African heritage as they did in the West Indies and Brazil. For the younger slaves and the Negroes born in the United States, the African cultural heritage scarcely had any meaning. Consequently, the only authentic survivals of African culture in the United States are to be found in a few isolated areas, as the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia.

The plantation system with Negro slavery, which developed as the result of cotton culture in the southern states, was both an industrial and a social institution. It not only provided a means whereby the labor of the Negro slaves could be organized for production, but it also provided a way of life in which whites and Negroes became parts of a single moral order. In some areas, of course, the industrial features of the slave system overshadowed its social aspects. In such areas, where the Negro was merely an instrument of production and the trade in slaves was common, the Negro was the object of brutal treatment. But in those areas of the South where the plantation system became a settled way of life, it became a social institution with its peculiar traditions and customs, and the lives of blacks and whites became intertwined in a system of social relationships.

To the extent that the plantation became a social institution, it provided a channel by which the Negroes could take over the culture of the whites. From the beginning of the enslavement of Negroes, it was necessary to recognize individual differences in regard to intelligence and aptitudes. In fact, since the plantation was largely self-sufficient, the division of labor offered some opportunity for the slaves to express and develop their talents and skills. Therefore, there developed among the slaves distinctions in status which corresponded closely with the extent to which they had taken over the culture of the whites. The most marked distinction among the slaves was that between those employed in and about the household and those employed exclusively in the fields. Because of their close association with the whites, the so-called "house Negroes" were in a position to take over the speech, manners, and ideas of their masters. The

contacts of the "field Negroes" were limited generally to those with the overseers, who were recruited from among the "poor whites." The process by which the acculturation of the "house Negroes" took place was accelerated by the mingling of the blood of the two races, which gave rise to a large group of mulattoes. Although the practice was not so firmly established in the South as in the West Indies, the mulatto slaves were generally preferred as house servants.

The important role of the mixed-blood becomes apparent when one considers the group of free Negroes who numbered at the time of the Civil War almost a half million. A class of free Negroes had existed from the time the first Negroes had served their indenture. Their numbers had increased to some extent through mixture with Indian and white women. Then as the ecological and economic bases of slavery had disappeared in Maryland and Virginia, the more thrifty among the slaves had purchased their freedom. But the chief means by which the class of free Negroes had increased was through emancipation. Many of the emancipated slaves were set free by their white fathers and white relatives. About three eighths of the free Negroes were mulattoes, whereas mixed-bloods constituted only one twelfth of the slave population. The free Negroes, more than half of whom were originally in the South, were not only an anomaly where Negro slavery existed, but they lived a precarious existence in the North. However, in some sections of the South there were large and fairly prosperous communities of free Negroes. This was true of the free Negroes, largely of mulatto origin, in Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans where they had a monopoly on the mechanical trades.

The Civil War and Reconstruction destroyed the traditional basis of race relations and created, one might say, the race problem in the United States. From the economic standpoint, the Negro in the South lost his monopoly in the labor market. At first the federal government made a half-hearted attempt to provide land for the freedmen. But in the end, the freedmen were left as dependent upon the white landlords as during slavery. Moreover, the Negro artisan was thrown into competition with the "poor white," who was emancipated from the domination of the plantation system. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Negro artisan and skilled worker were eliminated largely from the labor market by the organized efforts of white labor. When the Industrial Revolution came to the South with the appearance of the cotton mill, the Negro worker was excluded entirely from this field of labor.

Although the majority of the whites in the South might have been inclined to accept the legal emancipation of the Negro, some of the southern states attempted through "black codes" to secure the Negro's economic and social subordination. There was little difference between the "black codes" and the laws governing slaves and the Negroes who were free before emancipation. This fact provided the moral justification for the federal government to undertake Reconstruction under military rule, though it is true that some leaders of the Republican Party were attempting to secure through legislation the future of the developing capitalism. At any rate, ruling classes in the South did not want to confer citizenship rights upon the Negro. Although, contrary to the myth that has grown up, there was never anything approaching Negro domination in the South, the political conflicts during Reconstruction gradually acquired a racial character. Consequently, when federal troops were withdrawn from the South, the whites deprived the Negro of the right to vote. In the 1890's, when demagogic leaders of the restless "poor whites" came into prominence, the South began to establish in a systematic way a caste system based upon law. One important consequence of this program was that the "poor whites" were given improved educational facilities and Negro education received the "crumbs" which whites granted as a favor but not as a right.

Up to the first World War, the Negro problem was regarded as a southern problem. To be sure, voices of protest against the Negro's treatment had been raised by northern Negro leaders and their white allies. Even in the North, the Negro's position was precarious. Although he enjoyed civil rights, he had not acquired a secure position in the economic system. The majority of Negro leaders believed that despite handicaps the Negro would work out his destiny in the South. But the character of the race problem as well as the Negro's outlook on America was changed by the mass migrations to northern industrial centers during and following the first World War. The second World War has accentuated and made more acute the problem of the status of the Negro in American life.

Communities and Institutions

The distribution and growth of the Negro population have been determined largely by economic and social forces in American life. From the time the first federal census was made in 1790 until the mass migrations during and following the first World War, about nine tenths of the Negroes were in the South. After 1880, however, the

proportion of Negroes in the population of the South began to decline sharply. From about 34 per cent in 1880 the proportion declined to less than 25 per cent in 1940. At the same time the size of the "Black Belt," or those counties in which Negroes constitute 50 per cent or more of the population, has shrunk considerably. On the other hand, despite the movement to cities following the Civil War and the urban movement during the present century, nearly two thirds of the Negroes in the South continue to live in rural areas.

The character of rural Negro communities in the South has been shaped by the system of agriculture. In the plantation region, the widely scattered Negro homes preclude the development of a closely knit community life as one finds in European village communities. Generally, the focus of communal life is to be found in the church—an institution that has its roots in the antebellum period. In many communities one will also find a lodge hall and a schoolhouse. But very often the lodge hall will serve as a schoolhouse. These institutions reflect in their physical aspect the general low living standards of the Negro in the plantation region. Because of their dependence upon a single crop—cotton—the Negro farmers, the majority of whom are tenants, are constantly in debt to their white landlords. The average annual income of Negro farmers scarcely exceeds \$300, and the sharecroppers and farm laborers have even lower incomes. The economic dependence of the majority of the Negro farmers facilitates the social subordination of the disfranchised black population. The lot of the submerged Negro farmers was scarcely improved by the New Deal policies, since the white ruling class found means to discriminate against Negro farmers. A small class of farm owners has come into existence more especially in the areas outside the plantation region. In these areas, the physical character of the houses, schools, and churches indicates the higher standards and the higher cultural development of the Negro farmers.

The urbanization of the Negro population during the present century has followed two courses. In the South, over a million Negroes have drifted from the farms and plantations to nearly 800 towns and cities. On the other hand, the movement to northern cities has been a dramatic episode in the history of the Negro and has been directed chiefly to four cities. In the smaller towns and cities of the South this cityward movement has created communities of Negroes who are segregated in areas marked by small shacks and unpaved and unlighted streets. The Negro women have found employment as domestic workers, and the men have been restricted to unskilled jobs.

The incomes of the Negro workers in these towns have been small—sometimes smaller than their incomes in the rural areas. In some of the large cities of the South—Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, and New Orleans—large Negro communities numbering over 100,000 grew up between the first and second World Wars. In these larger cities there has been greater occupational differentiation of the Negro population, although the majority of the workers here are to be found in unskilled occupations. There are three border cities—Baltimore, Washington, D. C., and St. Louis—with Negro populations exceeding 100,000. Although in these cities, as in the lower South, the great masses of the Negro population are restricted to unskilled labor and domestic service, the Negro has been able to enter a larger number of occupations. This has been true because he has received a more equitable share of educational funds and because he has the right of suffrage. However, it has been in the large cities of the North—Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia—with Negro communities numbering from a quarter to a half million that occupational differentiation has shown the greatest development. Not only have caste lines been less rigid in regard to employment, but the Negro has been able to use his educational advantages and political power to become integrated in the community.

The increasing occupational differentiation of the Negro population has been accompanied by a more complex social stratification of the Negro communities. Originally the class structure of Negro communities was relatively simple. It was divided into two principal classes. There was a lower class comprising a large mass of unskilled workers with a background of slavery. In most communities there was a small upper class comprising those Negroes with some education and traditions of stable family life. In those communities where there were descendants of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War, this group formed an upper class. As the Negro has acquired education and new skills, the class structure has become more complex. There has emerged a middle class in which one finds the more thrifty and ambitious Negroes with a stable family life. With the entrance of Negroes into industry in large numbers, there has emerged an industrial proletariat with the discipline and the outlook of this class. At the same time, at the top of the social pyramid the upper class has grown in size, chiefly because of educational advantages, and income has begun to play a larger role in social status.

Within the social and cultural context of the various types of com-

munities briefly described above, Negro institutions and other forms of organized activities have taken shape and developed. Many of the problems that beset the family case worker with Negro families in the northern metropolis have their roots in the folk culture of the rural southern Negro. The masses of Negroes on southern plantations have evolved a type of family life which represents an adaptation to the conditions of life in the rural South. Among the folk Negroes in some areas, a "matriarchal" type of family, including blood relations of two or three generations and adopted children, may perform the functions of the traditional American family. Under such conditions, legal marriage is generally lacking and illegitimacy is high. Such a family group is held together by sentiment and habit and common interests. In the city, especially the northern metropolis, this type of family is likely to fall apart and illegitimacy becomes an economic as well as a social problem. In fact, one of the most serious problems of the Negro in adjusting himself to urban living is the failure of his family to function in the new environment.

The development among Negroes of family life in accordance with the American pattern had its roots among the Negroes who were free before the Civil War. After emancipation, this group formed a leavening element for stable family life in Negro communities. At the same time these stable elements were increased by those former slaves, generally the former house servants and artisans, who had developed stable family relations during slavery. Very often the father's interest and authority in the family were placed upon a more solid basis when the freedmen acquired land. The growth of this substantial element in the Negro population is indicated by the fact that the proportion of Negro farm owners had increased to about 25 per cent by 1910. The stabilization of Negro family life during this period is also indicated by a similar increase in home ownership among urban Negroes. However, the rapid urbanization of Negroes since the first World War has introduced new factors into this process. First, there has been much family disorganization as a result of increasing mobility and urban living. But at the same time, as the result of increased educational opportunities and occupational differentiation, new patterns of family life have come into existence in response to urban conditions. And as the Negro class structure approximates that in the white community, patterns of Negro family life approximate those in the white community.

No institution reflects more vividly the differences in the character of Negro communities and the economic and social stratification of

Negro life than the Negro church. The vast majority of the black folk in the rural South are affiliated with the Baptist and Methodist churches, which are characterized by their simple ritual and highly emotionalized religion. In the cities, the upper-class Negroes tend to become affiliated with the Episcopal churches or the Baptist and Methodist churches with more dignified religious services. However, in the large northern cities, the least sophisticated Negroes are to be found in the "storefront" churches, while a more urbanized group are attracted by the numerous cults. At the same time, the traditional church organizations are likely to add social service features and to concern themselves with the economic, political, and social problems of the Negro. As a part of the process of secularization, Negroes both at the top and at the bottom of the social pyramid are, for different reasons, of course, losing contact with the church.

Other institutions in Negro communities show the influence of urbanization upon the organization of Negro life and the general mental outlook of Negroes. The growth of Negro newspapers during the past two decades has resulted from increasing literacy among urban Negroes and is an indication of the growing influence of a public opinion in Negro communities. The city, in fact, has not only emancipated the Negro from caste restrictions but it has provided an opportunity for intellectual development and the freeing of his creative energies, which are expressing themselves in art, music, and literature.

Relations with the Larger American Community

The social attitudes that have been responsible for the formation of segregated Negro communities have generally been considered as a form of race prejudice. Although the Negro group is a highly mixed population, with many persons indistinguishable from white, any person with even a "drop" of Negro blood has been treated as a Negro. Thus the "Negro race" in the United States is a purely sociological concept. However, since racial attitudes are determined by men's conceptions of races rather than by the biological or anthropological definition of race, the sociologist has been justified in treating the attitudes of whites toward the Negro group as a form of race prejudice. This view of the situation has been challenged during recent years by a group of anthropologists who regard race relations in the United States as a kind of caste system. There is much justification for this viewpoint, since membership in the Negro group is determined by birth, and as a result of the fact of birth, a Negro

occupies a subordinate position in the economic and social organization. Yet students who have studied the problem of race relations within the framework of caste have only confirmed the findings of scholars who have studied the problem as a form of race prejudice.

The new forms of racial accommodation, which followed the so-called restoration of white supremacy in the South during the last quarter of the past century, did not remove the latent conflict between the two races. The restoration of white supremacy was manifestly an attempt to maintain a caste system in the South. It was based upon the idea that the Negro should be subordinate in all his relations with whites. Some white apologists for this flagrant violation of American political principles and Christian ethics claimed that segregation provided an opportunity for the two races to develop parallel communities. But, it was clear from the beginning that segregation was forced upon the Negro and that it meant his subordination to the white group. The very theory of "no social equality," which placed a stigma upon Negro blood, was designed primarily to keep the Negro in a subordinate position. As a consequence of his subordination, it was impossible for the Negro to get justice in the courts where a white man was involved. Moreover, it became customary in the South for whites to use violence against the Negro's life and property and to restrict his freedom of movement.

Following Booker T. Washington's famous formula for racial adjustment—that the races could be separate as the fingers of the hands in matters "purely social"—the "compromise" Negro leaders gave formal approval to segregation and disfranchisement. But even the "compromise" leaders regarded the subordinate status of the Negro as a temporary phase of race relations and believed that in time the Negro would enjoy the rights of other citizens. The great body of the Negro population accommodated themselves more or less to the caste system of race relations in the South. Consequently, a stable equilibrium seemed to have been established between the two races until the first World War, when the mass migrations to northern industrial areas were set in motion. Since these migrations disturbed the economic life of the South, both legal and extra-legal methods were used to restrict the movement. After the war there was much fear on the part of the South that the returning soldiers would make demands for better treatment and the rights of other citizens. As a result, the Negro became the object of violence on the part of whites. It was to deal with this crisis that some liberal elements in the South organized the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation and

began their campaign for larger understanding and sympathy between the races.

The migration of large masses of Negroes to northern cities during and following the first World War issued in a new phase of race relations. Before the war, the Negroes of the North, though less secure economically than Negroes in the South, had always been in the vanguard of the protest for equality. This was due to the fact that they had enjoyed educational opportunities and political rights. The northern Negro had not accepted the "compromise" leadership or the Washington formula for racial adjustment. The movement of northern Negroes for equality of opportunity and the elimination of segregation, disfranchisement, and lynching in the South culminated in the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was because of the migrations which created large Negro communities in northern and border cities that the new militancy among Negroes gained mass support.

The second World War brought to the surface the changes that had occurred during the past quarter of a century in the Negro's attitude toward his status in American society. Since the first World War the social isolation of the Negro has been broken down and he has been brought into contact with a larger world of ideas. Even in the South, where his educational advantages have been much inferior to those provided for whites, the Negro has managed to reduce considerably his illiteracy. As the result of the migrations, a larger group of Negro children and youth had access to the standard American education than at any time in the history of the Negro. A new leadership with more education and greater sophistication has come into existence. In northern cities, where nearly three million Negroes live today, they have enjoyed a greater degree of civic equality and have used their political power to gain some of the rights of other citizens. More, during the Great Depression the Negro was influenced by the propaganda of the leftist groups and he learned the power of mass struggle.

Soon after the nation began its program of national defense, the militant mood of the Negro minority became apparent. This mood was dramatized in the March-on-Washington movement organized by the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters. As the result of this movement, the president of the United States issued on June 25, 1941, the famous Executive Order 8802, which reaffirmed the policy of nondiscrimination in government employment and forbade contractors handling government contracts to discriminate

against workers "because of race, creed, color, or national origin." This order was important, first, because it indicated that the federal government had abandoned its laissez-faire policy in regard to race relations, and second, because it was concerned with the most important phase of the status of the Negro in American society: namely, his right to work according to his ability and qualifications. During the great depression the tenuous foothold which the Negro had secured in northern industry during the first World War had been impaired. When the nation entered upon a program of industrial expansion, there was no demand for large numbers of unskilled laborers as in the first World War. Therefore, whether the great body of unemployed Negroes would have an opportunity for employment in industry depended upon their opportunity to acquire the new skills which were required in the aircraft, steel, and ship-building industries. Despite the fact that the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which was set up to carry out the purposes of Order 8802, had the backing of the president, the committee has not been able to break down racial discrimination in the employment of Negroes. It has been forced to face opposition on the part of organized labor, more particularly the American Federation of Labor, as well as on the part of employers. Moreover, in all parts of the country, there has been an increase in racial tensions where the caste principle in American industry has been challenged or broken down.

That the Negro has been able to make some gains in becoming integrated in the economic and social organization of American society has been due largely to the fact that liberal forces have had control of the governmental machinery for more than a decade. The Negro on his part, beginning with the New Deal policies in 1933, has given his political support, in the North where he had political power, to the liberal forces. He has abandoned his traditional and sentimental loyalty to the Republican Party in the face of the changing economic and political structure of American society. During the great depression the federal government undertook on the whole to see that he got an equitable share in the relief program and other social services. The policy of the government in regard to relief and social services occasioned racial tensions in the South because it violated the caste principle. These tensions have increased as the Negro has become increasingly conscious of the contradiction between the war aims and the system of segregation and disfranchisement upon which white supremacy is based. On the other hand, although the Fair Employment Practice Committee has not been able altogether

to wipe out discrimination, it has succeeded in removing barriers to some extent to the employment of the Negro in industry. At the same time, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which represents a new stage in the development of organized labor to meet the changing character of American industry, has enabled him to enter more freely into industry. Moreover, as the result of the war some of the caste barriers in the military forces have been broken down. These changes are indicative of some of the changes that are taking place in the status of the Negro in American life. They indicate that though the Negro continues a minority his essential humanity is being generally recognized and that a biracial organization can provide no solution of the Negro problem.

CHAPTER XX

Culture Patterns of Minority Groups

STEWART G. COLE

THE earlier chapters in this book make it clear that America is a country composed of many peoples. Some have lived here for centuries, antedating the advent of the white man. Others migrated in successive waves from Europe and other continents and from the islands of the sea. They sought protection and opportunity in the "new world." Still others were brought here by traders from Africa, Asia, and more recently Mexico, to serve purposes of unskilled labor in the expansion of the economic structure of this country. The great majority of these peoples have remained here; they have married, raised families, and passed on to their children the heritage of memories, hopes, and problems that characterized their lot in American society. Today they constitute a population of over one hundred and thirty million persons of divers racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, earnestly striving to become one nation indivisible.

It would be misleading to assume that these various peoples entered this country and proceeded to make their adjustments as free and independent individuals. On the contrary, they were the bearers of old-world cultures. They indicated in their speech, folkways, skills, manners, and ideals, particular "ways of life" which they had been accustomed to share in their homelands. In their persons as well as in their group practices, they transplanted native cultures in this country. Certain aspects of these old-world ways were given up in due time because it was discovered that they were unwanted or a handicap in the new world. Other features were modified in order to hasten the process of accommodation to prevailing practices in the community. In not a few cases, old-world culture elements have resisted social pressures and remained controlling factors in the manner of living of respective peoples. It is therefore important that the student of the American scene take cognizance of the miscellaneous sub-cultures in this country, that he attempt to understand the patterns of these cultures, and that he help to formulate, as a member of a

democratic society, a conception of good citizenship to which all persons living in the United States should aspire. This is one of the functions of the public school.

Types of sub-cultures. Part II of this book has been devoted to reproducing the cultural pedigrees of various American peoples. It is symptomatic rather than inclusive in scope. Sufficient thoroughness has been observed to give the reader a technique for learning how cultural patterns have arisen in America and how persons live and move and have their being as members of culture groups. Like culture group, like members, is a sound mode of approach to community study.

The student of society will find it convenient to look at local cultures in terms of at least four points of reference. The importance of race, religion, nationality, and socio-economic status needs to be noted. These traits have so much significance attached to them that they tend to become basic foci around which the pattern of group behavior is organized.

Consider race. Even though some anthropologists¹ believe that it would be well to give up the concept of race because it is prescientific in implication, the term remains a useful symbol for social understanding if it is not confused with *nation* and *language*. The color of persons, due to biological laws, is a potent factor allocating peoples to separate groups around which particular types of sub-cultures have grown up. The dominant group is, of course, the white or Caucasian stock. White people have become so color-conscious as to subordinate all nonwhites and compel them to accept a measure of group isolation. In due time the federal government dealt with the Indians in this fashion, affording them permanent asylum. Negroes, likewise, were subjected to an inferior role by the dominant white society, and have remained a more or less segregated people. The same process of discrimination was practiced toward the Orientals of various ethnic backgrounds who were brought to this country to engage in hard labor. Mexicans of Indian extraction have received similar treatment. The upshot is that the traits of color and particular physical appearance have become determining factors in separating peoples, thus affording occasion for the rise of types of so-called "racial" cultures in this country.

Because religion is such a potent force in society, persons who identify themselves with it acquire specific modes of living, including certain folkways, mores, ceremonials, beliefs, and ideals. While it is

¹ M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.

believed by many that Christianity is the prevailing religion of the American people, such an observation is only a half-truth. True, certain values of Christian origin, such as the observance of Sunday, the recognition of Christmas as a seasonal festival, and the like, are built into the structure of American society. But the specifics of Christian culture are multiple in pattern and selectively regarded. Roman Catholic folkways differ from those of Protestant, Methodist from those of Baptist, Evangelical from those of Unitarian, and so on. There are scores of faiths within the Christian tradition contributing to as many forms of religious culture. Beyond the Christian pale are peoples of Jewish, Mohammedan, and other religions, some of them subdividing into orthodox and liberal households of faith. If the survey were at all inclusive, recognition should have to be given to the increasing number of persons in America who have withdrawn from all kinds of ecclesiastical allegiance and who are conceiving and organizing their life values in terms of secular culture.

When one turns to the nationality criterion of sub-culture in America, he approaches an involved field of inquiry. There are English, Scots, Welsh, Irish, French, Czech, German, Italian, Polish, numerous Slav, Greek, and Spanish Americans, and how many others? Page the second section of this book. Peoples from practically every country in the world have come to live in America and many of them have tended to perpetuate phases of their old-world culture. Sometimes they have been compelled to live in social ghettos because of old-stock American dictation, and therefore have cherished many transplanted elements in their continuing way of life. In certain instances, European peoples have expressly desired to retain some of their native folk patterns in the new world and have settled and organized communities accordingly. Witness the Pennsylvania Germans and the Spanish stock of New Mexico. When one refers to Little Italy, Irishtown, the Polish Quarter, and the like, in our urban centers, he means the specific kinds of accommodated ways of living which such peoples practice in their in-group behavior.

The socio-economic rating accorded to a local people also contributes to the pattern of their culture. If they are in the "upper upper" brackets of community advantage, their sense of security, their methods of social control, and their general behavior stand in striking contrast with those of the "lower lower" level of the disadvantaged.² Between these types of polarized peoples are various

² W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

ranges of groups enjoying more or less economic favor and social status. The families that live "across the tracks" are compelled to acquire certain practices and attitudes that tend to keep them disadvantaged indefinitely. If, in addition to their economic handicap, they suffer racial, religious, or ethnic minority treatment in the community, then they approximate a caste status. While individuals can break with the tenacious pattern that holds them down at the bottom of the social scale, it is difficult to do so. In order to accomplish this purpose, it is usually necessary for a person to move out of the neighborhood, possibly change his name, give up his religious faith, and achieve distinction in some trade or service that wins him acceptance elsewhere. There is a constant struggle for status going on among upper, middle, and lower classes in American society, and these classes tend to develop specific patterns of living that give individuality to their local cultures.

Intergroup strains and stresses. What happens when peoples representing diversity of cultural backgrounds meet in the community? Suppose that they do not use the same language. Consider what happens when their modes of family life, sex etiquette, food habits, religious faith, and the like are different. Should they live in adjoining neighborhoods, occasions for misunderstanding and dislike of the unlike are presented. Tensions arise across the areas of culture differences. Members of one in-group feel strange toward those of another in-group. Suspicions and rivalries spring up frequently. Should the situation be a heterogeneous one, a regular hierarchy of dominant and minority groups becomes an established order of community classification. Those who enjoy the highest rating by virtue of their historic advantage and the aggressiveness of their social attitudes are likely to be wealthy, white, Anglo, Protestant people. Those who suffer the lowest status are, as a rule, poor, nonwhite, non-Anglo, and possibly non-Protestant peoples. While the situation varies in certain communities, these remain the prevailing extremes of distinction.

The war contributed to a reclassification of certain culture groups. Early in the conflict, Italian Americans were compelled to suffer a lower level of acceptance in most communities than was formerly their lot. German Americans were not treated as unfavorably in this war as they were in the first World War. The Japanese Americans suffered a serious lapse in popular estimate and, in many instances on the Pacific coast, were regarded as of the same culture as "the Japs." Because the Negroes used the war occasion as one in which to

reappraise their social significance to America, and therefore made aggressive demands upon white people for political, social, and economic justice, they divided loyalties among the dominant race group. Many Caucasians supported the Negro efforts to gain the full rights accorded them by the American Constitution, while others either attempted to pacify them with a few minor promises or to compel them "to remain in their place." Unquestionably, the people who suffered most acutely in this country by war propaganda and mistreatment were the Jews. They became a convenient scapegoat upon whom many Gentiles hung their grievances. The anti-Semitic waves of persecution that characterized the Nazi people in Europe had their counterpart in our own midst.

Discrimination and prejudice. The technique by which favored peoples attempt to maintain advantage over the less favored is called discrimination. This practice may be directed along political, economic, social, or religious lines. A people, for instance, may be denied the right of franchise by the arbitrary distinction of a poll-tax test. A group may be deliberately prohibited from joining a trade union, be subject to the principle of "last hired and first fired" in a local industry, and forbidden opportunity to qualify for up-grading in the skills afforded to workmen in a mill or factory. Zoning ordinances may prohibit families of a minority people from moving into a particular neighborhood. Public opinion is frequently so controlled as to make it impossible for certain culture groups to use community parks, swimming pools, or playgrounds. Hotels and restaurants may arbitrarily prohibit colored peoples from frequenting their premises. Hospitals sometimes are quite selective in admitting patients for treatment. And many churches practice Jim-Crow behavior in their treatment of colored peoples. Some anti-Semites resort to newspaper advertisements in which they ask for help of this or that kind, but specify that "Gentiles only" need apply. The listing of types of culture discrimination that are generally observed in this country is a lengthy one. It runs the gamut from men's service clubs that elect to membership only persons of white, Anglo, Christian background, to the city fathers who segregate colored people in slum areas and attempt to keep them confined in such undesirable quarters.

The practice of discrimination rests upon the enlistment of prejudiced attitudes. It is not uncommon for members of socially privileged groups to consider those who are economically poor as

morally inferior stock. Frequently, old-stock Americans look upon peoples speaking a foreign language or with a broken accent as less desirable human beings. By devious means the dominant classes impute to minority peoples inferior social status. These judgments are not arrived at on the basis of factual inquiry. They indicate misrepresentation. The pre-judgment may be deliberately arrived at in order to keep the less privileged in a subordinate status, or it may be uncritically entertained because it has become popular in certain circles to think thus and so about such and such folks.

The language of prejudice can only be understood as it is regarded semantically. Verbal symbols may be used to vilify a people. Innuendo, smear words, or plain uncomplimentary remarks are commanded to lower the level of acceptance of certain groups. Now and then organized propaganda is circulated by press, radio, pamphlet, or whispering methods to keep a minority group in its place. The purveyors of prejudice may resort to nonverbal means of indicating their disapprobation of racial, religious, or culture groups. Their gestures indicate prejudice. The way they look at the out-group member, their tone of voice, the discourtesy, the emotive words, shrug and swagger: these devices for communicating attitudes and wishes are powerful forces which divide peoples and categorize them in terms of a variety of upper, middle, and lower social classes.

Discrimination and its counterpart, prejudice, thrive in periods of acute social stress. When individuals are subject to severe pressures, as in times of economic depression or global war, they suffer a sense of personal insecurity, frustration, and fear for their well-being. Under these circumstances, they tend to take out their grievances upon convenient groups which have been subjected to disfavor in the pattern of the prevailing culture. During the war crisis in this country, the forces of prejudice were marshaled in a particularly vigorous way against Negroes, Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, and Jews. While most individuals who are a party to discrimination enlist attitudes of pity or condescension toward the Negroes and Mexican Americans, they command attitudes of resentment or hatred toward the Japanese Americans and Jews. The former peoples are usually regarded by those who resort to prejudice as immature in culture, and therefore subject to treatment as undisciplined "children." Japanese Americans when subject to discrimination are identified immediately with the treachery of the Pearl Harbor event, and treated accordingly. The prevailing anti-Semitic movement has a

long historic record of inhumanity in Christian cultures and is particularly violent today because of Nazi influence and scapegoat agents who are active throughout this country.

"Divide-and-conquer" strategy. No people can become involved in the habit of prejudice without suffering grievous outcomes. This is particularly true in a nation dedicated to the principles of democracy. What Americans stand for in the Bill of Rights and what they have permitted by way of abusive violence of minority peoples will, if permitted to go on unchecked, tear the nation apart and destroy the basic values of the American way of life. For the faith of America and its intergroup discriminations are morally contradictory. The Nazi method of sowing seeds of class protest in foreign countries, with a view to dividing and conquering a people from within and by their own devices, has been widely cultivated in Europe and introduced into the United States. It is quite obvious that we can win our war abroad on behalf of democracy and lose it at home by our negligence of neighborliness and decency toward minority peoples in our own midst.

Witness what happens to persons who suffer from campaigns of prejudice and discrimination. They become hypersensitive and frustrated because they are subject to personal abuse at the hands of their fellow Americans. If they are introvert in disposition, they bear their grievances in silence and tend to become harassed and unhappy individuals. They may even acquire psychotic symptoms and need medical attention. If, on the other hand, they are extrovert, they resort to counteraction to check the aggressiveness of the dominant group. Many Negroes, for instance, are becoming militant in their protest against whites who support or abet Jim-Crow behavior. Such action and counteraction on the part of culture groups in conflict has led to violence and riots in some industrial centers. The March on Washington threat, Executive Order 8802, and the services of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, illustrate how a conflict situation may lead to constructive measures for dealing with interracial issues.

What happens to the personalities of those who practice prejudice? Do they remain immune to uncomplimentary outcomes, as they usually assume they do? Prejudice is a psychological disease. It harms those who practice it perhaps as much as it does those who suffer from it. The former cease to think straight with reference to the people against whom they entertain make-beliefs. Their way of thinking is charged with feelings that distort social judgments. More

seriously, they compromise their value system of appraising persons, and thus lower their own level of moral self-respect. An individual cannot think ill of another without becoming party to the by-products of ill will. Besides, he who resorts to prejudice as a means of putting culture groups in an undesirable light has surrendered his right to be regarded as a sound interpreter of the American way. He has thrown in his resources of leadership with those who would divide and destroy the social sinews of democracy.

There is no question that racial, religious, ethnic, and class prejudices have spread like a contagious disease through this country in recent years. They are involving large numbers of our people in vicious practices. Rioting is tragic enough in its effects upon cultural groups. But the entertainment of bad feelings toward minority peoples, the circulation of misleading ideas, deliberate employment of discrimination, attitudes of superiority and bigotry—these are even more dangerous, for they win the badge of respectability among many members of the dominant group, while at the same time they corrode the moral and social sensitivities of these selfsame persons. Citizens need to become aware of what outcomes eventuate in members of the dominant group and of minority peoples, as well as in American society, if this menacing movement continues to thrive in our midst.

The public school and society. The public school is society in miniature. Into the halls and classrooms enter not only the various kinds of children who live in the community, but children who bear in their behavior the culture traits that distinguish their parents and neighbors. The concept of the pupil is simply the school role of a child who in his person reflects the conditioning forces that make up his environment and that make him the kind of individual he is.

The culture complex of the community is therefore present in the persons of teacher and pupils. If, for instance, the neighborhood has a homogeneous population of Anglo-Saxon stock, then the school will present a similar pedigree. If, on the other hand, a variety of racial and cultural strains mark the local area, the school will reflect the same types of group interests. In fact, the very genius of individuality of each school child is compounded of the cultural forces to which he is subject in family, street, church, movie, club, and community.³

³ W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated? The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

When educators begin to consider the younger generation as persons-in-culture in the school, a sounder basis of educational planning will be adopted. Schoolmen need also to recognize themselves as persons-in-culture when they function in the office, classroom, hall, gymnasium, and assembly. When this orientation becomes more freely adopted, teachers will take primary account of the emotional and attitudinal aspects of pupil personality and see these phenomena as the counterpart of similar human traits in family and community. As goes the socializing process in youth, so goes the fitness of youth as citizens in a democracy. The fundamental issues in American society and in the public school are problems in human (culture) relations. Our country and the local classroom are occupied by persons of divers racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic traditions who have not yet learned to relate their cultural differences with due respect for the democratic rights of all group interests. This social condition sets the need for a program of intercultural education in the public schools of America.

CHAPTER XXI

Second- and Third-Generation Americans

SAMUEL KOENIG

THE immigration problem which has been occupying the attention of social scientists and social workers as well as of average Americans for a long time is rapidly changing in character. Whereas for the past fifty years the problem centered primarily around the adjustment to American life of millions of foreign-born individuals with diverse cultural heritages, at present it is the millions of their descendants born, raised, and educated here, but still incompletely or insufficiently adjusted to the dominant culture, that concern us. A few figures will make this clear.

In 1890 the foreign born constituted 16.6 per cent of the total population, in 1930, 12.7, and in 1940, 9.4. In actual numbers, the foreign-born population decreased from 14,204,149 in 1930 to 11,109,620 in 1940, a decrease of about one fifth. The diminution in the number of foreign born is, of course, chiefly due to the high death rate resulting from the rapid aging of the foreign-born population, whose median age in 1930 was 44.4 years and in 1940, 51, and the drastic restrictions on immigration which amounted to a virtual stoppage of the flow of immigrants.¹ Thus, unless our immigration policy is reversed, which is extremely unlikely, our foreign-born population "may be expected," as P. M. Hauser² states, "within a short time to succumb to the grim reaper and disappear from the national scene."

On the other hand, the native born of foreign stock have been constantly gaining in numerical importance. In 1930, the native born of foreign or mixed parentage alone numbered 25,361,186. To be sure, this number dropped to 23,157,580³ in 1940, which is un-

¹ Between 1931 and 1933, there was a net emigration from the United States, and between 1934 and 1936 emigration approximated immigration.

² "Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (May, 1942), p. 825.

³ This figure was calculated by the Bureau of the United States Census from a 5-per-cent sample, as the 1940 census did not break down the native born according to the birthplace of their parents.

doubtedly due to the aforementioned aging of the immigrant population, but the third generation certainly must have increased considerably during that period.⁴ All ethnic and racial minorities are fast becoming predominantly native-born groups. Thus, for example, over 75 per cent of the total German stock are native born.⁵ The percentage among the Irish is probably even higher. Six out of every ten Italians are American born,⁶ as are over 50 per cent of the French Canadians in America.⁷ A recent study of twelve Jewish communities, in cities located in various parts of the United States, found the percentage of native born among the Jewish population to be well over 60, in one community the percentage being 66.4 and in another 80.5.⁸ Among the immigrant racial minorities, the change from largely foreign-born to predominantly native-born groups is even more noteworthy. In 1920 the Japanese included only 26.7 per cent *Nisei*, or native-born individuals; in 1930, 49.2; and in 1940, 62.7. The American born among the Chinese constituted 30.1 per cent in 1920, 41.2 in 1930, and 51.9 in 1940.

At the same time, the speed with which all immigrant cultures and institutions are disintegrating is being accelerated. "The German-language press," states Carl Wittke,⁹ "is rapidly dying. Most German churches have long since given up their services in the German language, and German societies of every description find it increasingly difficult to maintain their membership." Among the Italian group, too, there is occurring a "rapid disintegration of all the institutions of the immigrant's own making in America: the foreign-language press, the immigrant's fraternal organization, the religious festival, the mutual aid society."¹⁰ A similar fate is overtaking the Jewish group in the United States.¹¹ Even among the French Canadians, who have been known to cling perhaps more tenaciously

⁴ Figures on the number of the third generation do not exist.

⁵ Carl Wittke, "German Immigrants and Their Children," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), p. 85.

⁶ Edward Corsi, "Italian Immigrants and Their Children," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), p. 103.

⁷ Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, "French-Canadians in the United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), p. 137.

⁸ Sophia M. Robison, Ed., *Jewish Population Studies*, p. 188. New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰ Edward Corsi, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹¹ Cf. S. Koenig, "The Socioeconomic Structure of an American Jewish Community," in I. Graeber and S. H. Britt, *Jews in a Gentile World*, pp. 229-235. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942.

to their native culture than other groups, "the most serious problems seem to grow out of the lessening of interest in religion and language. . . . In fact, it is possible that in spite of his high ideal to preserve his culture and language intact, the French Canadian may become amalgamated into the great American people."¹²

What one considers the "foreign" problem in the United States to be will depend, to a considerable extent, upon one's view of American culture, of the American nation. In other words, it will depend upon one's conception of the nature and character of America, what it is or ought to be.

To one conceiving of Americans as Anglo-Saxons who are endowed with certain superior physical and cultural traits, as is so often maintained, implied, or assumed by many, the millions of immigrant stock, especially from southern and eastern Europe, constitute a foreign element in the body of the American nation which is endangering its well-being, unless made harmless, so to speak, in some way. Again, according to those who consider the American nation "pure," immigrant elements are polluting its purity, and some way should be found to prevent that pollution. On the other hand, to one who views the American nation, like most other contemporary great nations, as a result of the fusion of diverse racial and ethnic elements, the problem will be one of a multitude besetting a modern, fast-changing society, similar, say, to the problem of adjusting millions of rural inhabitants to urban, industrialized life. Whatever the view, a problem manifestly exists, but it is quite obvious that the way one goes about looking at it and solving it will depend upon which "school of thought" one belongs to.

To the writer, it would seem that the last of the aforementioned "theories" is the correct one. Whether one turns for proof to biology, history, sociology, or anthropology, one will easily discover that the American nation, right from the beginning of its history, was far from "pure," either physically or culturally. Space does not allow elucidation on this point, nor is there any need for it.¹³ Witness the difficulty, universally experienced, in defining "American," in delineating the "typically" American. The truth seems to be that "America" is not anything that *should be*, according to someone's

¹² Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹³ For an interesting recent review of the question as to whether the American culture and nation are Anglo-Saxon, see Frederick G. Detweiler, "The Anglo-Saxon Myth in the United States," *American Sociological Review*, III (April, 1938), pp. 183-189.

preconceived idea, but what it *is*, what it can be observed to be—a composite of peoples and cultures, with, to be sure, English institutions and mores forming the core around which our nation and civilization have been built.

In spite of the fact that American culture is here conceived of as composed of diverse elements, it must be admitted that America has developed in the course of time an ethos, a pattern of life, which has become dominant and to which everyone who has become permanently established here seeks naturally to conform. This dominant pattern includes primarily the English language and legal and political institutions. Among the other elements included are a highly developed technology, industrialism, urbanism, and economic individualism, with their resultant attitudes and behavior. Protestantism perhaps might also be added. It is to an environment with these peculiarities that the immigrants and their children must become adjusted.

Immigrants, on coming here, bring with them traditions and customs, ways of life, differing from, or even clashing with, American cultural patterns. The cultural heritages which they carry with them are not, of course, lost with the crossing of the ocean or of the boundary separating their homeland from the new country. These heritages are quite naturally clung to tenaciously by them for as long as possible.¹⁴ So deeply ingrained are their own attitudes and values, so convinced are they that they are desirable and even superior to those found here, that immigrants make constant attempts, often desperate attempts, to preserve and perpetuate them, and to inculcate them in their American-born children.

Although a great deal of effort and energy have been expended by the immigrant to preserve his cultural heritage, the attempts have been only partially successful and in the long run are doomed. We have seen that immigrant institutions and organizations are in a state of disintegration and threatened with extinction. The second generation, from all accounts, has remained apathetic, disinterested in, and even antagonistic toward, the efforts of their parents. Instead, native-born children of immigrants are adopting, or seeking to adopt, the ways of thinking and acting of the dominant group. They usually

¹⁴ For thorough analyses of the significance of cultural heritages to the immigrant, see Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921; William C. Smith, *Americans in the Making*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939; and Hannibal G. Duncan, *Immigration and Assimilation*. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933.

consider themselves Americans and are anxious to be regarded as such. The urge among second-generation individuals to identify themselves with "true" Americans is evident among all ethnic groups, albeit there is a difference in the degree to which they are able or willing to achieve this identification. As a rule, descendants of the "old," or western European immigrants, have been found to have achieved this identification more completely than those of the "new," or eastern and southern European, immigrants. This fact may be accounted for chiefly by the slighter cultural divergence of western Europeans, lesser prejudice against them, and smaller resistance on the part of the immigrants themselves to assimilation.

Says a second-generation American of English descent: "Because of my English descent I have never looked upon myself as anything but an American. My life and problems . . . have been typically American, too."¹⁵ One of French descent states: "Born an American and brought up to respect America, I have never felt different from anyone whose family tree had originated here."¹⁶ About the German group it is said that "The second- and third-generation immigrant stock know little of the language or traditions of their fathers and grandfathers,"¹⁷ and about the French Canadians, that the second and third generations are less and less enthusiastic about the institutions of their forebears."¹⁸ Of the Poles, one observer states: "The younger Poles oppose identification with the Polish community. They deliberately avoid the use of the Polish language, do not join Polish organizations, show lack of interest in collective activities, which they attend but at which they do not mix with the older generation."¹⁹ Even among the Japanese, according to a recent survey, "The assimilation of the *nisei* [second generation] has been notably great. . . . There is a greater culture distance between the *issei* [first generation] and the *nisei* than between the *nisei* and their caucasoid contemporaries."²⁰

In this desire for identification with the dominant group, second-generation individuals are, however, often frustrated. Native-born children, and not infrequently even grandchildren, of immigrants

¹⁵ Quoted from an unpublished life history by William C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

¹⁷ Carl Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁸ Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁹ Theodore Abel, "Group Life of the Poles," in E. de S. Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children*, p. 241. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929.

²⁰ Leonard Bloom, "Familial Adjustments of Japanese-Americans to Relocation," *American Journal of Sociology*, VIII (October, 1943), p. 554.

encounter difficulties in their attempts to become absorbed into the dominant society. One of the chief factors is the antagonistic attitude the dominant group takes toward these "foreigners." While descendants of immigrants from northern and western Europe experience little difficulty in being accepted by the dominant group, those of Latin or of Slavic descent encounter serious obstacles, and those of Oriental and Jewish stock find the barriers virtually insurmountable. In the case of Orientals, physical differences make the situation almost hopeless. Horace M. Bond²¹ called groups like these, among which the American Negroes are the classic example, appropriately enough, "permanent minorities." Indeed, so thoroughgoing is the antagonism or prejudice against members of such groups that no matter how far these individuals go in their assimilation, they are looked down upon and excluded from intimate social intercourse with the dominant group.

Another significant factor preventing complete assimilation of second- or third-generation individuals is cultural divergence. The cultural heritages that some immigrant groups brought with them differ more from the dominant patterns than do those of others. Eastern and southern European cultures are manifestly at greater variance with the American, while those of Orientals are much more so. Groups of this kind are, also, as a rule more resistant to assimilation and more zealous of preserving their heritages. American-born children of such groups, therefore, are likely to experience greater difficulty in making the proper adjustments to the American environment.

Since children of immigrants are inculcated, usually unconsciously, with the attitudes and values of their parents and at the same time are exposed to the influences of American culture, they often find themselves in a conflict situation. They are torn between two conflicting sets of attitudes and values, neither of which they can completely understand and appreciate. They are living on the margin of two cultural worlds in neither of which they feel quite at home; they are marginal individuals.²² It is especially children of discriminated minorities who are marginal and who experience the inner conflicts that result from being in such a position.

The second-generation individual "is the marginal man *par excel-*

²¹ "Education as a Social Process," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (May, 1943), p. 703.

²² For a thorough discussion of the phenomenon of marginability, see Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

lence. . . . Members of the ethnic community cannot understand him and revile him for behavior at variance with their code, and on the other hand the Americans ridicule him. . . . And there is no peace in his soul.”²³ Says such a marginal individual: “It sure is strange. I don’t like to live like my mother does, but I can’t live like Americans. Sometimes I think I am ‘advanced,’ as my parents say; but sometimes I just don’t fit anywhere.”²⁴ The marginal individual often becomes a tragic figure, lacking a cultural anchorage and a sense of belonging. As a result he may, as he not infrequently does, experience serious personality difficulties and become a maladjusted person. The first-generation individual, who has arrived here at a mature age, is sufficiently anchored in his culture to be able to withstand the conflict resulting from the clash of cultures. If necessary, he can, as he often does, withdraw into his own group. Not so with the native born. He is forced to struggle and sometimes to succumb, that is, lose the inner security necessary to a satisfactory adjustment to life. It must not be imagined, however, that the marginal individual is always maladjusted. He may be able to come to terms with his environment, and his marginality may have a highly stimulating effect upon him, leading him to extraordinary accomplishments. Indeed, from his position the marginal man is better able to compare and evaluate things. Says William C. Smith:²⁵

While the marginal man creates problems, particularly, when he becomes disorganized and demoralized, yet, on the other hand, he makes valuable contributions. His very hypersensitiveness makes him a keener observer than the complacent and self-satisfied native. He very often becomes an effective critic of the shallowness, hypocrisy, and inconsistencies in American life.

In a recent study of second-generation Italians, Irvin L. Child²⁶ found that the second-generation Italian, a typical marginal personality whose behavior has been molded both by the Italian group and by the larger American community, is forced to “decide” with which he is going to identify himself. Rewards are offered to the individual, on the one hand, by his parental group for remaining within it, and, on the other, by the dominant group for acquiring its behavior

²³ Carlson W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

²⁴ Pauline V. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town*, p. 174. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

²⁶ Irvin L. Child, *Italian or American?* pp. 60-72. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943.

patterns. Whatever his "decision," however, the individual cannot avoid conflict, for he "is striving for goals which are incompatible." According to Child, the individual of this type may react in one of three possible ways, each of which constitutes a pattern of adjustment. He may "rebel" against his own group and seek actively to identify himself with American society; he may develop an "in-group feeling" and desire to adhere as much as possible to the culture of his group; or he may assume an "apathetic" attitude, that is, try to steer clear of both paths and thus avoid the unpleasant consequences of either course of action, even though this necessitates also the abandonment of rewards which either of the two other paths offer.

Similar in some respects to Child's analysis is that of Jessie Bernard²⁷ in a study of a Jewish community. She distinguishes four paths through which a Jewish individual "tortured by conflicts of biculturality" may seek to gain ego security. He may (1) reject the Gentile world, remain in his group, and seek its cultural perpetuation, (2) attempt to destroy both, since so long as either exists he will have no peace, (3) try to work out a way of reconciling both cultural worlds, or (4) attempt to select what is beautiful in both cultures, which, according to the author, is the most rewarding but probably the most difficult to achieve, since in this case there are "no comfortable relapses into unconscious acceptance or rejection of values on the basis of tradition or prestige." There hardly can be any doubt that these are ways by which second-generation marginal individuals of all ethnic groups attempt to adjust themselves.

A not inconsiderable number of the third generation are still far from being completely adjusted culturally. While in some groups individuals in this category are quite thoroughly assimilated into the dominant group, in others, notably those which we characterized as "permanent minorities," they still betray definite signs of marginality. Isolation from the main American stream of life, life in compact colonies and prejudice against them may place these third-generation persons in approximately the same situation in which the second generation finds itself. Such cases are quite frequently encountered in our larger cities with their extensive and compact ethnic settlements.

The second generation, as revealed in a number of studies, shows a disproportionately high rate of crime and delinquency, and general

²⁷ "Biculturality: A Study of Social Schizophrenia," in I. Graeber and S. H. Britt, Editors, *Jews in a Gentile World*, pp. 289-291. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942.

personal disorganization claims a large number of victims among this group.²⁸ Native-born children of immigrants, according to the United States Bureau of the Census, have a rate of criminality three and a half times as high as that of their foreign-born parents, even though their rate is slightly lower than that of native whites of native parentage.²⁹ The rate of second-generation crime and delinquency, however, is by no means uniform among the different groups, being higher in some groups and lower in others. According to one authority, descendants of the "new" immigrants generally have a higher rate than those of the "old" immigrants.³⁰ In considering these, and for that matter all other, rates of criminality for various population categories, investigators warn us that it is necessary to exercise extreme caution in drawing inferences, since criminal statistics, failing to consider many significant factors, have been notoriously unreliable.³¹ One ought to be particularly careful not to be led to the conclusion that delinquent or criminal behavior is inherent in any racial or ethnic group.³²

While culture conflict undoubtedly is a contributing factor,³³ various studies show that these generally high rates are primarily due to the fact that immigrant children are forced to live in an environment conducive to crime and delinquency, that is, areas characterized by poverty and generally low social and economic conditions, where crime and delinquency flourish, and where there is little difference between nationality groups who are on the same socio-economic level.³⁴ Although some studies have shown that the rates are higher among children of mixed parentage than among those both of whose parents

²⁸ Cf. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Vol. II, p. 81; Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, pp. 191-192. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927; Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration*, pp. 274-276. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

²⁹ Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, 1930*, Washington, 1935.

³⁰ D. R. Taft, *Criminology*, pp. 114-115. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942.

³¹ Cf. Sophia M. Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; D. R. Taft, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

³² D. R. Taft, *ibid.*, pp. 67-68, 116.

³³ John Levy, "Conflicts of Cultures and Children's Maladjustments," *Mental Hygiene*, XVII (January, 1933), pp. 41-50; Louis Wirth, "Culture Conflicts and Delinquency," *Social Forces*, IX (December, 1930), pp. 164-167; E. D. Beynon, "Crime and Customs of the Hungarians in Detroit," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXV (January, 1935), pp. 755-774.

³⁴ Harold Ross, "Crime and the Native-Born Sons of European Immigrants," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVIII (July, 1937), pp. 202-209; see also, Frederic M. Thrasher, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

are foreign born, this is by no means certain. Taft³⁵ concludes that children of mixed marriages, namely, those who have one native- and one foreign-born parent, tend to show a lower crime rate than those both of whose parents are foreign born, maintaining that this is due to the greater degree of Americanization present in such homes, which in turn has the effect of reducing culture conflict among the children. Noteworthy is also the fact that second-generation criminals tend to commit crimes similar to those of the native born, the shift in character of criminality being "away from crimes of violence which are peculiar to the foreign born of most national groups and toward predatory types of offenses which are most common to the native whites of native parentage."³⁶

There can be no doubt that the native-born children of immigrants, that is, the second, and particularly the third, generation, tend, to a greater or lesser degree, to conform to the dominant behavior patterns. The pressure to conform is too great to be counteracted by the parental home. Nevertheless, as intimated above, many second- and sometimes even third-generation individuals are far from having been completely assimilated, let alone absorbed into the dominant group. Forces from within the ethnic group as well as from without make it usually impossible or extremely difficult for such individuals to sever completely their allegiance to their ancestral group or to break entirely with their parental culture. Indeed, it is their rejection by the dominant society that constitutes the greatest obstacle to their becoming absorbed into it.

A keen student of immigrant adjustment problems, Florian Znaniecki,³⁷ observed some years ago:

Do not let the Americans illusion themselves that because the second or third generation of Polish or German immigrants talk American slang and know how to vote they are assimilated psychologically and have acquired the American ways of feeling and thinking. More is needed to attain such a result than most people are inclined to imagine.

Professor Child³⁸ has this to say regarding the situation:

³⁵ D. R. Taft, "Nationality and Crime," *American Sociological Review*, I (October, 1936), pp. 726-727.

³⁶ E. H. Stofferet, "The European Immigrant and His Children," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 217 (September, 1941), p. 86; National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Crime and the Foreign Born*, p. 160, Washington, 1931.

³⁷ *Immigrants in America Review*, II (July, 1916), p. 32.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

The status of nationality groups has of itself such an importance for the adjustment of the second generation as to provide grounds for expecting that the third and fourth generations, even if removed from contact with an alien culture, will still have problems deriving from their nationality origin.

The second and third generations are often found living, like their parents or grandparents, in sections where the residents are predominantly of their own ethnic group, and where many aspects of life are still reminiscent of old-world cultures. Members of groups discriminated against especially are often forced to create and maintain social, cultural, and recreational organizations of their own, where the activities are paralleling those found in general American organizations, but where all members belong to the same ethnic group.³⁹ This has the effect of keeping group consciousness alive.

The merging or melting of cultural groups, in so far as it takes place—some doubt that it does—is proceeding very slowly, indeed. Assimilation, to use Dr. Galitzi's analysis, involves three distinct phases: the economic or technological, which merely requires adjustment to new work habits and is most easily attained; the cultural, which implies the discarding of old cultural traits and the acquisition of new ones; and the ethnic, which entails intermarriage.⁴⁰ While the second generation is well along in the process of economic adaptation—there is occurring among children of immigrants a shift from parental to native types of occupations⁴¹—it has a long way to go in the other two phases.

Thus, in a recent study of intermarriage in New Haven, Connecticut, Kennedy⁴² found that although the percentage of the ethnic in-group marriages has been decreasing, two thirds of all marriages are still endogamous (within the ethnic group), while among the Jews and Italians the percentages of such unions are 90.1 and 85.5, respectively. A previous study of New York, exclusive of New York City, shows the same tendency. Here the investigator found that the native born of foreign parentage tend to marry within their own group to the extent of 50.4 per cent in the case of men and 49.0

³⁹ Cf. S. Koenig, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-223.

⁴⁰ Christine A. Galitzi, *A Study of Assimilation Among the Roumanians in the United States*, pp. 165-167. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.

⁴¹ Cf. Elin L. Anderson, *We Americans*, pp. 57-58. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937; also *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. 28, pp. 18-56.

⁴² Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Premarital Residential Propinquity and Ethnic Endogamy," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (March, 1943), p. 581.

per cent in the case of women.⁴³ But what is more significant in this study is that native-born whites of native parents are much more endogamous, the percentages being 72.7 for men and 70.1 for women,⁴⁴ which means, of course, that those of foreign stock have slight chances to marry natives of native parentage. The extent of intermarriage of foreign with old native stock, it is further disclosed, varies with the group, the Canadian and English groups showing the highest percentages.⁴⁵ Among the racial groups, as would be expected, the percentages of in-group marriages run very high. Panunzio⁴⁶ found that 97.3 per cent among the Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Filipinos, and American Indians in Los Angeles County marry within their own groups. Again, in a study of a rural county in Minnesota, Nelson⁴⁷ found that over two thirds of all unions—ten nationalities were included—were endogamous.

Moreover, the tendency toward in-group marriages, it has been found, coincides with residential propinquity, most endogamous unions taking place between nigh-dwellers, which implies considerable residential segregation among the different ethnic groups.⁴⁸ The aforementioned New Haven study led the author to the belief in the possibility of "an increasing tendency toward the development of segregated communities based upon ethnic, racial, and religious characteristics."⁴⁹

Since intermarriage is undoubtedly one of the most important indices of ethnic fusion, the tendency toward in-group unions among the various ethnic groups assumes great significance. Professor Nelson⁵⁰ makes the following noteworthy observation in concluding his survey of intermarriage:

There is a common supposition that assimilation—or amalgamation—is inevitable. As long as the in-group marriage rate is at least 50 per cent, it is difficult to see how absorption or biological assimilation is going to take place. Even a smaller proportion than one-half practicing marriage within the nationality group would be sufficient to maintain a "hard core" of cul-

⁴³ James H. S. Bossard, "Nationality and Nativity as Factors in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, IV (December, 1939), p. 795.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 794.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 795.

⁴⁶ Constantine Panunzio, "Intermarriage in Los Angeles, 1924-1933," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (March, 1941), pp. 690-701.

⁴⁷ Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage Among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (March, 1943), p. 588.

⁴⁸ M. R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (January, 1939), p. 517.

⁴⁹ Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

⁵⁰ Lowry Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

tural identity. It would appear that instead of a "melting-pot" producing an amalgam out of the diverse nationality groups, we have something which might better be described as "soup." The basic ingredient has contributed something to the flavor of the whole.

It is self-evident that the American nation, like any other, cannot function smoothly, cannot preserve its heritage, its whole system of life, when torn by disunity and discord. Unity of outlook—in the case of the United States agreement on a democratic way of life—common ideals and aspirations with regard to fundamentals are essential, if a country is to preserve its integrity. What is more, as Park and Miller point out, "the various nationalities and civilizations of the world are in a state of rivalry, and a low efficiency in any country may lead to its destruction, actual or economic."⁵¹ World War I and especially World War II, have amply demonstrated this.

This being so, to what extent do our second- and third-generation Americans constitute an actual or potential danger to the integrity and welfare of America? Evidently, the best way to answer this question is to see how these Americans have been behaving during an extreme national crisis, namely, war. It was especially World War II, in which second- and third-generation Americans were involved in unprecedented numbers, that served as a test. What has been demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt, if there was need of proof, was that our "new" Americans have shown not only their undivided loyalty to America, but their readiness to defend it with their lives. Here and there small numbers of native-born individuals of certain ethnic groups, like some Americans of old stock, tended to sympathize with fascist regimes in the land of their ancestors' origin. Old-world enmities and nationalistic feelings, which have overflowed from parents to children, accounted for some cases, but in most instances these individuals belonged to the ranks of the discriminated and socially and economically insecure. They were drawn from among the "frustrated immigrants or members of native-born minorities with havens of romance and strength to which they flee from an unresponsive world."⁵²

The number of "subversive" individuals among the native-born descendants of foreign stock is so infinitesimally small that it could not possibly be regarded as an indication of a tendency toward disloyalty among them. Even among the Japanese, the vast majority

⁵¹ Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260.

⁵² Alfred M. Lee, "Subversive Individuals of Minority Groups," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), p. 169.

of the *Nisei* have remained loyal to the United States. Despite their classification as enemy aliens and their internment in camps together with their alien parents after Pearl Harbor, they merely "tended increasingly to identify themselves with their parents and the parental culture (by no means necessarily with Japan)." ⁵³

We have seen that the second, and even third, generation still faces the problems of adjustment to the dominant American society. The process of adaptation is necessarily a gradual one and can be completed only under favorable conditions in the course of time. Prejudice, intolerance, lack of sympathy with the cultural heritages of minorities on the part of native Americans, serve only to increase national tensions and to postpone the assimilation and adjustment of large numbers of individuals. What Park and Miller ⁵⁴ said regarding the immigrants themselves is to a considerable extent applicable also to the second and third generations. "If we wish," they stated, "to help the immigrant to get a grip on American life, to understand its conditions and find his role in it, we must seize on everything in his old life which will serve either to interpret the new or to hold him steady while he is getting adjusted." Sociologists as well as social workers have recognized this for some time, and have taken a sympathetic attitude toward cultural heritages of minorities and even advocated and actively encouraged their retention, also because of the enriching effect they have upon American culture.

There is an increasing awareness on the part of thoughtful Americans that the American culture is a composite of different heritages; that, indeed, the great American civilization, as we know it in its multifarious phases, is unthinkable apart from the contributions of the various ethnic groups; that different cultural systems in contact are productive of progress, albeit also of conflict. Leaders in all walks of life are, therefore, coming to realize the importance of bringing the cultural heritages of the various nationality groups before the attention of the American public as well as of acquainting the different ethnic groups with each other's cultural qualities. Dr. Strong ⁵⁵ reports on a Festival of Nations which took place recently in St. Paul, Minnesota, in which thirty-two different nationality groups participated. The gathering, he concludes, has had the effect of bringing

⁵³ Leonard Bloom, "Familial Adjustments of Japanese Americans to Relocation," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (October, 1943), p. 559.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 295-296.

⁵⁵ Samuel M. Strong, "Observations on the Possibility of Attitude Modification: A Case of Nationality and Racial Group Interrelationships in Wartime," *Social Forces*, XXII (March, 1944), p. 329.

about a closer understanding among groups which had previously been far apart:

Upon recollection of the images which the different ethnic groups created in their minds, persons who attended the Festival may experience a modification of their ideas and sentiments. While many of the stereotypes and antagonisms may persist, they, nevertheless, are set against a new line of experience which, if relived, may contribute towards the diminution of hatreds.

Native-born children of immigrants, as we have noted, are, like their parents, marginal people. In a sense they are psychologically as well as socially even more in a quandary than their parents. The native-born individual of immigrant stock needs desperately the security which comes from a sense of belonging. An appreciation of his cultural background and an understanding of his parents' cultural heritage give him such sense of belonging. Far from hampering, this aids him in making the proper adjustment and prevents him from possible demoralization. Educational institutions are recognizing this and hence are encouraging children of immigrants to study the language and culture of the country of their origin.⁵⁶

Thus viewed, our "ethnic problem," of which the second and third generations manifestly constitute the most important phase, appears quite differently from what it is commonly conceived to be. It becomes then clear that to deal with it successfully it is necessary to recognize and understand that second- and third-generation Americans are still in the process of adjustment and to appreciate that their position is a difficult one. This process is a natural and slow one, which cannot be forced or artificially hastened without disastrous results. It does not necessitate the abandoning by children of immigrants of the values of their parental culture, but rather the harmonizing of them with those of the dominant society.

⁵⁶ Marian Schibsy, "Private Agencies Aiding the Foreign-Born," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), p. 188.

CHAPTER XXII

Minority Groups and Their Communities

FRANCIS J. BROWN

NO TERM in the English language is so rich in its connotations or so difficult to define as the word "community." Although we are not here concerned with the verbiage of definitions, it is necessary to point out two fundamentally different uses of the term. One is the community of interests which creates the sense of unity—the we-feeling described in the first chapter—among individuals and groups widely separated in distance but united by some common bond of fellowship; the other is the distinct local area having more or less common interests and common activities in which they function as a unit.

Both are applicable when thought of in connection with minority groups. Certainly it is true that all minority peoples sense the common bonds that unite them with all others of the same race or national group. The difference is one of degree. As pointed out in Part II, groups that easily merge into the life about them—such as the English, Canadians, and Swedes—have comparatively little feeling of unity with all other English or Canadians or Swedes. The continuance of wide-spread unemployment, the development of the nationalistic movements abroad, and the intensification of propaganda, especially from Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo (see Chapter XVI) brought a momentary revival of the nationalist movement in America. Although blood ties had diminished with each generation, these governments sought to re-establish citizenship loyalty by declaring that children even though born abroad were still citizens of the country of birth of their parents. The development of the Bund and similar organizations seemed for a few years to give the lie to the whole process of acculturation. Some, although never more than a small minority of any nationality group, championed the policies of the government of their country of origin or became partisans of its factions and conflicts.

Pearl Harbor supplied the test of whether this seeming interest was based on a deep sense of loyalty to the foreign country or was but an outlet for youth, thwarted by unemployment and its accompanying cynicism of the American way of life. War unequivocally demonstrated that the noisy activities of foreign agents had not basically influenced the fundamental loyalty of even those of foreign birth to their country of adoption. The records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the return of freedom of action to Italian Americans cited in another chapter (page 267), the reports of the War Relocation Authority for the Japanese (page 335), and the millions of foreign born and second and third generation in war industry and in the armed forces refute the alarmists and confirm faith in the basic unity of our national life.

Three factors other than the emotionalism of war tend to influence the degree of this community of interest: (1) recency of arrival; (2) size of national or racial group either here or in the country of birth or ancestry; and (3) the degree of persecution in their native land or of discrimination and consequent social isolation in the land of their adoption. These factors have been abundantly demonstrated in the discussions of the different minority groups in Part II. For the most part, the sense of national feeling is stronger among all of the "new" immigrants than among those who came in the first waves of immigration prior to 1880. Likewise, the more recent arrivals of this "old immigrant" group, despite the fact that their countrymen are well assimilated into American life, tend to maintain their interest in the homeland and to espouse its causes.

It is a common human characteristic to compensate for lack of stature by seeking to demonstrate strength or power, sometimes of even a bombastic character. What is true of individuals is to a similar degree true of groups. The more distinctly they are in the minority, the more likely they are to find strength in unity.

The third and most important factor in the development and maintenance of ethnocentrism within the group is persecution and discrimination. Thus the Jew, with many individual exceptions, clings to his cultural heritage, seeks to have his children attend a Rabbinical school, and, as a family, observes the holy days. The dominant nationalism of the Irish has its root in the centuries of conflict with England. Likewise, the Ukrainian "cannot be more blatantly insulted than by calling him by the name of the foreign government under which his nation has been or is subjected—a Russian, Pole, or Rumanian. Ukrainian youth have heard the call coming from the

graves of their political and military heroes and have organized the 'Young Ukrainian Nationals' to give glory to these heroes of the past and support to those across the Atlantic who have made untold sacrifices—even unto death—to wrest the homeland from its conquerors and to re-establish an Independent Ukrainian State."¹

Discrimination may be only a milder or at least more subtle method of persecution. Certainly its end results are the same—the strengthening of the unity of the group in direct proportion to the degree of such discrimination. Race consciousness rests basically upon this factor. The Negro, the Indian, the Chinese, and others sense the bond of unity with all others of like race, as they are subjected to overt or subtle discrimination by the majority. The same is true on a national basis. The accepted minorities tend to have comparatively little community of interest with their compatriots, but those not so accepted—such as the Mexicans, Filipinos, Poles, or Italians—tend to maintain strong communal bonds.

Obviously there is danger of oversimplification in such an analysis as the above, and generalizations fail to recognize the many individual exceptions. However, the facts presented in Part II demonstrate, within qualifications, the importance of each of the factors presented. This analysis also indicates the only possible solution to a too intense ethnocentrism and consequent social isolation—the gradual but wholeheartedly sought-for elimination of discrimination based on prejudice, as emphasized in Chapter XVII.

The second aspect of the community, which is both cause and, partially at least, effect of the first, is the congregation of those of the same minority group within a distinct local area.

What an awakening it must have been to those who had come with such high hopes and with such eager anticipation, expecting to pick up gold in the streets and to be freed of all oppression, to find that the few dollars were earned only by the sweat of the brow and the strenuous toil of ten, twelve, or fourteen hours a day; that they had been herded like cattle into steerage; that the skyline of the great land of opportunity, reflecting the rising sun in its million-windowed eyes, held within its shadows dark, drab tenements with garbage-littered streets, where the children of the millions of others who had preceded them dodged in and out among the pushcarts. Again, some were herded onto trains to be carried westward in crowded day coaches to the industrial centers of the middle states, where their con-

¹ Quoted from an unpublished report of a Ukrainian student.

tract labor was awaited to work out the price of their passage, paid in advance by "the boss." Others remained in their port of entry, adding still further to the overcrowding of the cheap tenement districts. They congested about the great industries—the linen areas in northern New Jersey, the coal regions of the Appalachians, the stockyards of Chicago. Some, notably the Scandinavians, Dutch, Swiss, and Germans moved on out into the Middle West and established agricultural communities of their own.

Why did not these arrivals scatter indiscriminately throughout the population and thus speedily merge into American life? Of the many factors that contributed to the formulation of these "islands of social isolation," the two most important were the bonds of language and culture that held them to those of their own group, and their low economic status.

These new Americans were strangers. There were no familiar landmarks; even the countryside that sped by the car windows was different from that of the small acres of their homeland. Everywhere they heard the strange gibbering of a new language—often harsh and always meaningless unless accompanied by self-evident gestures. They did not know our customs. Their shawls and coarse dresses, the short embroidered coats, were in glaring contrast to the dress of those about them. Bewildered, they clung together with those of their own minority group; suspicious of these strangers about them, they found self-assurance with those who spoke their language and were familiar with their ways of living. A small settlement grew into a larger community, and a little Italy or Poland or a Chinatown had come into being.

The economic factor was equally important. Some few had money enough to delay permanently locating until they could make a choice; the great majority had at most a few dollars; and many, with passage paid by contract, had only the few odds and ends of keepsakes tied in the corners of a shawl or blanket. They had no choice, for immediate employment was imperative, and the low wages forced them to make their first home in the poorest sections. If they brought their families, they soon found it necessary to add to the crowded condition of their tenement flats by taking in boarders. If they left their families abroad, they also sought cheap rooming quarters that they might save by slow accumulation, either to return home or to bring their wives and children to them.

Thus, by accident rather than by design, both the city and the countryside became a series of more or less isolated communities, each

resistant to the inroads of the melting pot, clinging to its own language and customs, finding the security of social status within its own group, and held in the iron chains of an economic system which left of the weekly pay check little beyond the bare necessities of existence.

The urbanization of a population primarily rural in their country of origin was a reflection of the economic factor. The extent to which it has continued is forcefully shown in Table XVIII (page 651). The range is from the Finns, only 52.2 per cent of which is urban, to the Greeks with 91.2 per cent living in towns and cities.

In many respects the community life of the Negro is similar to that of other minority groups. While it is true that language is not a contributing factor, customs and economic considerations are as important for him as for the others. Also there is the fact of discrimination, which is almost equally significant in both the North and the South. Freed from bondage and no longer assured even the minimum of security provided by slavery, he too found solace among those of his own race. His poverty likewise forced him into the cheaper housing areas, and discrimination, perhaps enhanced by his own awareness of it, drove him into the "Negro quarters," regardless of the section of the country in which he lived.

The American Indian departs somewhat from this general pattern. Driven back across the mountains, on toward the West, and finally located in reservations, he has tended to retain many of the customs and usually the language of his ancestors of the "Happy Hunting Ground." Here too is the resistance against assimilation. The Acomas still live in their "City of the Clouds," 1,100 of them atop a great block of rock rising hundreds of feet above the level sands below. The venturesome tourist must climb the precarious trail up the notches for hands and feet, carved centuries before the white man first saw the "enchanted mesa." The villages of the Seminoles of Florida are as inaccessible as when Ponce de Leon first pierced the Everglades; the Navajos attend mission or public schools and return again to their isolated *hogans*² in some sheltered arroyo on the wind-swept mesa. The church was wiser than the state, for she adapted her ritual to a curious commingling of tribal, ceremonial, and religious worship.

If we visit any one of these communities, we shall find the human side of community life. It does not matter where we go—Detroit, St. Louis, or San Francisco, or the smaller towns, many of which have

² Eight-sided houses made of adobe.

been named in preceding chapters. For the moment, let us go to one in which the contrast is more apparent but little less real than in most of the others—the Bowling Green neighborhood in New York City. A man stands on a windowledge—35 stories above the street—cleaning. Far beneath the street's surface, overalled, begrimed, sinewy, the coal stoker toils. In between, as night draws on and the vast buildings become empty and quiet, the army of scrub women and men troop to their work with bucket and mop. The watchman takes his post. The nightguard paces his beat. The canyons of the financial district are deserted, save for the children of the neighborhood, swarming in the streets like children elsewhere, laughing, shouting, playing their games, where only a few minutes before the financial problems of the richest of all nations were being considered. This is the other side of Wall Street—Wall Street after dark—not the street exclusively, to be sure, but that tiny area at Manhattan's tip, the financial district, the Bowling Green neighborhood. The drudgery of life is uppermost after dark in Wall Street. Tenements disgorge a small army of workers. Brawn replaces brain. Office cleaners and scrub women swarm into the darkened canyons. Wall Street after dark provides employment and is a source of income for 12,500 inhabitants who live along its fringes the year round. What kind of people are these dwellers of Manhattan's oldest village, these people who live in the midst of such wealth and share in so little of it? They come from all parts of the globe. They represent forty-one nationalities. Some of them cannot read, write, or speak English. They are not familiar with American ways. They know little of American standards of living. Yet, Wall Street depends on these people. They scrub the floors of buildings, they clean the offices; they are the janitors, porters, and watchmen of the greatest money mart of the world. They work in the cafés. They are as much a part of Wall Street as the Stock Exchange.

The transition from past to present tense was not unintentional. While many changes have taken place and every community is continually caught in the maelstrom of both centripetal and centrifugal forces, these "islands" have remained and bid fair to resist the centrifugal forces, even those of war; certainly, at least, during the lifetime of the older generation.

This general situation is shown in more specific terms in Table XIX (page 652). By selecting cities of fairly comparable size, three contrasts are presented. Chicago has twice the percentage of Swedish Americans as has New York City, but less than half as much concen-

tration of Italian Americans; the population of Boston includes six times as many Irish as Los Angeles, while the latter has one sixth of its foreign white stock from Mexico and the former has less than 1 per cent. So, too, more than one fourth of Buffalo's foreign white stock are Polish Americans, and of Jersey City's, the same proportion are Italian Americans. Similar contrasts could be drawn for every community in America, and any effective community activity must take this factor into account.

The ratio of men to women in these communities is another factor affecting organization. While the numbers are changing rapidly due to changes in the sex ratio of immigration since World War I and to intermarriage, it is interesting to note (see Table XX, page 656) that in 1940 there were 161 males of Greek origin to each 100 females while there were only 88 men to each 100 French women. Community life is markedly affected by this ratio, which, even though shifting, still exerts a significant influence.

An analysis of the major centripetal forces has been presented in Part II and the forces have been separately treated in Part III. They include language, the church, the press, the many types of service agencies, such as the benevolent associations maintained by the group for the benefit of its own members, the hosts of clubs and organizations enumerated in connection with each minority group, activities in the interest of country of origin, and, perhaps most important of all, the enmeshing web of customs, folkways and *mores*, and attitudes.

In contrast with these centripetal agencies, there are equally important centrifugal forces continually playing upon the daily life of our minority groups. The former tend to retain cultural differentiation; the latter continually challenge its very existence. The study of the community resolves itself into an analysis of these two types of forces that lead in opposite directions.

Of the many centrifugal forces, one of the most important is the changing economic status of minorities. As stated above, each new group of arrivals tended to congregate in the cheaper areas of city and village or to seek the coöperation of their fellow countrymen in the agricultural areas. Gradually an individual's wages or income increased, he accumulated a surplus, however small, and then he sought a home in a more desirable area. The sense of economic security gave him also the feeling of independence of his own national or racial group. Thus, many areas of our larger cities have been occupied by successive waves of different minority groups—Germans,

Irish, Poles, Italians—as each has improved its status sufficiently to move on to other areas. For some, of course, it is but a transplanting to another community, which gradually becomes as wholly occupied by their own group as that from which they came, but for many it means the lessening, if not the actual severance, of these community ties. Likewise, as economic status improves, they tend to participate more actively in activities outside of their own cultural groups. With many individual exceptions, an improved economic status tends to lessen the cultural differentiation of the minority groups.

This is best illustrated by the most recent group of immigrants, the Mexicans, who have not yet moved from the economic fringe. More than 100,000 remain migratory workers following crop harvests from Texas and New Mexico as far north as Idaho and the Dakotas. The trail of one such family can be mapped by the birth of their six children, each born in a different state—Texas, Michigan, Colorado, Arkansas, Wyoming, and North Dakota. Sixty thousand live in houses that do not have sanitary sewage disposal, 33,000 have a questionable water supply, and many, even in the period of maximum war employment, are faced with economic insecurity.

The war had tremendous influence on community life. It telescoped the changes of decades into a few years. It gave high incomes to millions who had never known more than a poverty level of existence. It brought mobility of population, both civilian and military, that before the war would have seemed, and been, impossible. Whole communities, with smoke-belching factories, and shopping centers, and rows of “standard” houses, were built in a few months where there had been only corn fields or timber land. Men and women of every country of origin worked and lived together in the daily routine and the dangerous adventure of war. The sheltering traditions regarding women were shattered by the demands of war production.

The role of government in community planning in the postwar period cannot be predicted, but already huge public housing projects are being envisaged. The areas of congestion in which many of the “islands of cultural isolation” are harbored may be torn down. The government has provided opportunity for education in the field and institution of the individual’s choice for the millions in the armed forces.

These swiftly moving forces will have even more disintegrating effect upon the community because of the continuance and expansion of other factors. Only two can be briefly discussed in this chapter:

the development of methods of transportation and communication, and the school.

Modern means of transportation and communication tend to disintegrate community life. As the one-cylinder engine gave way to "a car within the range of every purse," as mud roads were covered with ribbons of concrete, and as roadhouses, parks, and neighboring cities beckoned to the one fourth of America on wheels,³ the control of the local community pattern was materially lessened.

The radio and the movie invade the privacy of the American home. Discussions of national problems, news of far-flung areas, and the cultural contributions of many peoples extend the boundaries of knowledge and experience far beyond the community or the group. The Slavic girl patterns her styles, mannerisms, and even her basic attitudes of life after those of her favorite star.

The final factor is the school. Here the child comes into daily contact with those of other minority groups, learns the language of America, reads the historical development of the nation, and comes to understand some of its problems. With this widening of his horizon, the cultural backgrounds of his elders become of decreasing importance to him. In many instances he becomes ashamed of their customs and their lack of contact with his own world. Not infrequently he becomes defiant of their insistence upon their standards, which are so often at sharp variance to his own. Such arguments are more than mere family disagreements; they result from a conflict of cultures—of two communities—of centripetal and centrifugal forces.

This conflict cannot be resolved overnight, but it is being met gradually in the only direction in which lies a satisfactory solution—not by defiance and suppression of the old, nor yet complete capitulation to it, but by the development in children of an appreciation for the cultural backgrounds of their parents, and in parents of a knowledge of the changing patterns of the present.

When we substitute other terms for "children" and "parents," the direction of society's solution of the same community problem is indicated. The conflict will be minimized to the degree that all of the agencies of society coöperate in the twofold task: the development of appreciation based on knowledge of the background, cultural contributions, and problems of each minority group; and

³ It was possible prior to the outbreak of World War II to put the entire population of the United States into passenger automobiles, with all trucks, busses, and taxis standing idle, and have not more than six persons in any car.

the recognition on the part of each group of the inevitable changes in the community pattern, economic, social, and cultural.

As emphasized in the later chapters in this section, two distinctly different points of view are presented in regard to the community of the future. On the one hand are those who believe that the solution can be found only through the complete assimilation of all minority groups and the eventual blending of all nations and races into a composite pattern that will be American. On the other hand are those who with equal insistence believe that the greatest catastrophe that could come to American life would be the discarding of this rich and varied cultural heritage—rich because it is so varied. The former emphasize the centrifugal forces and seek to strengthen them still further; the latter do all within their power to maintain the agencies of cultural differentiation.

Which is correct? While it is undoubtedly true, if the extent of immigration remains permanently established at the present limitation quota, that each generation will tend to lose some of its minority status, it would be unfortunate if the best of each cultural background could not be preserved. Certainly, during the period of transition during the war and the postwar period of adjustment, it is imperative that community life be retained. It will not be the same as before the war, for social contact has been multiplied and social horizons have been broadened. The community of interest of a single group can never again be raised to the same level. Even the community, in terms of contact, will be less homogeneous as many young people will seek homes elsewhere than among their own racial or cultural groups. But conflict must give way to a deep appreciation of the culture of others—to a cultural democracy achieved through cultural pluralism. (See Chapter XXVII.) To achieve this result will challenge the best thought and earnest effort of at least our own and the next succeeding generation.

CHAPTER XXIII

Education and Minority Peoples

E. GEORGE PAYNE

THE immigrant coming to American shores, and especially the "new" immigrant, faced a new world; a world in sharp contrast with the simple peasant life he had known; a world of numerous, conflicting, and often contradictory culture patterns. He was faced with the necessity of choice, an option never before presented, and he had no experience that would help him in his selection.

In such a complex situation, the assimilation of the native born—for example, the incorporation of rural population into urban, and the adjustment of the Negro to the situation arising—was a very real problem; but the assimilation of the adult immigrant was a greater one. It was natural under such conditions that these immigrant groups should develop a social life and organization, an economy of their own, a culture within a culture, surrounded in fact by an antagonistic culture. In this situation new institutions appeared in response to the new needs, and not infrequently to take advantage of the immigrant for profit. Employment agencies collected fees without providing employment. Bankers without establishments accepted deposits, either as savings or for purposes of transmission to families in the homeland, and absconded with the funds. Such evils, too numerous to detail, grew up naturally out of a situation created by the inpouring of increasing throngs into a strange land with no help in assimilation or adjustment.

In this sad picture the parochial school, a social product of the immigrant group and one that satisfied its needs, was the only bright spot. In the first place it served a religious function and preserved in the young generation the language and cultural traditions of the old country. This prevented total disintegration and held intact the best of the culture brought from the homeland. In the second place, the parochial school served to secure for the immigrant colony social unity and to preserve it through successive generations. The school

served as a concrete institutional bond among the immigrants, by bringing them territorially together, by perpetuating family traditions, and by preserving unity between the old and the new generation. In contrast with the public school, which contributed toward family disorganization by introducing a new culture and a new language, the parochial school prevented this estrangement by making the children acquainted with the parents' language, religion, and national history and by inculcating respect for the traditional values of the country from which they came. The parochial school was a necessary expression of the tendency of the immigrant community toward self-preservation and self-development. Obviously, this sort of education was not appropriate to the needs of the immigrants in the new world from the point of view of their adjustment to our industrial, social, and national life, but it was the only formal education that served a constructive and significant function in preserving the best traditional values of the immigrant and preventing their total demoralization.

It should be noted here, however, that another significant educational influence was making itself felt in a highly constructive way in the second period of immigration: namely, social settlements such as Hull House in Chicago, and the Henry Street Settlement in New York. These settlements sought to preserve the best traditional values in recreation, handiwork, art, and dress, but at the same time gradually to introduce the immigrant to the values in the new culture. The virtue of the work of the settlements lay in the fact that the assimilation of the new culture took place gradually, and always in relation to the old, so that a complete break rarely occurred.

Unfortunately, public-school educators did not have the philosophy, the vision, or the technique of the social workers in their relations to the immigrant and his problems. Because of this deficiency, the public schools received immigrant children, treated them as natives, totally disregarded their cultural backgrounds, and judged their performance by American cultural standards of conduct. They provided for them a conventional and for the most part an academic subject matter, built out of American traditions and standards. This program had very definite results. A limited number broke with their traditions, discarded them as quickly as possible, forgot them, and accepted American standards as they conceived them, and, having broken completely with their families and their traditions, were readily absorbed into American life. A larger number sought to forget their traditional backgrounds, regarded them as inferior, and held their

elders in disrespect for continuing practices out of harmony with American traditions. Finally, the largest group, who could not make their adjustment to the school, persisted for a time in failing to make the grade, and finally fell by the way, discouraged and with feelings of inferiority and failure. As they grew to adulthood, they were fed into the industrial machine as common laborers and thus advanced our material culture.

While this description of the work of the schools until the first World War is accurate, it does not present the whole picture of public-school effort during that period. With the increasing number of immigrants and with their entrance into industries, the employers were the first to feel the need for the educational development of the adult immigrant employee, primarily in the English language, since the efficiency of the laborer in the factory depended upon his familiarity with English. In order to receive instructions in the work of the factory, the laborer must understand English, and in order to avoid the increasing industrial hazards and consequent mounting accidents and larger production costs, he must have a common means of communication. The understanding and use of English by the immigrant became essential to the employer, and he began to provide classes in English for his employees. The later nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed feverish activity in education along this line by employers. The programs of employer groups gave a prominent place to the discussion of the need for English and the methods and techniques of teaching it to foreigners. The programs were generally provided with demonstrations of the best methods, through lessons given by the most skilled teachers.

The teaching of English to "foreigners" was begun then by the industrialists as an aid to production and as a means of decreasing production costs. This purely mercenary aim, however, was soon transformed into an ideal of so-called "Americanization" with the idea of citizenship as the predominant motive. In teaching English the attempt was also made to teach the Constitution and forms of American government. With this ideal emphasized, it was comparatively easy to convince school boards that the job of Americanization belonged to the public schools, and the work of teaching English to adult immigrants became a public-school task. The evening schools assumed the task, and the literature of the period indicates that the main emphasis of evening-school classes of the period was upon the values, methods, and techniques of English for foreigners. Moreover,

up to the period of World War I, the educational practice did not extend much beyond the ideal laid down by the industrialists who originally initiated the work for industrial profit.

The first World War, however, created a new era for the immigrant and provided a new educational program and approach, for the immigrant situation itself was rapidly changed by the world conflict. The experience of the immigrants during that war as soldiers and workers in industry, with the improved economic conditions, increased income, extended opportunities for work and wages, effected a change of status, and resulted in a marked economic and social adjustment. The emphasis upon English as the American language, the demand that English be used in all school education, and the social pressure enforced through patriotic fervor did much toward assimilation and lessened the intensity and complexity of the immigrant problem.

Following World War I, therefore, less emphasis was placed upon the teaching of English to our minority groups and more consideration was given in the evening classes of the public schools to the education of adults, both immigrants and natives, along the broader lines of civic understanding and social adjustment. While complete success was by no means attained, there was marked advance in the extent to which the public schools sought to discover the needs of the adult groups and to meet those needs with a modified and adjusted program. If classes in English were demanded, they were given; if interest among housewives in improved diet and household economy was expressed, classes were provided. The school provided special instruction in the household arts in the neighborhood and even in the homes of housewives, particularly among the immigrants, when they could not leave their homes or neighborhood for instruction in the schools.

The prospect of meeting the needs of adults, however, was not matched by the adjustment of our elementary and secondary programs to the needs of immigrant children. With the modern scientific movement in education, with the discussion and dissatisfaction with our conventional school programs, and with all the progressive movements, curriculum reconstructions and the like, distinct progress was made. The school of today is quite unlike that of a generation ago. But with all these changes the fundamental interest of children of racial and national minority peoples have not been met. For the most part our educational advance and reconstruction have proceeded

without much reference to the particular problems growing out of the needs of these children with a totally different cultural background.

So far as any theory of assimilation had developed, it assumed that minority cultural groups entering the stream of American culture should rapidly drop past traditions and become completely integrated into American life. There was no expectation that American culture should itself be modified or influenced by the various streams of culture represented by the different minority groups. The first evidence of a broadening of this naïve conception was a theory assumed in a drama by Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*. One of his characters says: "Now understand that America is God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming!" And, again, he says: "Yes, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross-bow, the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God."

The melting-pot theory, which implied that the cultural heritage should be refined, eliminated, melted into the American stream, became the dominant motive of the Americanization movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, and education accepted and promoted this point of view. From this approach to the problem, there was no need to take into account the cultural peculiarities and backgrounds; they were to be lost, to be given up; therefore, why bother about them? Whatever Zangwill had in mind as to the preservation of the best of European traditions in the fusion, the general practice was to ignore those traditions and to assume that they neither mattered nor should be taken into account. The minority cultures were to be obliterated and the minority groups incorporated into the American cultural stream with as little disturbance as possible.

While the melting-pot theory was generally accepted, and is held by many today, there was a growing dissatisfaction with it as basic to a policy of acculturation. The theory did not work; the minority cultures did not melt but held aloof from American life, continuing their cultural practices isolated from American life. There were, thus, within the American social life, many cultural groups creating problems with which we could not adequately cope. The practice of this theory led to family disorganization and even disintegration among many groups, and the schools in many instances contributed to it. The breaking of inherited traditions and the failure of assimila-

tion led to crime and pauperism among them, and the melting-pot theory was found unworkable. That is, the practice following the enthusiastic reception of the Zangwill notion did not take account of the vital needs of our minority groups, and, more important, it did not seek to provide for the preservation of the vital cultural traditions of these groups whose "human natures" were accounted for by centuries of civilization and a culture different from our own.

In recent years a new theory of the adjustment of minority groups to major civilizations has been emerging, that of cultural democracy. This theory as described by other contributors to this volume assumes that no one culture contains all favorable elements, but that each group that makes up the total American population has unique values, and that the nation will be richer and finer in its cultural make-up if it, the country, conserves the best that each group has brought. The theory assumes, furthermore, that these minority groups have been so completely conditioned by their heritages that the historic past could not be sacrificed even if they chose to forget their past experiences. Their natures, character, and personalities are built out of a culture different from our own, and the method of effective cultural transmission requires that the fundamentals of their heritages be preserved for generations. Thus, through recognizing the fact of cultural pluralism we achieve cultural democracy. The only other option is cultural deterioration, the disintegration of family life, and maladjustments in our social life.

If the cultural democracy theory is correct, then the problem of adjustment becomes essentially that of preserving cultural traits, of dignifying qualities and practices different from our own, and of creating a feeling of pride in the folkways, mores, customs, conventions, and social patterns characteristic of the immigrant in his homeland as well as of the Negro and the Indian. Education, therefore, under this theory assumes a totally different role. It begins by discovering their characteristics, by magnifying them, by dignifying them, and by creating a feeling of pride in them. Education, however, does not end here, but continues by building into the original cultural patterns the best of American traditions, so that the development of the minority groups may be continuous and effective.

Several implications of the cultural democracy theory are obvious. First, the educational practice must be distinctly modified from that which has dominated our practices in the past. The first step involved is that of eliminating prejudice. An effort must be made to acquaint each group with the values inherent in the culture of the

other. Under this program, children of minority groups will be called upon to demonstrate their folkways, their dress, their folk art, their folk dances, their use of leisure, and their occupations. These will be frankly demonstrated and discussed as forms of folk practices and their merit established. The child will be given status not merely in terms of his achievements and in terms of American standards, but in terms of his own background and social heritages. Thus, he will hold fast to his own personality while he is modifying it in terms of more unfamiliar practices. Children will increase their respect for their non-English speaking parents, while they are at the same time acquiring full appreciation of American cultural backgrounds.

The question naturally arises as to the ultimate outcome of this theory. Does it mean the ultimate preservation of different cultural streams in our civilization? It does not seem to me that we should be deeply concerned over this matter. There certainly could be no harm in preserving intact the best of the various cultures, but, as a matter of fact, some degree of acculturation is inevitable, and from it a new and superior culture will emerge. Cultural democracy, then, does not imply that the special cultures will continue unchanged in the general stream for all time. The theory involves essentially a technique of social adjustment that will make possible the preservation of the best of all cultures, mainly for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of personality of the child in the minority group. Since immigration has been to a large extent halted, the whole problem has been simplified, at least for the foreign born, and the ultimate outcome will be an increasing degree of cultural interaction—a cultural democracy.

It is not our wish to imply that this theory is new to American educators. Beginning about 1925 there was a growing tendency to take account of minority group backgrounds. It is interesting to note, however, that the great majority of American educators in the construction of curricula and in the preparation of school programs have not considered the specific social and cultural needs of the particular group with which they were dealing. Curricula, including subject matter, activities, methods, measurement, and school organization, have been examined from the point of view of the nature of the child and from the philosophical consideration of the general social aims of education. Therefore, the specific social conditions, whether they were the special social background, such as health, delinquency, and the like, or the special cultural equipment of the group were not given special consideration. As a result, what we

have said about the special needs of immigrants applies equally to other social needs. The criticism, therefore, applies to the whole method of curriculum adjustment.

This criticism of educators and their techniques of curriculum reconstruction or adjustment should not be laid wholly at the doors of educators themselves, because they have had to rely upon the progress of a science of human behavior, and this science has been only partially and inadequately developed. This delay in the development of a science of human behavior has been retarded because of the general belief that any successful person, whether because of wealth or political leadership, was fully qualified to deal with the problems of human behavior. Human behavior, however, is extremely complex and can be studied and understood only by those specialists who have mastered the basic techniques fundamental to social problems. Moreover, the educators have had to rely upon philosophy and psychology almost exclusively in the determination of educational programs. Sociology has to a large extent failed them because the sociologists have not been interested to a great extent in education and have not provided educators with the basic research necessary for a full consideration of their problems. With the increasing research in this field, the educator is now in a position to revise his whole educational program and to proceed with educational reconstruction on a broader basis.

The problem of educational reconstruction as already pointed out is much more than a problem of immigrant adjustment; it is a problem of cultural lag, applying not merely to the school but also to the whole social life. The physical sciences and technical development have proceeded in their advance at a very rapid rate while our nonmaterial culture has remained relatively static. Our social patterns, our schools, our government and laws, and our mores, customs, and conventions have changed little in comparison with the rapid readjustment in our material life. The result has been a serious lag in educational readjustment. Immigrant education has had the same fate as all education in this complex situation.

Our program for the adjustment of minority groups has, therefore, been scrappy and inadequate. In the case of the foreign born, while we have become quite generally aware that the cultural backgrounds of the immigrant child should be taken into account, the methods so far developed have striven for a better understanding between these children of immigrant parents and those of native parents by the elimination of prejudices in both groups. Obviously the elimina-

tion of prejudices, while important, does not provide the only type of education that children of the foreign born need. The elimination of prejudice and the creation of better feeling and understanding is merely a step in the right direction.

The theory of cultural democracy, as previously stated, assumes that the minority groups have a significant contribution to make to our social life, that tolerant understanding of and sympathy for the minority groups are not sufficient, that an understanding of the culture of each group by both the dominant and minority groups is necessary, and that an expression of personality as developed out of this culture shall be encouraged and built upon in the process of final readjustment.

This theory, furthermore, demands a procedure necessary in the solution of all our education, a procedure growing out of the complexity, rapid change, and fluctuations in our social life, namely, the taking into account of the total background of the group for which a program of education is being planned, the discovery of the specific needs of health, leisure, vocation, and the like. The government, the schools, and the social agencies can no longer work independently—with duplications of effort, with overlapping of territory, with wide areas untouched—and hope to solve the complex problems of education in a democracy. Coöperation and coördination of all of these agencies, through a unified program adapted to community needs, is essential.

Fortunately, even before World War II, a beginning had already been made in a number of communities of solving community problems along the lines proposed in this discussion. Hastings-on-the-Hudson, New York, had brought all these agencies together in an effort to solve the problems of delinquency, recreation, and the use of leisure; Madison, New Jersey, was attempting a program along the same lines; the Lower West Side, Queens, Hempstead, and Yonkers, New York, and Jersey City and Bloomfield, New Jersey were likewise carrying out programs with somewhat similar purposes, by methods varying according to their particular needs.

As was true in World War I, World War II was preceded and accompanied by extensive activities, described in detail in Chapters XIII and XVI, on the part of those who sought to create division in America by appealing to low-income minority groups and to those of foreign stock. That such appeals were not more successful was a high tribute to the changes that had begun in education in the middle 1920's. The changes described above in minority-group status re-

sulting from World War I could be repeated with the addition of superlatives as a description of the effect of World War II.

There is need of a new educational emphasis. The postwar world, and particularly America, will face the need for an even more fundamental reorientation of our educational program and practice if the American ideal of democracy is to survive and to be progressively realized in practice. The most vital and significant weakness of our democracy is the disarrangement of our culture and the failure of the nonmaterial culture involving social ideas, ideals, and practices, to change along with the development of science and material civilization. We mean by this that our prejudices, stereotyped views, our social conventions, mores, folkways, and institutions have been handed down from a European background and, in this country, transmitted from parents to children relatively unchanged in spite of the revolutionary change in ways of communication, transportation, production, and all the elements of our material culture. We can no longer hope that natural forces can bring about or aid the harmonious integration of these elements of our culture. Education must perform a fundamental part in the process, and unless it does, our democratic civilization may be lost.

Education must play a new part in the social process. Institutional education—whether we think of it on the elementary, secondary, college, or university level—has not included in its consideration the affective aspect of personality. Institutional education has been concerned with the development of the intellect and has contributed to science and invention. This emphasis has tended to exaggerate the problems of democracy and social maladjustment. Stated another way, the problems of democracy, in the political, economic, social, and educational fields, demand for their solution the elimination of prejudices, outmoded stereotypes, and many conventional ways of thinking and acting. This elimination can only come about if institutional education plays a vital role and a definitely new role.

The development of an adequate educational program requires research to determine what are the attitudes, stereotypes, mores, institutions, and other social forces that prevent the realization of the democratic ideal; it also requires the experimental development of an educational program that will eliminate undesirable attitudes and develop favorable ones.

One such research is now being undertaken in a large metropolitan center. An overall committee is directing the study and individuals interested in cooperating are assigned specific types of research. The

purpose of the study is to determine specific instances of prejudicial action on the part of individuals or groups and then to attempt to determine the causes and to alleviate or eliminate them. It is hoped that studies of similar nature, adapted to the local community, will be undertaken in other areas, both urban and rural. Only by so doing can we arrive at an understanding of human behavior and lessen the social lag that still exists between our understanding of people and of the material world in which they move.

The radio provides another channel which may be used to the same end. As stated elsewhere in this volume, a series of programs was conducted over a period of two years on the general theme, "Americans All—Immigrants All." A new series was initiated in 1944 called "They Call me Joe." Through stories based in part on actual case histories, these programs show how the parents and ancestors of many of our troops crossed the ocean to find a new life in America. Now their descendants are returning, at times to the very country of their origin, to preserve the cultural heritage and freedom of the world.

A specific proposal of a classroom technique is the formation of a round table, a "clearing-house," or a "Chamber of Commerce of Cultures." Here, literally around a table, representatives of all racial and minority groups within the school or community could meet and in an intelligent and sympathetic way analyze their prejudices and resulting conflict situations and seek to find ways of mutual understanding and appreciation.

These are but a few of the possible approaches to a problem that is both individual and national. The following excerpt from the statement of the League for National Unity points the way to the cultural democracy yet to be achieved:

It is only by recognizing the tragic powers of discord, prejudice and discrimination that we can preserve our nation and weld a more secure union in the years to come. We must erect a mental image of the UNITED STATES which can face a world, torn to tatters. Our nation must be without prejudices and be animated by sympathy and understanding. Leaders from the days of Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Xerxes have always preached national power by national unity. Individuals who do not agree lead to nations who do not agree. This discord leads to world wars; the great tragedies of which have destroyed mankind.

We must pour the leaven of understanding into the crevices formed by antagonisms within the boundaries of this vast country. Americans must learn to live without discord, to eliminate friction, so that they will be able to live in harmony and to make progress with their ambitions—their professions, and with the even tenor of their lives.

CHAPTER XXIV

Religion and Minority Peoples

WILLARD JOHNSON

RELIGION exerts both an integrating and a divisive influence upon society. It unifies by furnishing a universal ethic and by bringing people together in institutions that transcend nationality, racial, and class lines. Religion also creates divisions based on theological and ecclesiastical differences. In so far as it is the reflection of cultures, nationalities, and classes it also reinforces other segmentations of mankind. Which of the two forces, the divisive or the cohesive, is the more powerful is a question that perhaps may never be answered.

Religion is integrative. The unifying influence of religion is conspicuous, for example, in the way in which a religious philosophy such as the Judeo-Christian tradition, augmented by Greek and Roman ideas, has become the basis for our western civilization.

One fourth of the human race adheres to the Christian religion. In like manner, other religions bind together large sections of the human family. Although Christians have fought on both sides of recent world wars, their common religion has nonetheless exerted a healing influence after the wars were terminated. At the present time, the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox branches of Christianity transcend nationality lines at many points; the non-Roman churches of the world are, on the whole, included in the newly formed World Council of Churches which includes Christians from virtually every nation in the world.

Moreover, some religions are projected on a universal plane; they are above nations and regionalisms even though their external forms may assume nationalistic or sectional expressions. Most religions of the western world consider themselves independent from the state. This supra-national universalism unites people across nationality lines. The concept of the brotherhood of man and the unity of the human family are dominant aspects in the Christian and Jewish traditions.

In addition, common worship practices transcend nationality and racial lines and broad elements of religious practice are common to large groups of mankind despite other differences which may prevail. A Roman Catholic, for example, may worship with nearly equal ease in all parts of the world.

Within the United States, Christian-Jewish ideals and principles are dominant. Slightly more than half the citizens of the country are affiliated with Christian and Jewish institutions, and many more give allegiance to the broad principles of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Despite the many denominations within the one broad pattern, there is a remarkable degree of community of belief and purpose often overlooked.

Religion is divisive. At the same time, the divisive influence of religion is to be seen at many points within the societies of the world. The religious sects have set apart large sections of the human race from others. There seems to be little chance of overcoming these differences, since most of the historic religions of the world are perpetuating themselves and will exist for generations to come. There are numerous religious sects within nations. In the United States, for example, there are well over 200 religious groups, although 52 bodies with more than 50,000 members each account for more than 95 per cent of the total membership in religious bodies.¹

Many of these American divisions have arisen because old-world denominations were transplanted to this country by immigrants. A few, such as the Disciples of Christ and the Latter Day Saints are native to this country. Other nations are similarly divided. One of the chief difficulties in the establishment of freedom in India is the religious division existent within that country. There are broad divisions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, with numerous sects in most of them. China and Japan are also divided by large and smaller groups. Europe is split by the Protestant-Catholic-Orthodox cleavage.

Religion an expression of culture. Religion is not divorced from cultural and national forms. It is itself an expression of cultural uniqueness. And so we find within some of the broad divisions of religion, nationalistic and state churches which, although giving loyalty to the larger tradition, have their distinctive manifestations. Nationalism has been called "man's other religion" and very often

¹ U. S. Census, Religious Bodies, 1936; "A Summary of Reports of Church Membership," Information Service, Federal Council of Churches, June 19, 1943.

demonstrates itself as the stronger of the two. In the western world, however, beset by totalitarian theories of the state, religion has so often asserted itself strongly that any link between church and state means complete domination by the state. Despite the failures of religion, would-be dictators will always attempt to suppress it in one way or another as they strive for power.

Religion bolsters racial segregation. Even within professedly universal religious institutions racial segregation is often perpetuated. In the United States, several of the great denominations were divided over the issue of slavery prior to the Civil War and most of those divisions have been maintained anachronistically until the present time. There are virtually no churches in the United States with racially mixed membership, and despite verbal allegiance to the concept of the brotherhood of man, there is no significant tendency in the direction of the breaking of racial segregation by churches themselves.

In addition, there are churches which, more or less accidentally, assume class lines. The Protestant churches in the United States are largely middle-class institutions, while the Catholic Church is more inclusive of the working group. The acuteness of this situation is further indicated by Professor Richard Niebuhr² who has demonstrated that there are economic and social causes for the rise of religious denominations which later are given theological rationalization. Further economic and social shifts will produce still more denominations. As a matter of fact, that very phenomenon is occurring with the rise of many Protestant sects among members of the low-income groups who are dissatisfied with middle-class Protestantism.

Since it is both futile and impossible to weigh the relative importance of the divisive and the unifying influences of religion, it is significant for this discussion only that both facts be indicated.

Religion divides America. Religious conflict in the United States began with the first settlers who came here. They sought freedom *for themselves* and, coming out of a background of persecution, they were generally suspicious of and hostile to members of all other groups. There was little room for dissenters in the entire colonial period, except for occasional respite in such colonies as Rhode Island, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Up to and after the Revolution, there were religious tests for political office-holders in most of the colonies excluding from public office all except Protestant Trinitarian Christians.

² Richard Niebuhr, "Social Sources of Denominationalism." New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929.

The entire movement toward general religious liberty was slow and uncertain. The unique principles incorporated in our Constitution and Bill of Rights were a startling departure. Perhaps the presence of so many diverse groups is the explanation. There were too many religious groups, each with similar periods of existence in the new nation, for prolonged special favor to any.

After the turn of the nineteenth century, there were periodic upsurges of movements of intolerance. There were nativist American parties which later coalesced into the Know-Nothing domination of much of the American political scene and which were anti-Catholic in nature. Catholics, however, were not the only victims. Masons, for example, were persecuted in New York state. There was persecution of Quakers and other groups and, later on, the driving of the Mormons from Illinois to Utah. In the late 1890's, the anti-Catholic American Protective Association originating in the Midwest counted at least a million members and had tremendous influence in political and economic life in much of the country.

There were sporadic outbreaks prior to World War I, and after its cessation came the revived Ku Klux Klan. Approximately one fourth of the men of the United States eligible to join that organization were included in its membership. Its disruptive influence on American economic, political, and social life is well known. When it withered in the late 1920's, there came the great depression and the rise of the Nazi party in Germany. These forces were responsible for the setting loose of another hate movement in the American scene—the disastrous influences of which are yet to be measured fully. In these twentieth-century movements, Jews, Negroes, and foreign born, as well as Catholics, became the objects of hatred.

Those who believe that American development has been characterized generally by sweetness and light should read history more carefully. Catholics, Jews, and some Protestants—all have suffered at the hands of bigots. Hate movements have long been present in American life and have disrupted our political, social, economic, and religious unity.

Although Protestants, as the dominant religious group, must assume major responsibility for the prevention of hate movements, it would be a mistake to fail to recognize the background of conflict out of which American difficulties have developed. That process involved the transfer of some of the conflicts of the old world in which most religious groups were both persecuted and persecutors. The major need is a coöperative program to reduce the extent of conflict and

intolerance and to substitute mutual respect and understanding. If this desired state is to be accomplished, certain basic principles of relationships must be borne in mind.

Principles of group relations. Religious diversity is here to stay for an indeterminate time. It is utterly unrealistic to expect uniformity at any time in the near future, even if uniformity were desirable. Since diversity is here for the unpredictable future, it is essential that each group include within its religious-education program those materials that recognize the existence of other religious groups and that lead to the encouragement of respect for those who hold different religious convictions. Mutual respect based on understanding and personal friendship across group lines is the *sine qua non* of a democratic society.

In the second place, there must be coöperation without compromise of conviction among those who differ theologically. Because of the conflicts of the past and because of the isolated institutional expression of most religious denominations as well as because of theological differences, there has been little progress in the direction of such coöperation until the last few decades. The pressure of events, however, in a world wherein totalitarianism has set itself against all religion except that which it can dominate, has forced religious groups to come together in various ways. There has been a great growth of coöperation among the Protestant churches of the United States, while the Catholic Church has heard from the two recent Popes, Pius XI and Pius XII, the call to Catholics to coöperate with all men of good will in building a decent world.³ Jews are generally coöperative with Christians, although the orthodox have been reticent. Jews themselves are divided about theology and Zionism. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and local church councils across the country have brought together most of the Protestants of the nation. The newly formed National Association of Evangelicals is performing a similar function for fundamentalist Protestants, although its membership in 1944 was relatively small.⁴

There have also been conspicuous examples in the United States of the merging of denominations. Various branches of Methodism have come together. Congregational and Christian churches have united. Other mergers are in process involving very large groups.

³ Cf. "Intercreedal Coöperation," pamphlet issued by the Catholic Association for International Peace for an authoritative and highly important statement.

⁴ Its reported membership in May, 1944, is 750,000. Twenty-five million Protestants are included in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ.

The various religious groups are finding many matters of common concern upon which they are working together. In October, 1943, 144 of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders of the United States joined in a Joint Declaration on World Order which attracted wide attention and which served as the basis for a consideration of the religious foundations of a just and durable peace by most religious groups in the country. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews have coöperated in numerous community welfare ventures, such as Red Cross and war activities. By working together they are discovering their common beliefs and purposes.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews was formed in 1928 to promote justice, amity, understanding, and coöperation among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in the United States. During the sixteen years of its activity Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have been brought together in all parts of the country for these purposes more than 300,000 times. The continued repetition of this pattern is developing a new folkway, an example to the world of unity without uniformity.

One of the most important developments within the war period was the bringing together of thousands of clergymen to serve as chaplains to the United States armed forces in all parts of the world. These clergymen participated in daily coöperative activities with leaders of other denominations. Without question many of them will take places of leadership in their local communities, manifesting the same spirit of coöperation which they practice within the military forces. The world of tomorrow is set against religious isolationism.

Although there are obstacles in the way, there is every reason to expect that friendly coöperation among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in the United States will continue to increase within the decades after the war. Freedom to proselytize from one group to the other must be maintained. Most religious groups are universal in their outlook, and so insist on the right of missionary activities.

Protestant missionary activity in Latin America, historically Roman Catholic, has been criticized sharply by Catholic authorities recently, and Protestant leaders in the United States have insisted that if the Catholic Church wants freedom to propagandize in other parts of the world, it must concede that same right to Protestants in South America.⁵ The debate has created some disunity in the United States, although the discussion has been kept on a relatively high plane.

⁵ For text of the official statements by Catholic and Protestant churches, see *The New York Times*, November 15, 1942, and December 12, 1942.

Denial or limitation of this right to proselytize has been one of the irritants among religious groups for many centuries. There is no other way, in a free world, than complete freedom for all in all parts of the world without special privilege for some and discrimination against others. It is apparent, however, that somewhat divergent concepts of freedom are held by Protestants and Catholics, and the current discussion may not be settled until there is some agreement on the meaning of religious liberty.

Obstacles to respect. There are many difficulties in the way of mutual respect and coöperation. The suspicions and prejudices that have developed out of the conflicts of many centuries cannot be overcome overnight. When these prejudices have taken on economic, social, and political coloration and implications, the problems are made more intense. Still another obstacle is the feeling of some people that members of other religious groups are insincere in extending overtures of coöperation—that they seek such enterprises selfishly for the advancement of their own groups.

The international conflicts that have been raging are especially aggravating. Anti-Semitism has been used as a propaganda weapon of fascism and has risen sharply in all parts of the world. The early antireligious stand of communism added complications. Tensions among Protestants, Catholics, and members of Orthodox groups have arisen from the democratic-totalitarian struggle, although all groups are irrevocably committed against totalitarianism. Some Protestants feel that the Catholic Church has failed to use its influence against the rise of fascism, and some Catholics, in turn, feel that the Protestant churches have contributed to the irreligious materialism of the western world. Irrespective of the actual issues involved, the solutions are certainly not to be found in more conflict but rather in the processes of conference, collaboration, and mutual respect.

Hopeful factors. On the other hand, hopeful factors are to be found in the present scene. Coöperative efforts are appearing on a wider and wider scale. At the same time, each denomination is beginning to assume responsibility for the education of its members in the difficult field of culture-group relationships.

Many Protestant denominations are giving detailed attention to the subject of racial and religious group relationships and are devoting large sections of their educational programs to this subject. The entire Home Missions Study for forty Protestant denominational boards in 1943-1944 was entitled "The Church and America's Peoples." This was a study of the cultural constituency of the United

States, and a series of manuals and teaching guides⁶ were used in local parishes all over the country to promote understanding and respect for members of the diverse racial and religious groups that comprise the nation. The use of these materials and their influence will be continuing, although the project is completed.

In 1937 the Catholic hierarchy formed the Commission on American Citizenship located at Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C. Interestingly, the membership of this Commission included Protestants and Jews as well as Catholics. The Commission has engaged in numerous projects to promote better citizenship through the parochial schools of the country. One of its outstanding achievements has been the preparation of the "Faith and Freedom Readers,"⁷ large sections of which are devoted to an understanding of the racial and religious groups making up the United States. Both projects, Protestant and Catholic, were prepared for all age levels of their respective institutions.

Likewise, the Jewish people, through the Synagogue Council of America and its Textbook Commission, are preparing materials for use in Hebrew schools leading to an understanding of Christianity and Christian people.

Now that the tendency has been set in this direction of education for mutual respect, there will, without question, continue to be greater attention given to this subject by all religious denominations. Since this is paralleled by similar measures in public-school education, it can be expected that the next generation of American citizens will be much more proficient in the field of human relations than have past generations.

There is still another reason for hope. The great problems which now beset the nations of the world and the struggle for a just and lasting peace will certainly lift the vision of religious leaders all over the world as well as in the United States. It should become evident, as the level of vision is lifted to this high plane above partisanship, that in the world of today the real conflict is not between the various religious groups but between all religion and irreligion, between the antireligion of totalitarianism and the coöperative religious efforts of a world in which all men shall have freedom and justice.

⁶ Friendship Press, New York, N. Y. In November, 1944, it was announced that 1,500,000 copies of these readers were in use in 6,000 of the 8,000 Catholic parochial schools of the country.

⁷ Ginn and Company, New York, N. Y.

CHAPTER XXV

Immigration and Government

RUFUS D. SMITH

MANKIND is concerned fundamentally with land, capital, and people. The quality and quantity of its natural resources constitute the physical materials upon which the well-being of a nation is built. The Eskimo lives poorly; no matter how hard he works, his land lacks resources which make possible comfortable living. A citizen of the United States, in contrast, lives in an area of great and diversified resources. But land needs applied science to make it productive. Capital in the form of tools and machines must be available in large amounts if economic results are to be secured. Here again the contrast between the Eskimo and the American invites attention. The Eskimo, with his handmade sled, his dog, and his spear, is ill-equipped to make much of his barren environment. The American, on the other hand, with his highways, his railroads, his automobiles, his labor-saving machines, his tremendous structure of capital resources, is better equipped than any other people to wrest the last unit of well-being from his rich, continental environment. Finally, man is concerned with his numbers, his race, his language, his culture, and his civilization. The population of any country is both the end for which wealth is produced and the chief agency in producing it. Any change in the size or the efficiency of a given population, therefore, is certain to constitute a dynamic factor in the social and economic evolution of that people. Various forces are propitious or detrimental to the increase of numbers or the maintenance of high racial quality within a nation, and the effects of such numerical changes or the raising or lowering of the quality of a people profoundly affect the well-being of the group. Emigration and immigration have, therefore, become major items of governmental policy and control the world over.

When a nation is so fortunate as to have rich natural resources, abundant capital, and an energetic and virile population, one finds a

high standard of living and a progressive civilization. It is natural, therefore, that the people inhabiting such countries are viewed with envious eyes by people located in less favorably endowed countries, and when opportunity knocks, inhabitants of the latter emigrate to the former. Immigration history is filled with names that bring to mind war, massacre, invasion, and conquest, as, for example, Huns, Vandals, Moors, and Mongols. During the last few centuries, however, these movements of population have taken the more peaceful forms of colonization and emigration rather than the mass physical displacement of peoples, although World War II again ushered in massacre and invasion on a global scale. Some three hundred years ago the age of world discovery set in and opened new and sparsely settled continents to the peoples of Asia and Europe. Since then and up to very recent times there has been a continuous outgo from the countries less favorably endowed to the newer countries possessing abundant resources, making it necessary everywhere to institute restrictive measures.

America was the most accessible of this group of virgin continents, possessing vast stores of national wealth and resources. The original peoples occupying South America, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Manchuria merely scratched the surface of their hidden wealth, while in the older states of Europe and Asia growing pressure of population upon the means of subsistence forced hordes to migrate. Surplus populations, discouraged with their meager standards of living, sailed across the seas, underwent untold hardships to settle in lands where opportunity beckoned with a high standard of living. These latter countries, at first, invited and encouraged this immigration, since every population increment added to the strength of the country receiving it. Nevertheless, while adding economic strength, the influx of peoples with different customs, morals, religions, and languages brought new problems, which sooner or later had to be brought under the control of governmental regulation. And, finally, numbers themselves, too, became a very real problem; the amount of immigration caused genuine concern from the standpoint of labor and of the standards of living. Too many people on a given area may bring about a condition of diminishing economic returns. Technological improvements in industry and agriculture have been so rapid in many countries as to have caused unemployment even in times of high business activity, while in periods of depression newcomers only added hundreds of thousands to the millions already on the relief rolls. As labor, therefore, be-

comes the abundant factor among the three factors mentioned in the first paragraph, the maintenance of the existing standard of living becomes paramount. Consequently, numbers have been restricted; in some cases, certain races have been wholly excluded as immigrants.

Americans have been inclined to look upon immigration as a domestic problem, overlooking the fact that it is a world problem and that many countries are grappling with similar situations. The continued agitation for social equality and the right to emigrate on the part of the Japanese, for example, is of great concern to the British Dominions as well as to this nation. Canada for many years has excluded Orientals while offering encouragement to British immigrants. Australia, whose 180 people to the square mile offers vast opportunities for settlement, could handle many more immigrants. But Australia, because of her distance from Europe and other white-populated countries, has found it difficult to maintain a constant stream of immigrants. However, Australia is very accessible to Japan and other Asiatic nations, and normally, the surplus populations of these countries would have been directed by the millions to the continent "down under." Fear of a vast Asiatic immigration is always in the mind of the Australian nation and has led, under the slogan of "White Australia," to the rigid exclusion of Orientals. New Zealand answers "Amen." The Pacific war, in part, arises out of these acute racial problems. These examples of immigration policy in other countries indicate the world-wide character of the immigration problems.

The United States has been the most important immigrant-receiving country in the world. Up to June 30, 1943, 38,394,753 newcomers had entered America since 1820. Starting as a wilderness, America passed through a simple rural stage to its present complex, industrial, urban society. As these changes have taken place, the American attitude toward immigration has changed just as radically. This transition has been marked by four distinct immigration periods, the last of which may be divided into three separate, minor phases. America is well within the last of these minor periods. The periods are:

1. The Period of Colonization, to 1782.
2. The Period of Uncontrolled Immigration, 1783-1830.
3. The Period of State Control, 1831-1882.
4. The Period of Federal Control, 1882- :
 - (a) Regulation, 1882-1921.
 - (b) Restriction and the Quota Act, 1921-
 - (c) Balanced Emigration and Immigration, 1931-

Up to the time of the separation of the colonies from England, America was a field for colonization and subject to the regulations of the mother country. Colonization, with the signing of the treaty of peace between England and the United States, came to an end, and immigration took its place. Several decades of unrestricted immigration followed, 1783-1830, during which virtually no attention was given to the subject. America was eager for population and economic expansion; people were pouring over the Alleghenies; the West had to be opened; railroads were to be built and canals dug; and land was to be had for the settling. Immigration in consequence was left unhindered to the individual.

During the latter part of this period, economic conditions in Europe went from bad to worse, and by 1854, some 427,833 immigrants had found their way to America. With the increase in numbers and poverty of the immigrants came a noticeable growth of pauperism, criminality, insanity, accompanied by a growing demand for governmental regulation. Humanitarians were greatly distressed over the terrible hardships which the immigrants had to meet. Voyages took many days; the condition of the ships was horrible. Sympathy for their suffering brought many state laws regulating shipping conditions. But it was difficult in those days of emphasis on "states' rights" to focus national attention on the problem. It was most natural to leave immigration regulation to the states. During these years, as previously shown, the newcomers were overwhelmingly from northwestern Europe, English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, German, Dutch, and Scandinavian. Paupers and criminals crossed the ocean with the good and the desirable, and the states, which paid little attention to these human problems, gave way to an insistent demand for federal control.

Opposition to unrestricted immigration crystallized in political parties during this third period and was sharply defined by the so-called "Native-American" and "Know-Nothing" movements. As a result of this opposition, the United States Senate agreed in 1836 to a resolution directing the Secretary of State to collect certain information respecting immigration. In the House of Representatives, in 1838, a resolution was agreed to which provided that the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to consider two questions: (1) the expediency of revising the naturalization laws so as to require a longer term of residence in the United States and also provide greater security against frauds in the process of obtaining naturalization, and (2) the propriety and expediency of providing by law against the

introduction into the United States of vagabonds and paupers deported from foreign countries. Nothing came of these efforts. The tide kept growing in volume until it reached a peak in 1848 and 1850. Opposition again revived, acquiring considerable strength in Congress from 1854 to 1856; but, in spite of its noise, it only slightly influenced legislation. The parties and agitation disappeared without having accomplished anything against adopted citizens or Catholics, the chief objects of its fire. During the period of the Civil War and for a while after, national sentiment actually shifted to the promotion of immigration. In 1862, a liberal homesteading act opened the West for settlement and vacuumed large numbers of immigrants beyond the Mississippi. But the glaring inadequacies of state regulation again became apparent, and the movement for national control culminated in 1876 in a decision of the Supreme Court, which left no alternative other than national regulation.

On August 3, 1882, the first general immigration law was passed. From now on immigration was the concern solely of the federal government. This year also marked a most striking reversal in the racial character of immigration. It ended the era when the people from northwestern European countries constituted the greater part of the influx into the United States. By 1910, the bulk of the immigrants were coming from regions which heretofore had sent only a trickle of aliens. Chinese exclusion also became an actual fact in 1882 in a bill which provided that all immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled or unskilled, should be suspended for a period of ten years.

In the meantime, a subtle transformation as to the value of uncontrolled immigration was taking place in American thought. This period of federal regulation, although it began with legislation aimed at regulation, through individual selection on moral and health grounds and the exclusion of undesirable immigrants, ended with almost complete exclusion. During this period, the American people became increasingly aware of the fact that no matter to what section of the United States they turned, a major racial problem confronted them. They discovered that an immigrant was more than flesh and bones, clothes, a bundle on his back, a satchel in his hand; he was a future American. For twenty years before World War I, sentiment in both houses of Congress more and more favored restriction. Prior to the investigation and 1910 report of the United States Immigration Commission, American public opinion on the subject of immigration was necessarily based largely upon conjecture, personal observation, or prejudice. That investigation, unlike many other congressional

studies, was thoroughly and scientifically planned and carried out. Since the report of this commission foreshadowed the future thought and action of the American people, it is summarized at this point.

The commission was unanimously of the opinion that the following principles should be followed in the framing of legislation: (1) immigration should be of such quantity and quality as to be within the limits of assimilation; (2) primary attention should be paid to the economic well-being of the nation as a whole; (3) the measure of a healthy national development must be placed upon economic opportunity for the employment of its citizens; (4) the standard of living of wage earners should be maintained and immigrants should not be allowed to enter beyond the limits of social and economic assimilation.

The investigations of the commission indicated an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to such an extent as to warrant legislation restricting the further admission of such labor. The commission recommended that in the reduction of this supply those aliens excluded should be those with no intention of becoming American citizens and those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated.

In consequence of these conclusions and recommendations, the immigration controversy became paramount. Attack and defense centered around the literacy test, the purpose of which was to exclude all aliens over sixteen years of age who could not pass a simple reading test. Fundamentally, the law was intended to cut down the numbers and proportion of eastern and southern Europeans, then entering in very large numbers. The literacy test was only one, however, of several radical features of the 1917 act. The door was closed effectually through the so-called latitude and longitude test against practically all Asiatic immigration not already barred by the Chinese Exclusion Act and the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan. The practical effect was to allay the hitherto existing fear of a great influx of East Indians and Hindus to the Pacific coast. The 1917 act also made several important additions to the classes already denied admission to the United States, such as persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority, persons afflicted with chronic alcoholism, vagrants, persons who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property, or who are affiliated with any organization which so advocates or teaches.

The 1917 act was passed just as America entered the first World War. The conflict made it impossible for any large numbers to come to the United States, but by 1921 it appeared that Europe was prepared to send to the United States an unprecedented number of

immigrants. To meet this threatened influx, Congress passed an emergency measure which instituted a radical change that ushered in control through fixed government quotas. The act of May 19, 1921, set up a quota limitation on immigrants admitted of 3 per cent of the number of the persons of each nationality who were resident in the United States in 1910, it being also provided that not more than 20 per cent of any quota could be admitted in any one month. This law placed a severe check on the movement of people to the United States from southern and eastern Europe and the Near East.

This temporary measure was superseded by the new and permanent Immigration Act of 1924, which greatly expanded the new idea of quota restriction first outlined in the 1921 act.

Under the 1924 law the number who may be admitted is limited annually to 2 per cent of the population of such nationality resident in the United States according to the census of 1890, not more than ten per cent of whom may be admitted in any month except in cases where such quota is less than 300 for the entire year. Under the new Act immigration from the entire world, with the exception of the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, and independent countries of Central and South America, is subject to quotas. The President issued a proclamation on the last day of the fiscal year 1923-24¹ giving full effect to this legislation.

Quotas are controlled in American consulates abroad. All immigrants must have an immigration visa issued by a United States consul before admittance to the United States. These visas as counted in the consulates must equal the monthly quotas allowed.

On July 1, 1927, a new method, still in force, of computing the quotas was put into effect. Briefly, it was based on national origins. The quota for each country is based upon the proportionate number from each country in the continental United States in 1920 in relation to the total population of that year, except that a minimum quota of 100 was established.

During the decade preceding the first World War, approximately a million immigrants were admitted to the United States each year. The average for the four postwar years, 1921-1924, was 586,150. The act of 1924, the permanent quota act, reduced these numbers to 293,768 (1925-1930). A further reduction in immigration was effected beginning in 1930 through the strict interpretation of the

¹ J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, Sixth Edition, Revised, p. 450. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1926.

"liable to become a public charge" clause in the immigration act of 1917. Under quota restriction and strict interpretation of the public charge clause, immigration from both quota and nonquota countries was reduced to an annual average (1936-1940) of 40,666.

The policy of stringent restriction is generally approved by the people of the United States, and it seems as if neither native nor foreign-born citizens desire that the bars should be lowered. It is generally recognized that the United States can no longer absorb annually millions of immigrants without serious social, political, and economic dislocations.

At the time this quota law was passed, the author described it as a second declaration of American independence and the most far-reaching piece of legislation ever enacted by the American people. Why? Because population is fundamental to all other problems. For three hundred years America's social and economic psychology and organization have arisen out of three fundamental population facts. The American, in the first place, has had plenty of elbow room. For centuries "Westward Ho" has dominated the thought of the people of this continent. Second, as native sons and daughters moved westward, the children of Europe arrived at eastern ports, later to push into the open spaces of the West. In the third place, immigration groups maintained the high birth rate of the earlier days in spite of the gradual lessening of the birth rate of the native born. These three interrelated facts have given this country the psychology of mobility, of expansion, of speculation, which still persists as an American habit of mind, although the underlying causes have disappeared or are disappearing. The United States, in consequence of the Immigration Quota Act of 1924, made a turning point in its social and economic history.

World War II will not affect greatly or fundamentally this restrictive policy of the United States, although the vast dislocations of population the world over with their consequent mass miseries pull strongly on the heartstrings of the American people. Refugees in considerable numbers have been allowed to enter during the period of persecution; some groups of laborers from the West Indies and Central America have entered temporarily to alleviate war labor shortages. A long delayed act of justice to the Chinese people has been brought about in the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the substitution of the quota system as well as the granting of naturalization. But otherwise the general policy of drastic restriction stands unchanged. During the year 1943, only 23,725 aliens entered as immigrants; and

the excess of alien admissions over alien deportations for the two years 1942 and 1943 was only 44,725; a mere trickle compared to the 1,218,480 immigrants of the year 1914. It is self-evident that no one country can handle mass migration arising out of World War II without completely submerging its standard of living.

Ahead of the United States are vast manpower problems of demobilization and unemployment which will tax to the limit the administrative ability and economic adjustment of the nation. It is unthinkable that the American people would add to these enormous burdens of reconversion another revolving around mass immigration.

As history is written one hundred years hence, it may well be that historians will accept the 1924 Immigration Quota Act as a revolution in American civilization.

CHAPTER XXVI

Naturalization in the United States

MARIAN SCHIBSBY *

ASSIMILATION is a slow and subtle process, difficult to define and still more difficult to measure. The acquisition of American citizenship would seem to be tangible evidence of assimilation, but even it does not constitute a wholly satisfactory measuring rod; for on the one hand strong pressure—chiefly economic—is put on aliens to become American citizens, and on the other hand many who are Americans in spirit are unable to obtain the outward badge, the certificate of citizenship, because of failure to meet some requirement of the naturalization law. Nevertheless, the seeking and granting of American citizenship does throw light upon the extent to which the foreign-born population is identifying itself with American life. For that reason, a chapter discussing the naturalization opportunities offered to the strangers within our gates, and the use they make of those opportunities, has a place in such a book as this.

There are two classes of citizens of the United States: citizens by birth and citizens by naturalization. Under English common law, every person born within the dominions of the Crown, whether of English or foreign parentage, is considered to be a British subject; and this principle of determining citizenship according to birthplace—*jus soli*, as it is called—was adopted by the United States. Citizenship of the United States was recognized at the time the Constitution was drafted, but it was not defined till 1868 when the Fourteenth Amendment declared that “all persons born . . . in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States.” It is not the intention of this chapter to discuss the native-born citizen group; it does, however, wish to emphasize the fact that the children of alien parents, if born in the United States, are American citizens,

* The author assumes full responsibility for the statements made in this chapter. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is not to be held responsible for any information, implications, or expressions of opinion.

even though those children belong to a race the foreign-born members of which are ineligible to American citizenship. This fact was established many years ago by the Supreme Court of the United States in the famous *Wong Kim Ark* decision.¹

The group of American citizens by naturalization, with which we are concerned here, while much smaller than that of native-born citizens, is nevertheless considerable and important, as is also the group of foreign born who are still aliens but potential citizens. According to the last census, 1940, 7,280,265, or 5.5 per cent, of the 127,354,644 citizens in continental United States were citizens by naturalization. In addition, there were 4,314,631 non-citizen foreign-born persons here at that time. About 90,000 of the latter group were then barred by race from acquiring citizenship, but recent legislation has made about 40,000 of them eligible for naturalization so far as race is concerned (see page 522). Approximately 250,000 others were still under twenty years of age, and those of them who had not derived citizenship through the naturalization of a parent were therefore as yet too young to apply for citizenship on their own behalf. Of the foreign born who in 1940 were still aliens, females constituted more than half. By 1940, 69.7 per cent of the foreign-born males in the United States were citizens, but only 59.0 per cent of the foreign-born females.

The foreign-born group in the United States is a decreasing one, the decrease of the number of aliens within it being especially rapid. In 1920 the group (all races) numbered 13,920,692, of whom 7,430,809 or 53.4 per cent were not yet citizens. In 1930, the group numbered 14,204,149 and the aliens in it, 6,284,613, or 44.2 per cent. As indicated above, in 1940 the corresponding totals were 11,594,896 of whom 4,314,631 or 37.3 per cent were still aliens. The foreign born constituted 13.2 per cent of the total population of this country in 1920, 11.6 per cent in 1930, and 8.8 per cent in 1940. There are two main causes for this reduction. First, as was pointed out in the preceding chapter and made specific, by countries, in Part II, immigration has decreased greatly; since about 1930 it has been practically at a standstill, and the foreign-born group has consequently received little replenishment through that source. The net increase through immigration—the excess of immigration over emigration—for the decade 1931–1940 was only 68,693; for the decade 1911–1920, it was 3,588,817. In the second place, the members of the foreign-

¹ *U. S. v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898), 169 U. S. 649.

born group are old and the death rate, therefore, is very high. According to the 1940 census the median age for foreign-born males was 51.4 and for females 50.5 as contrasted with a median age of 29.1 for males and 29.0 for females for the United States population as a whole. A third factor, naturalization, accounts for the still more rapid decrease of the alien portion of the group.

The first World War made the foreign born in the United States "naturalization conscious." From 1907-1918² the number of naturalizations averaged considerably under 100,000 per year; since then, yearly totals have been very much higher. This has been true especially since the late 1930's; the second World War and the nationwide registration of aliens in 1940, which made many persons aware for the first time that they were aliens, have greatly increased the demand for citizenship. In 1939, naturalizations numbered 188,813; since then they have climbed steadily, reaching 318,933 in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1943, and the unprecedented peak of 435,483 in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1944.

A by-product of this increase in naturalization has, of course, been the reduction to a notable extent of the alien group. The registration of aliens—the first in our history—conducted during the last four months of 1940 pursuant to an act of Congress³ under the auspices of the Department of Justice and under the able leadership of Earl Grant Harrison, later (1942-1944) United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, found that there were 4,741,971 aliens in the United States as of December 31, 1940, a somewhat higher total than the number shown by the 1940 census. The number in 1944 was much smaller. According to a recent estimate by the Immigration and Naturalization Service based on the registration records acquired by its Alien Registration Division in 1940 and in the interval since then, the number of aliens in the United States as of March 1, 1944, was only about 3,600,000. That means that the alien group constituted only 2.7 per cent of the total population of continental United States, estimated that year to be about 133 millions. In 1930 the corresponding percentage was 5.1 per cent and in 1920, 7 per cent.

Naturalization legislation, 1790-1944. Foreigners in this country have practically always been afforded an opportunity to acquire citizenship through naturalization. Even in pre-Revolutionary days this was true. The colonies were anxious to increase their population

² Statistics on this point were not collected on a nation-wide scale until the fiscal year 1907.

³ Act of June 28, 1940: Public Law 670, 67th Congress; Ch. 439—3d session.

through immigration, and one of the chief inducements they had to offer was free land. No alien could, however, hold or bequeath land under the laws of England by which the colonies were governed. To overcome this obstacle, a number of the colonies enacted naturalization laws of their own, making British citizenship easily attainable; in general these laws required only an oath of allegiance without specific length of residence. In many cases citizenship papers or letters of denization were issued to aliens still in England—chiefly religious refugees—so that they might land in the colonies with all the rights and privileges of British subjects.⁴

It is evident that naturalization was deemed of much importance by the founding fathers. The regulation of immigration is nowhere definitely provided for in the Constitution, though it is held to be implied in the provision which gives to Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations."⁵ On the other hand, the Constitution expressly placed on Congress the responsibility for establishing "an uniform rule of naturalization."⁶ Acting on this mandate, Congress passed its first naturalization act in 1790; it was almost a hundred years later—in 1882—that it enacted the first general immigration act, definitely taking control over immigration away from the states and making it a function of the federal government.

The first naturalization act, passed by Congress in 1790, provided that naturalization might be conferred by any court of record, that an alien might apply after two years' residence in the United States (one of them in the state where his application was filed), that he must be of good moral character, and that he must take an oath of allegiance to the United States. In 1795 this act was repealed. The act adopted in its place, while similar in most respects, extended the period of required residence in the United States from two to five years and required the alien to file a declaration of intention to become an American citizen at least three years prior to his application for citizenship. These two acts still furnish the fundamentals of our naturalization law and procedure.

Until 1906, no central agency supervised the administration of naturalization. Prior to that year, each court having power to naturalize aliens administered the law and kept records of naturalization pretty much as it saw fit. The result was more or less chaos.

⁴ E. E. Proper, *Colonial Immigration Laws*, p. 14.

⁵ *Smith v. Turner and Norris v. City of Boston* (1848), 7 Howard 283; *Henderson v. New York* (1875), 92 U. S. 259.

⁶ Section 8, Subdivisions 3 and 4.

Furthermore, fraudulent naturalization assumed scandalous proportions. In election years, herding the foreign born into the naturalization courts and from there to the election booths became one of the recognized activities of ward politicians, and the fact that an applicant did not meet the requirements of the law was all too frequently no obstacle to his being granted citizenship. Several presidents called attention to this disgraceful situation in their messages to Congress, but it was not until the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt that definite steps were taken to remedy it. On March 1, 1905, he created a commission "to investigate and report on the subject of naturalization in the United States." The Act of June 29, 1906, and the establishment of the federal naturalization service⁷ are the outstanding results of that commission's report. The situation has in consequence improved immensely.

The Act of June 29, 1906, remained the basic naturalization act for many years. It was amended numerous times, and important supplementary legislation was enacted; for example, the Women's Citizenship Act of September 22, 1922, known as the Cable Act, which gave married women the right to maintain their separate nationality, and the Act of May 24, 1934, which effected significant changes in the provisions governing the citizenship of children. Meanwhile, the need for careful review of the many statutes concerning nationality and naturalization which had accumulated since 1790 was increasingly apparent, and in 1933 the president appointed a committee for that purpose. On the basis of the committee's report, the Nationality Act of 1940, which codified existing naturalization provisions, repealed the obsolete or conflicting ones, and added a number of new ones, was enacted. That act now controls. It has undergone a few changes—mostly minor ones—since it went into effect on January 13, 1941, and is likely to undergo more.

Outstanding aspects of current naturalization law and procedure. The Act of 1790 provided that only "free white persons" might become American citizens by naturalization, and this remained the law for many years. In 1870, the law was widened to include Negroes, and the Nationality Act of 1940 widened it still further, extending to "descendants of races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere" the

⁷ The Naturalization Service remained a separate agency—first in the Department of Commerce and Labor and, after that department was divided (1914), in the Department of Labor—until 1933 when it was consolidated with the Immigration Service. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, the name in use after the consolidation, was transferred from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice in 1940.

right to become naturalized. Since then, Chinese who were definitely barred from American citizenship by the Act of May 6, 1882, have also become racially eligible for naturalization, an act approved December 17, 1943, having repealed the Act of May 6, 1882, as well as the other Chinese Exclusion acts. The phrase "free white persons" has been interpreted by the courts in numerous decisions. Hindus, Japanese, and Filipinos (except those who have served for a certain number of years in the United States Navy, Marine Corps, or Naval Auxiliary) have been declared ineligible to American citizenship because of race by the Supreme Court of the United States. Some lower courts having power to naturalize aliens have declared Afghan, Arabian, Burmese, and Korean applicants racially ineligible. The question as to their eligibility to citizenship as well as that of persons of certain other races is still not definitely settled. It should be pointed out that aliens serving honorably with our armed forces in the second World War were not barred from naturalization because of their race (see page 533).

Except for certain special classes of aliens, every applicant for citizenship is required to file the so-called declaration of intention, or "first paper." He can file it any time after he reaches the age of eighteen and in any court that is convenient for him. Only an alien who has been legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence is allowed to file such a declaration. A declaration of intention does not make the declarant an American citizen or entitle him to diplomatic protection by the United States government. To many, the declaration of intention seems a superfluous gesture, and its elimination has been urged on that ground. The strongest argument against abolishing it is that many state and local laws distinguish between a declarant and a nondeclarant alien, granting to the former advantages—in employment, in pension matters, and so forth—which the latter is denied. To do away with the declaration, now that this mass of legislation has grown up, might entail considerable *temporary* hardship on the foreign born. The number of declarations issued is far in excess of the number of certificates granted. During thirty years, from September 27, 1906, the date the Act of June 29, 1906, went into effect, to June 30, 1943, there were issued 7,853,307 declarations but only 5,037,930 citizenship certificates.⁸ Undoubtedly negligence on the part of the alien and inability to meet the requirements

⁸ Citizenship certificates issued on the basis of service in the first or second World War are not included in this number, as no declaration of intention was necessary in connection with them.

of the law are largely responsible for this discrepancy, but over and above that, as John Palmer Gavit points out, "The reasons are human reasons, hidden in the bosoms and written in the personal experiences of men and women who started out after the privilege of American citizenship and changed their minds."⁹

An alien may file petition for naturalization after he has lived "continuously" for five years in the United States and for six months in the state where he files, provided he is by then twenty years of age or over and has taken out a declaration of intention not less than two and not more than seven years earlier. He must file the petition in the judicial district in which he lives. What constitutes continuous residence has been the subject of much controversy and a great number of court decisions, but an amendment to the law, enacted March 2, 1929, and incorporated in the Nationality Act of 1940, has, to a considerable extent, settled the question. Under that provision an absence of six months, and under certain conditions of as much as a year, is held not to break continuity of residence for naturalization purposes, provided the alien at the time of departure clearly intended to return to this country. Absence of one year or more breaks continuity of residence. Under certain circumstances it is possible to get permission to remain away more than one year, but such permission must be obtained before departure.

The law specifies that during the five-year period preceding his petition an applicant for naturalization must have "behaved as a person of good moral character" and as one "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States." What constitutes good moral character has likewise been the subject of numerous court decisions, ranging from cases involving trifling misdemeanors to cases of manslaughter. The outstanding examples of denial of citizenship because of lack of attachment to the principles of the Constitution are of course the "conscientious objector" cases. In three decisions, which have received much publicity, the Supreme Court has ruled that persons who cannot without mental reservation take the oath to support the Constitution and to bear arms in its defense, if called upon to do so,¹⁰ cannot be held to be "attached" to it and can therefore not become citizens. During the prohibition era, a large number of petitions for citizenship were denied because it was held that viola-

⁹ John P. Gavit, *Americans by Choice*, p. 224.

¹⁰ *U. S. v. Schwimmer* (1929), 279 U. S. 644; *U. S. v. Macintosh* (1931), 283 U. S. 605; *U. S. v. Bland* (1931), 283 U. S. 636.

tions of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution also showed lack of attachment to the principles of the Constitution.

The only educational requirements for naturalization in the law as it now stands are that the petitioner be able to speak English and to sign his petition in his own handwriting. As mentioned above, however, the law specifies that the applicant must have "behaved as a person . . . attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States," and must before being admitted to citizenship "declare an oath in open court" that "he will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and bear true faith and allegiance to the same." Because of these two provisions of the law, there has grown up the practice of testing the applicant's knowledge of the Constitution, American history, and government. Further extension of the same idea has led certain courts to require that the applicant for citizenship be able *to read English* as well as to speak English.

The law requires that at the time he files petition an applicant be accompanied by two "credible" citizen witnesses who can vouch for his residence and for his good moral character. This requirement used to cause much hardship. A large proportion of denials—according to Gavit,¹¹ during the period 1908–1918 inclusive more than one out of every four—have been on the ground of "incompetent witnesses," that is, witnesses who were found not to have known the applicant for the whole period claimed, or not to be persons of good moral character and so not "credible," or not to be American citizens themselves, and so on. In many of these cases the petitioner was penalized for mistakes or for fraud in which he had no part, but the courts held that even so his petition must be denied and he must start once more at the beginning of the naturalization process.¹² Since 1941 the situation in this respect has improved greatly, as the Nationality Act of 1940 permits a petitioner who is not responsible for the fraud or mistake to substitute a competent witness.

The final step in the naturalization process is the hearing in open court. This hearing may not take place until thirty days after the filing of petition. The applicant for citizenship must appear in court in person and take an oath of allegiance to the United States. In many state courts and in a few federal courts he must be accompanied by his two witnesses on this occasion, but witnesses are increasingly

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹² *U. S. v. Martorana* (1909), 171 Fed. 397.

being dispensed with. An act adopted June 8, 1926, authorized the federal courts to delegate the final examination of the applicant and his witnesses to a designated naturalization examiner, and subsequent legislation has conferred the same authority on state courts having power to naturalize aliens. Where this procedure is in effect, the witnesses need not be present at the court hearing, a simplification which is to the advantage both of the government and of the applicant.

Such, in brief, are the outstanding requirements with which the majority of applicants for naturalization must comply. For aliens married to American citizens, aliens who have served or are serving with our armed forces, certain alien seamen, and a few other groups, the requirements are in some respects different and the procedure simpler, but it is not here possible to give particulars as to most of these differences. Prior to September 22, 1922, a foreign-born woman who was married to an American citizen was also held to be an American citizen. Since that date, under the so-called Cable Act, the citizenship of women is not changed through marriage; a foreign-born woman does not acquire American citizenship through marriage to an American citizen or through the naturalization of her foreign-born husband. She is, however, entitled to a short form of naturalization and so, since May 24, 1934, is the alien husband of an American citizen. Until the Nationality Act of 1940 went into effect, foreign-born children became American citizens if their father—or, on or after May 24, 1934, if *either* their father or their mother—was naturalized while they were still minors, provided they were legally residing in the United States at the time of the parent's naturalization or were legally admitted to this country for permanent residence before they reached their twenty-first birthday. Since January 13, 1941, a foreign-born child must apply for naturalization himself, unless both his parents are American citizens before he reaches the age of eighteen and unless he has been legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence before he is eighteen years old. If one of his parents is dead, the surviving parent must have become an American citizen before the child's eighteenth birthday.

An amendment to the Nationality Act of 1940, adopted on March 27, 1942, provides greatly simplified naturalization procedure for aliens serving with our armed forces in the second World War. They must have been lawfully admitted to the United States—whether for permanent or temporary stay is immaterial—and they must be serving honorably in some branch of our military or naval forces at the time

they file petition or have been honorably discharged from such service. Practically all the usual requirements for naturalization are, however, waived in their behalf, including that which requires a certain number of years of residence in the United States prior to naturalization. They must be recommended for naturalization by their superior officer and, under a ruling by the War Department, no recommendation may be made till after the alien has served at least a month. Aliens who as civilians would be held racially ineligible for naturalization, and aliens who technically are classified as alien enemies, encounter no obstacles on those grounds when they apply for naturalization while in the army or navy. In the fiscal year 1944, 49,213 aliens serving in our armed forces were naturalized under this simplified procedure.

Every effort is made to naturalize aliens before they are sent overseas to fight. In case they fall into the enemy's hands, American citizenship is, of course, a great protection to many of them. In mass operations, however, it is unavoidable that some aliens are sent abroad before their naturalization has taken place. To remedy this situation, Congress has authorized the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to designate representatives who shall follow our forces to the different theaters of war and bestow citizenship on aliens in our armed forces who meet the requirements mentioned above. It is the first time in our history that American citizenship has been granted outside the United States. By June 30, 1944, 7,921 members of the military and naval forces serving overseas had been naturalized abroad under this procedure.

Loss of American citizenship. In a chapter such as this it is possible to deal only briefly and in very general terms with the important but complicated subject of expatriation, that is, loss of nationality or citizenship. It should be pointed out, however, that while any American citizen, whether citizen by birth or naturalization, loses his citizenship if he engages in certain prohibited activities or is found guilty of certain crimes against the United States, citizenship acquired through naturalization is more vulnerable than that acquired at birth. Native-born citizens may, for instance, live abroad indefinitely without thereby forfeiting their citizenship; but naturalized citizens, with a few exceptions, lose citizenship through protracted foreign residence—two, or under certain circumstances, three years' residence in the country of their former nationality and five years' residence in any other foreign country. Before the Nationality Act of 1940 went into effect, citizenship was only *presumed* to have been lost through

such foreign residence and the presumption could be overcome by certain kinds of proof; but since then, the loss is definite. Furthermore, the government may bring suit at any time for the cancellation of a citizenship certificate if there is valid reason to believe it was obtained illegally or by fraud. During the five-year period, 1939-1943, 3,966 certificates were so canceled.

Outstanding examples of such cancellation are the numerous suits for denaturalization that were brought against American citizens of German origin after our entry into war. In most of these suits the charge was that when the defendant took the oath of allegiance to the United States he did so "with mental reservations" in favor of Germany and hence obtained citizenship by fraud. A decision handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States on June 12, 1944, in the case of Carl Wilhelm Baumgartner, is of great importance because of its formulation of certain rules of law to govern denaturalization proceedings of this sort. The following excerpt from the concurring opinion written by Mr. Justice Murphy probably sums up the court's argument as briefly and adequately as possible:

The naturalized citizen has as much right as the natural-born citizen to exercise the cherished freedoms of speech, press and religion and without "clear, unequivocal and convincing" proof that he did not bear or swear true allegiance to the United States *at the time of naturalization* he cannot be denaturalized. (Italics ours.)

Mr. Justice Frankfurter, who wrote the official opinion of the court—it was unanimous—also warned that denaturalization on this score calls for weighty proof,

especially when the proof of a false or fraudulent oath *rests predominantly not upon contemporaneous evidence* but is established by later expressions of opinion argumentatively projected, and often through the distorting and self-deluding medium of memory, to an earlier year when qualifications for citizenship were claimed, tested, and adjudicated. (Italics ours.)

Assimilability of the different ethnic groups as measured by their naturalization records. Whether or not immigrants from north and west European countries—the so-called "old immigration"—are more interested in becoming American citizens than are those from south, central, and east European countries—the "new immigration"—and hence are more "assimilable" has for some years been a moot question. All are agreed that the length of residence in the United States of any ethnic group must be taken into consideration before judgment should be passed as to its assimilability on the basis of its naturalization

record. After making due allowance on this score, the famous Immigration Commission, appointed by Congress in 1907 "to make full inquiry, examination, and investigation of the subject of immigration," and which, in that connection, made the first important study of the extent to which the different groups applied for and acquired United States citizenship, reached the conclusion that the "old immigration" showed the greater interest. On the other hand, two later studies, one by John Palmer Gavit, *Americans by Choice* (1922), and the other by Niles Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children* (1927), found evidence in favor of the "new immigration." The subject is still unsettled. In that connection, a recent statement by the Census Bureau is of interest:

In general the proportion of naturalized citizens among the foreign-born white tends to increase with length of residence in the United States. . . . This relationship between naturalization and length of residence in the United States was also evident in the differences in the proportion naturalized, by country of origin, among the foreign-born white in 1940. Those European immigrant groups of longest residence in this country—Scandinavian, Swiss, German, English, Irish and Dutch—had the highest proportions of naturalized citizens.

After length of residence is taken into account, however, some nationality differentials in citizenship status still remain. Foreign-born white of Russian and Rumanian origin, *although among our more recent immigrants, showed proportions of naturalized citizens exceeding, or only slightly less than, those for immigrant groups of considerably longer residence in this country, such as the French or Dutch.*¹³ (Italics ours.)

Though it by no means settles the controversy, Table XXI, on page 657, may be of interest. The last column, showing length of residence in the United States for the different groups, is based on the "year of immigration," information for which was furnished in the 1930 but not in the 1940 census. In view of the fact that immigration for most of the groups included in the table was negligible during the 1931-1940 decade, this information must, however, still be accurate in the main. The rank of the different groups in this column is determined by the percentage of its members in the United States before 1900.¹⁴

Some naturalization trends. The study of the alien registration records previously referred to showed that 28.2 per cent of the

¹³ 1940 Census Bulletin: "Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock by Nativity, Citizenship, Age, etc.," PP. 4, 5.

¹⁴ 1930 Census: Volume II, "Population," Chap. 9, Table 8.

3,600,000 aliens were sixty years of age or over and that another 26.5 per cent were between 50 and 59 years of age. It also showed that of the "60 or over" group, 90 per cent had been living in the United States since before July 1, 1924. For some years past plans for taking care of this elderly group of aliens have been under discussion. A large number of the group are illiterate; they came here before the immigration laws were amended in 1917 so as to make illiteracy a ground for exclusion. Undoubtedly most of them desire to be American citizens, but they are deterred by inability to meet the educational requirements of the naturalization law. On the other hand, their labor has helped develop this country, their American-born children have served the United States on battlefields, and they have in other ways contributed to the general welfare. There has been a growing belief that these old people are entitled to the sense of security that arises from American citizenship, and proposals to relax the educational requirements so as to enable them to become citizens, if their records are otherwise satisfactory, have been made both in and outside Congress. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is heartily in favor of a measure of that sort.

In interesting contrast to the foregoing is a vigorous movement to establish more and better educational facilities for foreign-born adults. Aliens who came to the United States before the first World War found few persons or agencies concerned about their education and assimilation. Only three states—California, Massachusetts, and New Jersey—had enacted legislation before 1914 to that end. During the first World War, the findings of the draft boards as to illiteracy and the large number of persons unable to speak English shocked the country into action, and for several years after the war many of the states hastened to provide educational opportunities for their foreign-born residents. The interest died down, however, especially when the depression made it difficult to finance special classes for the foreign born. In 1934 the Work Projects Administration (WPA) came to the rescue. From 1934 on, classes in English and citizenship training for the foreign born were operated under its auspices in a large number of communities throughout the country, including many where they had never before been available. When the WPA was liquidated in 1942, most such classes came to an end, as did also the activities of the National Citizenship Education Program (NCEP), undertaken jointly in 1941 by the WPA, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Office of Education. Since then, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has expanded its own educational

program greatly. Under the authority conferred on it by section 327 (c) of the Nationality Act of 1940, it has prepared and distributed a large number of texts for use in English and citizenship training classes for the foreign born. To help persons living in areas that offer no educational facilities, it has prepared a Home Study Course. While it does not operate any classes itself, it is most anxious that such classes be made available for persons who are still able to learn, and it has stimulated public school systems to establish them in numerous communities. It is safe to say that there is not nowadays a single state which does not make some sort of provision for the education of its foreign-born inhabitants. Several proposals have been made in Congress for federal aid to such classes, and eventually a measure to that effect may be enacted.

Another interesting trend is the growing belief that racial discrimination has no place in the world of tomorrow and that the provision in our naturalization law which bars certain peoples from American citizenship on such ground must be eliminated. An important step in that direction was taken on December 17, 1943, when Chinese were made eligible for naturalization. Since then, bills proposing to extend the same benefit to members of other peoples now deemed racially ineligible have been introduced in Congress and, if international thinking and international good will maintain their present level, may eventually become law.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service in recent years has undergone considerable reorganization. Its methods and procedures have been brought up to date and, where possible, simplified. An extensive in-service training program has been established. Certainly, never in its history has it been so efficient or so well equipped for the task before it. As a result, all phases of its work have been brought on a current basis, including those pertaining to naturalization. The naturalization delays, which once were a source of discouragement and even hardship, have been eliminated; as of June 30, 1944, work in this field was current, except for a small backlog of "alien enemy" petitions on many of which action was for various reasons inadvisable until after the war. It is not likely that serious arrearages in this work will ever again develop.

The task facing the service is, numerically speaking, smaller than for several decades. As stated above, noncitizens in the United States numbered only about 3,600,000 as of March 1, 1944. There is reason to expect a decrease of this group rather than an increase in the years to come. Postwar immigration will add new members to the group,

but few informed persons anticipate any large influx then or later. The immigration laws now in force make large-scale immigration impossible. Unless the United States finds that it needs more manpower than is available from natural population increase, and opens the doors wider, the increase through immigration may be expected to be offset—probably more than offset—by the decrease through naturalization and the high death rate of the aliens now in the United States. It is unlikely that the naturalization record of 1944—435,483 applications for naturalization granted and 7,275 denied—will ever be surpassed or even equaled; but that the demand for American citizenship will remain strong, there is no question.

Part V

TRENDS TOWARD CULTURAL DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

I have a rendezvous with America!

Into the arteries of the Republic poured the confusion of bloods, the omegas of peoples, the moods of continents, the melting pots of seas, the flotsams of "isms," the flavors of tongues, the yesterdays of martyrs, the tomorrows of Utopias. Into the matrix of the Republic poured White gulf streams of Europe, Black tidal waves of Africa, the Yellow neap-tides of Asia, Niagaras of little peoples.

A blind man said, "*Look at the Kikes*," and I saw Rosenwald sowing the seeds of culture in the Black belt, Michelson measuring the odysseys of invisible worlds, Brandeis opening the eyes of the blind to the Constitution, Boaz translating the oneness of mankind.

A blind man said, "*Look at the Dagoes*," and I saw La Guardia shaping the cosmos of pyramided Manhattan, Brumidi verving the Capital frescoes of "Washington at Yorktown," Caruso scaling the Alpine ranges of drama with the staff of song, Toscanini enchanting earthward the music of the spheres.

A blind man said, "*Look at the Chinks*," and I saw Lin Yutang crying a world charter in the white man's wilderness, Chen charting the voyages of bacteria in valley laboratories, Lucong weaving tapestries in the Department of Agriculture, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek interpreting the Orient to the Occident.

A blind man said, "*Look at the Bohunks*," and I saw Sikorsky blue-printing the cabala of the airways, Stokowski improvising the magic of symphonies with his baton, Zvak erecting St. Patrick's cathedral in the forest of skyscrapers, Dvorak enwombing the multiple soul of the New World.

A blind man said, "*Look at the Niggers*," and I saw Marian Anderson bewitching continents with the talisman of art, Booker T. Washington drawing his countrymen up from slavery with him, George Washington Carver, master of science and of sanctity.

Yes, I have a rendezvous with America. America is the Black man's country, the Red man's, the Yellow man's, the Brown man's, the White man's. America—an international river with a thousand tributaries, a magnificent cosmorama with myriad colors, a giant forest with loin roots in a hundred lands, a mighty orchestra with a thousand instruments playing. I have a rendezvous with America.

—Oak Park, Ill., *Life Insurance Courant*, December, 1943

CHAPTER XXVII

Our Vanishing Minorities

MAURICE R. DAVIE

THROUGHOUT this entire volume, it has been pointed out that the chief distinguishing characteristic of any group, whether it be the dominant one in any society or a minority, is its social heritage or culture. The psychological aspects of this in-group and out-group relationship has been described in Chapter I, and, in Chapter XVII, its implications in perpetuating intergroup conflict were analyzed. It is the purpose of this chapter to summarize the sociological aspects of the problem so abundantly illustrated in the discussion of each minority group (Part II), to indicate basic trends, and, in broad strokes, to seek to project them into the future.

Inherent throughout this volume is another fundamental principle—the necessity for each group, and especially the dominant group, to view itself objectively and to see itself in its relation to all other groups. It is difficult for a group—and more difficult for the dominant than for the minority group—to put itself in the place of another. If, however, the dominant group should imagine the tables reversed, it would be more likely to appreciate the immigrant's point of view. Let us suppose that a group of native Americans emigrates to a foreign country—France, Germany, Russia—with the intention of residing there permanently. Would the members of such a group not tend to live by themselves, and, even if they learned the language of the country, still desire to retain their own speech and have their children learn it? Would they not place higher value on their own culture, and manifest concern when their children, educated and growing up in the foreign land, showed a preference for the speech of the dominant group, for its political and religious views, for its familial, recreational, and other standards? And would they not resent the attitude, implied or outspoken, that their "foreign" American ways were inferior and should be renounced as soon as possible? If the native American imagines that the latter situation would not

arise in his case, if he were an immigrant, this is but a further illustration of his ethnocentrism.

Immigrants in America, bound by race or kinship and by language and other cultural ties, are impelled to settle by nationalities, for by staying together they can perpetuate in part their old culture while at the same time making necessary adjustments to life in the new country. The organized immigrant community itself is the primary factor in the attempt to provide cultural continuity; to the extent that it succeeds, it retards assimilation to the American pattern. Old-world institutions and practices are established; the family form is continued; societies are organized to maintain cultural contacts with the homeland and to keep alive old cultural values; foreign-language papers arise as a medium of culture preservation; churches and parochial schools appear as important factors, operating through the strong bonds of language and religion, in the social unity of the immigrant colony and its continuity through successive generations.

Despite these efforts of the foreign born to maintain cultural identity, and despite the isolating or segregating effects of immigrant communities and institutions described for each group in Part II, the old-world culture is never exactly reproduced, and constant modification of the traditional forms takes place. Indeed, immigrant institutions and devices for aiding the foreign born to establish social life and adjust to the new environment are themselves agencies of modification, for they are not continuations but rather adaptations of the culture patterns of the home country. The essential functions of the immigrant community are to bridge the gap between the old country and the new, to prevent personal and social disorganization such as would result from too rapid change, and to interpret American culture to the immigrant and prepare him to participate in it. "Under the protection of the colony, he may experiment and gradually habituate himself to the new life while steadying himself by leaning upon the past."¹ The newly arrived immigrant finds there a cultural haven without which he would be demoralized during the trying period of readjustment, and also assistance from earlier arrivals in accommodating himself to the American scene. His fellow countrymen set the Americanization process in operation at once by removing the evidences, such as dress, personal appearance, and manners, that brand him as a "greenhorn," lest his queerness reflect upon them.

¹ W. C. Smith, *Americans in the Making*, p. 184. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1939.

Although the immigrant societies stress ethnic solidarity and cultural preservation, this bond is not sufficiently strong to hold the immigrants together, especially as length of residence in America tends to dull interest in the homeland. In the main, such societies become concerned with their own affairs, serve as an aid in adjustment to the new conditions, and promote assimilation. The foreign-language press not only strives to preserve the group's language and culture, but also seeks to ease the progress of assimilation through interpreting America to the foreign born. It itself undergoes a process of Americanization in its modification toward American newspaper forms and standards, and eventually it introduces sections in English. Even the church and the parochial school aid in immigrant adjustment by providing a center for the social life of the group, preventing disorganization by means of perpetuating primary controls, and checking estrangement of children from their parents. Neither institution long keeps up the traditional pattern unchanged. English gradually finds its way into church services, and forms are modified. The program of studies in parochial schools is in many respects similar to that of the public schools, with English the basic language of instruction. If this were not so, the school would fail in its basic function of preparing children for life in the wider, American society in which they find themselves.

Much more than the immigrant institutions do American agencies operate to modify the culture of minorities. Chief among these is the public school. Its influence is not limited to those in attendance, whether they be foreign-born adults in night schools or Americanization classes, or foreign-born children and native-born children of foreign parents in day schools, but extends through them to others in the family or group. Not all transmission of culture is from adults to children; frequently in acculturation the influence is greater in the opposite direction. Among other agencies aiding in adjustment and modification may be mentioned social settlements, unions, immigration commissions, international institutes, various immigrant welfare societies, and social agencies specializing in citizenship aid and in programs for the foreign born and their children. Recent trends in the whole educational program of schools and nonschool agencies have been described in Chapter XXIII; their specific implications will be given in a later chapter.

As the immigrants, and more particularly their children, acquire the language and customs of the dominant group, the immigrant community and all its institutions tend to disappear and its members

to be absorbed in the larger community. Try as the immigrants may, in the long run they cannot perpetuate much of their old culture. As they realize, if they ever return to the homeland, they are so changed that they occupy a position intermediate between the old world and the new; and their children tend to show a decided preference for the language and culture of America and to resist the attempt of the parents to continue the old-world pattern.

Modification of the culture of minority groups toward the pattern of the dominant group thus appears inevitable, at least in an environment such as is provided by the United States, whether or not it is promoted or hindered by conscious effort. In the conflict of different cultures that arises in a composite society, the culture of the dominant group prevails, not merely because of force of numbers, but because it represents a better adjustment to the life conditions of the society in question. A culture pattern is most useful in the environment where it was evolved. Thus, American culture by and large represents the best adjustment, in the light of human shortcomings, to the American scene. This is not to say that immigrants and their descendants have not made contributions and shared in that development. Much evidence to that effect has already been presented in preceding chapters and will be summarized in Chapters XXXII to XXXIV. It is, however, to say that where conflicts exist they will be resolved in the main in accordance with the dominant pattern. Americans are not going to become Italians or Germans or Poles; such foreign stocks are going to become Americans, though in so doing they may influence somewhat the American type. Thus there appear to be on the one hand centripetal forces at work to maintain and perpetuate minority differences, and on the other hand centrifugal forces operating to dissolve them. In this struggle, the disintegrating forces represented by the dominant American pattern tend to prevail. Although both the dominant culture and the cultures of the minorities are modified, the change is greatest in the latter. The trend is inevitable. It is simply a question of how fast it proceeds. Numerous factors enter to retard or accelerate the process.

The rate of incorporation of immigrants into any society and of modification of their culture toward that of the dominant group depends, among other things, on their relative numbers, degree of heterogeneity, and rate of arrival. A society can readily absorb a relatively small number of immigrants of a few nationalities whose migration is spread over a long period of time, but it experiences difficulty if the opposite conditions obtain. The huge volume of immigration

to the United States in the period from 1880 to World War I, which was drawn from many different countries and thus showed great cultural diversity, placed a heavy burden on the assimilating power of the nation. Restriction of immigration, in effect since 1921, has made the process easier.

It was out of the former situation that there arose the immigrant communities and institutions, which, though essential in aiding the immigrant to adjust to the new environment, retarded assimilation. The continuity of the ethnic community has been maintained only through the constant recruitment of fellow countrymen from abroad. With restriction of immigration, the immigrant colonies are tending to disintegrate and their institutions to disappear.

The rate of assimilation varies directly with the number and intimacy of contacts, and, by the same token, is retarded by isolation. The distribution of immigrants, which is in part a function of their number, may promote or retard their contacts with the dominant group. Instead of being evenly distributed throughout the country, immigrants and their children are concentrated in certain sections and especially in the cities of those sections; this operates to lessen the assimilative effect of contact with native-born Americans, who in some instances are in the minority, and tends to promote conflict. Striking illustrations of high geographic concentration of foreign stocks are afforded by the Japanese and Jews. Within local areas of settlement, unequal distribution finds its chief expression in residential segregation on a nationality basis. The ethnic community fosters isolation. Even though American influences penetrate into its domain, and outside contacts are promoted by employment in American industry and participation in other community activities, it remains isolated from what may be called the "private culture" of America, the personal phases of family life, and other intimate associations.

Mobility, facilitated by means of communication, brings representatives of the foreign stock into wider contact with American influences. Residential mobility, especially marked in the case of the second generation, operates to offset the isolation of the immigrant community. Moving about the country in response to employment opportunities or for other reasons widens the immigrant's knowledge of American conditions and emphasizes the importance of acquiring English, the only universal language in the country. Too great mobility, however, may have a disorganizing effect because of the lack of the steady influence of community life, and may preclude

the acculturating advantages of taking root in the local community.

The age and sex composition of the immigrant stream is a factor affecting the speed of assimilation. If the sex ratio is normal, marriage, family life, and permanency of residence are promoted. If, as tends to be the case, there is a disproportionately large number of men, assimilation is delayed. Early age of immigrants on arrival facilitates their adjustment to the new environment and their acquisition of the new culture; older people experience greater difficulty in acquiring a new set of habits. The children of immigrants most readily learn American ways, and younger children appear to adjust more easily, being aided by their older siblings who have already adopted many elements of the American pattern.

Length of residence in the country is an important factor, since the transition from one culture to another is a process requiring time. Indeed, assimilation takes place so gradually and by degrees so slight that it is difficult of observation or measurement. The longer an immigrant lives in America, the more likely he is to lose his sentimental attachments to the land of his birth and to become naturalized, acquire the English language, and adopt other native traits. The process is accelerated in succeeding generations.

The transition from one culture to another is a process that not only requires time but demands the coöperation of both groups. It is conditioned by the attitude of immigrants and natives toward each other. Unfavorable or unfriendly attitudes impede assimilation, as, for instance, when the immigrant feels that his culture is superior, desires to retain his old allegiance, is interested primarily in events in the old country, gets an unfavorable impression of America because of exploitation and discrimination, experiences attempts to coerce him to change his ways, or fails to make a satisfactory adjustment to life in the new country. Unfriendly attitudes on the part of the dominant group arise from: a belief in their racial and cultural superiority; a class feeling in which minorities are relegated to inferior status; a tradition of distrust of foreigners; a belief that various problems, such as political corruption, crime, congestion, unsatisfactory living and working conditions, declining birth rate, labor problems, and other maladjustments, are due to immigrants; fear of economic competition; resentment against threatened loss of social, economic, and political leadership; the influence of labor agitators, demagogues, and others who seek mercenary gain by arousing anti-alien and antiracial sentiment; adverse propaganda; and stereotype thinking which lumps all representatives of a nationality or race

into the same category and attributes derogatory characteristics to the whole group.

On the other hand, assimilation is speeded by: attitudes born of successful adjustment to life in America; economic prosperity, especially when contrasted with conditions of hardship and poverty in the homeland; a realization of greater opportunities here not only along economic lines but in matters of health, education, political participation, and freedom of thought and action as well; a chance to acquire higher status, owing in part to fluid class lines; social imitation of the upper classes; a spirit of friendliness on the part of native Americans who have welcomed and encouraged immigration, aided and protected new arrivals, and believed that the prosperity of the country has been due in large measure to them and that they have contributed much to the development and cultural enrichment of American society.

Great diversity of physical or racial type hinders the fusion process; similarity promotes it. The outstanding example of divergence in the United States is furnished by the Negroes, who constitute a racial rather than a cultural minority. The Negro's culture is essentially American, and he has no desire to perpetuate any old-world background. His wish is to be completely accepted by the dominant group; his complaint is that separatism is forced upon him. It is prejudice based on physical and racial traits, not cultural differences, that sets him apart from the white population, and the most serious handicap to his incorporation is the taboo on intermarriage, reinforced by law in many states.

The next greatest racial difference between the dominant group and American minorities is that presented by Asiatic immigrants. Like the Negroes, they are forbidden in numerous states to intermarry with whites, and even where intermarriage is not prohibited, social disapproval effects the same end. In the case of those born abroad, naturalization is not allowed; with the recent exception of the Chinese,² Asiatics are the only group so discriminated against. In this and other ways, race differences act as a barrier to assimilation or absorption into American society. In a few states, intermarriage is forbidden between whites and American Indians, and, by implica-

² As given in more detail elsewhere in this volume, Congress, in 1943, largely as a war measure, repealed the Chinese exclusion laws and made the Chinese eligible for naturalization. The Japanese, by contrast, were in the spring of 1942 evacuated—both citizens and aliens—from the Pacific Coast and moved to resettlement centers inland. Measures were even proposed in Pacific states to deport them all after the war.

tion, colored Mexicans, who are mainly of Indian stock, may be included. On the other hand, in some states marriages between Indians and whites have proceeded apace, and this small minority group may be expected ultimately to disappear in this way. Meanwhile, physical traits separate such racial minority groups from the dominant whites and slow up the modification process.

Far easier is the situation of the European immigrants and their children. No primary racial differences exist between them and the native white stock, and no laws bar their intermarriage. The physical similarity is greatest in the case of northern European immigrants, and their absorption by intermarriage proceeds at a more rapid rate than that of southern and eastern Europeans whose "visibility" is greater.

Similarity of cultural background promotes assimilation; diversity delays it. The immigrant whose native language is English finds the process both easier and faster. Inability to speak English, and difficulty, because of linguistic background, in learning English, slow up the process. In general, the farther removed from English the language of the immigrants and the greater its unfamiliarity to the native stock, the greater a handicap it becomes. The same applies to personal names, themselves a part of language, and also to mannerisms of speech, gesture, and social intercourse. The higher the degree of illiteracy among a minority group, the greater the difficulty of acquiring the new culture. The peasant origin of many immigrants and their unfamiliarity with urban conditions and American modes of living are further retarding influences. If the educational level of a minority group is appreciably below that of the dominant group, separatism tends to result.

Industrial and economic stratification that follows ethnic lines acts as a restraining influence in the fusion of cultures by placing the various groups in separate economic categories, thus causing social stratification and feelings of superiority and inferiority. In the same way, concentration of a minority group in certain specific occupations tends to draw undue attention to it, enhance competition in that range, and separate the group from the rest of society. On the other hand, to the extent that minority members disperse through the various classifications and adopt the native occupational pattern, assimilation is facilitated. This tendency is especially marked in the second generation. Thus, occupation ceases to be correlated with nationality grouping, and interest groups supplant ethnic divisions. Business, professional, and labor organizations cut across ethnic lines.

The development of economic and class differences among the foreign stock tends to break up the ethnic community, eliminate residential segregation on ethnic lines, and fuse the minority members into the American class system.

The body of material culture, including work techniques, tends to be accepted more readily and with less emotional resistance than elements of nonmaterial culture. Employment in American industries and in American homes as servants promotes the acquisition of the dominant pattern; so does the whole workaday experience and the utilization, stimulated by national advertising, of standardized products such as ready-made clothes, canned foods, and factory-made goods. Economic and environmental influences operate to bring about adoption of American standards of housing and type of living.

The hastening of the modification of the old pattern toward the American pattern is also promoted by participation in national pastimes such as baseball, movies, and other forms of play and recreation and by membership in such associations as service clubs and fraternal orders that cross ethnic lines. In general, common interests arising out of a common environment, and common participation in governmental, charitable, and other civic enterprises, tend to eliminate cultural differences and to produce a common pattern. Economic and social forces tend to modify or eliminate religious and national observances that conflict with the native procedure and to substitute the American practice. Thus the Jewish Sabbath, which stood in the way of employment, was modified and the numerous Italian religious holidays were curtailed.

Of all cultural differences that resist modification, religion perhaps ranks first. This is true because religion is emotionally reinforced—in some instances being the symbol of nationalism or group solidarity—and far removed from test or demonstration.

Most immigrants have to adjust themselves to the American industrial machine in order to earn a livelihood. This means a break from the old and familiar. They are compelled to send their children to school—they must conform to the American practices. In the realm of religion, however, they are under no such compulsion; they are left free to their own devices. Here is the one anchor which keeps them in touch with fond and tender memories of the past. In their work-day activities they are compelled to use some English, but in their religious worship they are usually free to use the mother-tongue.³

³ W. C. Smith, *Americans in the Making*, p. 328.

The most conservative of immigrant institutions is the church, and while it serves various social functions and tends to bring about permanency of residence which fosters assimilation, its strongest influence, on the whole, is toward maintaining ethnic and denominational distinctions. The religion of the native stock is equally conservative and ethnocentric. Since the main religious pattern of the dominant group is Protestantism, Protestant immigrant stocks tend not only to be more readily accepted but to offer less resistance to assimilation. Catholics experience more difficulty on both scores and Jews still more. The perpetuation of cultural differences through religion finds expression in various forms, parochial education and in-group marriage being forceful examples. To be sure, some modification of church forms and religious beliefs takes place, but the rate of change is slower than in other aspects of culture. On the other hand, a powerful common unit of culture like religion may serve, in an intermediary fashion, to bring different groups of the same faith together. Thus, Roman Catholicism may operate as a unifying force to assimilate various ethnic groups adhering to that faith. This, coupled with other assimilating influences, may eventually lead to the disappearance of ethnic minorities and the substitution or persistence of religious divisions.⁴ While conflicts may be expected to arise so long as differences exist, such conflicts will be minimized if the traditional American trait of freedom of worship prevails. To immigration directly is due the tradition of religious toleration, for the diversity of religions thus brought to America made it absolutely indispensable, and the final separation of church and state was not so much a matter of democratic theory as an inescapable and practical necessity.

A single educational system promotes integration of culture and helps to build a united citizenry. A multiple system, on the contrary, retards such influence by fostering a sense of difference and division. In different sections of America two dual systems of schools exist, public and private, white and Negro. The private and the separate Negro schools are exceptions to the general pattern. Of the private schools, only the church or parochial schools are significant from the minority or ethnic standpoint; other private schools are divisive only along class lines. Whereas the Negroes have had separate schools more or less forced upon them, the immigrant groups—primarily the Catholics—have elected to establish parochial schools so as to make

⁴ Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (January, 1944), pp. 331-339.

the children acquainted with their parents' religion, language, and national history and to inculcate respect for these traditional values. Although such schools perform useful functions and aid in assimilation, they serve as a medium for perpetuating a sense of difference. The rate of assimilation is speeded up when children of minority groups attend the public school. This function of the public school in advanced and better adjustment is effected when the teachers understand the cultural backgrounds and characteristics of the different nationality groups and appreciate the contributions they have made to the development of American society.

All culture groups tend to be endogamous. This is a potent force toward developing and maintaining distinctiveness. By the same token, exogamy, or marrying outside the group, is an important factor in acculturation. Similarity between minority and majority group and weakness of opposing tradition promote intermarriage. It proceeds more rapidly in the second generation than in the first, in the third than in the second. It is facilitated where minority members are relatively few in number, widely spread, and in frequent and intimate contact with the majority group. Religious and racial differences constitute the greatest obstacles. When marriage takes place outside the ethnic group, it is most likely to be within the same religious faith. Assimilation has generally proceeded very far before major religious lines are crossed. The last barriers to fall are racial. Intermarriage is the crucial test of assimilation. A group that will not or does not intermarry will not be completely assimilated. If the taboo is based on race, then a caste system appears and social integration is prevented. On the other hand, when conditions are favorable to intermarriage, there is no factor so destructive of separate group existence or so promotive of national cultural unity.

In the light of the above analysis, what can be said concerning the extent of possible modification of the culture patterns of minorities? Every nationality group, as we have seen, exhibits the natural tendency to preserve its own culture. Yet, modification of these minority patterns toward the culture of the dominant group takes place through the operation of various influences, largely automatic or impersonal. At the same time, the dominant group is itself affected and its culture modified and enriched by contributions from the minorities. Conscious recognition of this interaction and the introduction of programs and practices to facilitate it are the aim of cultural democracy, which implies coöperation rather than conflict between majority and minority groups, appreciation of the cultural heritage of minorities,

preservation and incorporation of some of its elements rather than complete repression, and realization that modification must take place slowly in order to avoid cultural disintegration and social maladjustment. The actual process that goes on involves the interplay of centripetal forces tending to preserve the minority community and its heritage and to produce cultural differentiation in American society and of centrifugal forces operating to disintegrate and separate communities, destroy ethnic identity, and absorb all minorities into a nation of composite pattern which will be American. The latter forces are stronger. There appears to be an irresistible pressure toward assimilation, which may eventually result in complete cultural integration. Cultural pluralism then will have disappeared, but it will have served the useful purpose of contributing to the final culture pattern. The latter will not be homogeneous as to details; variations based on regional, class, religious, and other differences will persist. The price paid for such cultural alternatives may be conflict of interests, feelings of superiority and inferiority, and discrimination; but they should not be so severe as the problems arising out of the persistence of culturally distinctive minority groups.

CHAPTER XXVIII

New Attitudes in Community Relations

HERBERT L. SEAMANS

THE GENERAL pattern of community organization was described in Chapter XXII. It was there pointed out that amid all the diversity of peoples of heterogeneous racial and national backgrounds there is beginning to emerge a larger group consciousness based on the community. Only a beginning has been made; there is yet a long way to go, and in this fact lies the challenge.

Cultural diversity has not been recognized, understood, accepted or implemented by the majority. Although there has been much lip-service to the tradition that all peoples share equally in the rights of citizenship, we know that discrimination and prejudice directed toward one group or another is widespread. The march of world events, together with the insistent demands of minority groups within our midst, now require reappraisal of our diversity and the development of new attitudes in regard to it.¹

One contributing factor is the folk attitude that this is a white, Protestant nation. Subtly, nevertheless really, this attitude has affected the policies and practices of community and national agencies. It has influenced decisions of officials in regard to school, college, and university faculty appointments, merit often being a secondary consideration. It has given rise in large part to such movements as the Ku Klux Klan and the Silver Shirts. It has influenced politics, the most flagrant recent national episode having been the anti-Catholic agitation of 1928 when Alfred Smith, an outstanding Catholic layman, ran for the presidency on the Democratic ticket. It has contributed to discrimination aimed at colored peoples. It has enabled

¹ The interpretation of community intended here is well expressed by MacIver: "Communities, for all their external marks, are not objective things, they are spiritual realities. The limits of community are psychological limits and its expansion, in a world provided with the physical means of communication, is an expansion of attitudes." R. M. MacIver, *Society, Its Structure and Changes*, p. 66. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936.

many to rationalize statements to the effect that southern Europeans are inferior. It has tended to give religious sanction to generalized assumptions of superiority and inferiority, and because of this religious sanction it is all the more difficult to eradicate.²

This white-Protestant folk attitude has been evident throughout our national history. As the frontier advanced, most of the pioneers were white and nurtured in the Protestant tradition. The schools, colleges, and community organizations established by this dominant group reflected its convictions and views. Later waves of immigration of those having different folkways, languages, and pigmentations inevitably created a problem of social adjustment, especially where the immigration was rapid and of large dimensions. The migration of Negroes from the South to northern centers in more recent years has intensified the problem greatly.

The issue to be solved by the dominant white-Protestant group is that of establishing relations with all minority peoples which will enable these peoples to appropriate essential values of the American tradition and at the same time to make their own distinctive contributions to the developing culture. Communication and coöperation on a basis of equality is the only possible way integration may be achieved. Cultural aloofness needs to be supplanted by a sense of solidarity among all our peoples, and this will occur only when all are educated to accept as a citizenship responsibility the creation of a cultural democracy.³

What is needed is a new attitude on the part of all citizens, particularly members of the dominant group. "An attitude," says MacIver, "is a definite state or quality of consciousness, involving a tendency to act in a characteristic way whenever an object or occasion which stimulates it is presented."⁴ An attitude involves a valuation of the object. As applied to the white-Protestant tradition, it means that more than 40,000,000 American citizens have been assigned to an inferior status. This attitude is disruptive and gives rise to what Louis Adamic calls "the psychological warfare" under the surface of our society.

² The author is fully aware of exceptions to the generalization of this paragraph. There are communities predominantly Roman Catholic in population where Protestants believe they are the objects of discrimination. In other communities, the attitudes and traditions have been favorable to friendly relations among not only religious groups but those springing from nationality and racial backgrounds. The generalization applies, nevertheless, to most of the nation.

³ For a definition of cultural democracy see p. 495.

⁴ R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Development of the new attitude requires several emphases. First, the diversity of our peoples must become a matter of interest and study. The dominant group has taken for granted the presence of minority peoples without giving sufficient thought to their significance for American democracy. As long as a community runs smoothly, it is assumed that minorities have shared adequately in the benefits of democracy. When a situation arises in which hostility becomes overt, it is assumed usually that the trouble originates with the minority group and that if they would only "keep their place" there would be no difficulty. Such superficial and untrue assumptions must give way to widespread understanding based upon a review of the facts. In a more positive sense, it means appreciation of the contributions made to our culture by these peoples.

Second, there must be an understanding and acceptance of scientific truth in regard to generalizations of racial inferiority and superiority and in regard to individual differences. One of the practical difficulties is that scientific knowledge now available has not become common knowledge and will not become so until more effectively included in all education for adults as well as children. Teacher-training institutions, with few exceptions, for example, have not included social psychology and cultural anthropology as requirements for graduation. Furthermore, the magnificent means of communication now available have not been used adequately to interpret the findings of science in simple and understandable language to "the man on the street." The fact that the Ministry of Propaganda of Germany has done this to indoctrinate an entire people with unscientific views has not taught us a lesson. We need now a national program of education based on truth and using the best techniques available. Coöperation of all educational and religious agencies in the United States for a decade is required. A long-time, continuous national program of re-education is the only possible hope of modifying habitual responses in regard to minority peoples.

Third, religion must interpret and demonstrate more realistically one of its central teachings, namely, the dignity and sacredness of every individual. This is a common teaching of Christianity and Judaism. It was incorporated in our Constitution and has affected profoundly the laws and institutions of our society. Yet, great numbers within the churches have failed to see clearly its implication for community relations. One reason for this is that it has been interpreted often in such a general way as to lack the reality that

results from specific application. Although religious bodies have done much to ameliorate the conditions of minority peoples, the fact remains that the great bulk of church members are uninformed as to scientific truth, remain prejudiced toward one or more groups, and have not accepted the teaching of the church referred to as a condition of living the truly religious life. Religious bodies must now give this teaching a far greater and more specific emphasis in their literature, educational activities, worship, and over-all strategy.

Fourth, an awareness must be created that our society is the poorer because talent within less privileged groups does not have adequate opportunity for expression. Although inadequate opportunities for talent expression apply also to certain sections of the dominant group, nevertheless discrimination and prejudice do affect members of minorities especially and prevent many from freely choosing their vocations and preparing for them adequately.

The limitation arises not so much from educational policies as from community attitudes. This is true not only of provision of facilities but also of vocational opportunity. A recent national study conducted by the author reveals clearly that limitation of enrollment in professional schools of students from one or another minority group is dictated more by difficulty in placement on graduation than by any other factor. The public schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, have found it necessary to convince community employers that graduates of the schools who are from the dominant group are ready to work together with minority-group members just as they are accustomed to do in school life. The amount of illiteracy among draftees during World War II is a national scandal. No one knows what losses to civilization are a consequence not only of this condition but of the inadequate opportunities provided for many others.

Fifth, an understanding must be developed among all citizens that discrimination and hostility toward any group, especially in regard to housing, business, and hospitalization, militates against the health and security of all others. The correlation of delinquency with bad social conditions must be made common knowledge. Insecurity as a cause of maladjustment leading to social costs of various kinds needs to be clearly interpreted. The facts in all these regards need to be gathered and widely interpreted if a new sense of community responsibility is to be achieved. We must learn the stubborn fact that "we are members one of another."

Sixth, intercultural education,⁵ as an integral emphasis of all American education, both formal and informal, should be developed. This involves the training of teachers and leaders who will have the skill, understanding, and emotional stability to guide the relations of class and group members to the end that appreciative attitudes develop and become habitual among them. Teaching and group leadership of this quality is an art and will include alertness to incidental and natural opportunities to "salt-in" scientific information, historical backgrounds, and contributions of the various peoples to our national life and civilization. If such an emphasis becomes a primary educational objective, the individual will be led from interest in self or group to acceptance of the "we-sentiment." Such a result will be assured, however, only if such words as liberty, equality of opportunity, and inalienable rights are applied to real situations, for it is then that they gain real meaning.

And finally, an inclusive view of society must be developed, that is, the capacity to be catholic in one's concerns and relationships and to seek the wholeness of the nation. Fundamentally, such a view is based upon social philosophy. An overemphasis upon individual liberty has resulted in a lack of intelligent concern on the part of many for the welfare of the community as a whole. The individual *and* society must become the central emphases of an adequate philosophy to guide our democracy. Individuation will occur most effectively when each person discovers interests which, when shared with others, will result in his own development and in the enrichment of our culture. The choice is not one extreme or the other, it is an acceptance of the principle that society must be modified by man and man must make his adjustments to society. A purpose worthy enough to capture the interest and active coöperation of all citizens is required if society is to be reconstructed so that all individuals of all groups contribute their abilities fully to American culture. Consensus regarding such a purpose requires communication. This purpose may be found in the challenge and achievement of a cultural democracy.⁶

⁵ See p. 462 for an interpretation; also, for a more detailed treatment, see William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943.

⁶ After writing this statement, the author discovered the following: "We are today living through the end of that phase of our cultural history which was dominated by the quest for the conditions of individual liberty. Heavily laden with institutions developed to that end, we are reluctantly moving into a new phase in which we must somehow manage to write our institutions in terms of organized community of purpose." Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* p. 87. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1939.

In Nazi Germany, the individual has been submerged in the state; nevertheless he has found a challenge beyond his immediate interests which has led to self-sacrifice and devotion to a cause. In Russia, the creation of a new order founded upon collectivism has caught the imagination of the people and is being translated into reality. In Russia, also, the diverse minority peoples have a new sense of dignity and worth because governmental policy encourages preservation of distinctive cultures, but within the framework of the collectivist state. This respect for cultural autonomy, united with the challenge of creating a social order, has resulted in greater unity and willingness to sacrifice than prevailed under the dictatorships of the Czars. The people have been caught up in both Germany and Russia with a vision of new orders.

The course of world events requires that our democracy provide a nobler and more socially valid objective than the Nazi and Russian experiments. Beginning with a social philosophy based on concern for both the individual and the welfare of the community, it should be possible to create a society more truly democratic in which every person develops to his full stature and thereby enriches civilization. Unless some such approach to our problem of minorities is made soon, it may well be that intergroup tensions, united with economic maladjustment, will lead to an American form of totalitarianism. The attack upon the problem must be manyfold, as indicated above. Instead of casual patterning of our culture, we now need planning under the general objective of a cultural democracy. The cultural pattern will emerge when barriers which divide our peoples are removed and free trade in ideas and experience becomes the norm of community relations.

The mobility of our population, especially in recent years, makes all the more difficult the creation of mutuality based on a common purpose. Great numbers of our people are rootless and welcome the anonymity which urban life or new environments may provide. The impersonal nature of so much of our urban life does not provide sufficient intercourse among diverse peoples. Where there are large blocks of minorities, their presence is more obvious yet is not appreciated or understood. Proximity does not necessarily result in community. Mutual awareness does not necessarily mean mutual appreciation. The attack upon the problem, therefore, must be by all institutions, but especially by the schools, for they reach the sons and daughters of all groups.

Many agencies are at work on one or another aspect of the

minority-group situation in America. The growth of anti-Semitism and of interracial tensions has led to widespread activities and the creation of new agencies. Superintendents of schools, college presidents, ministers, and leaders of community agencies are urged to give consideration to this, that, or the other intergroup problem.

This preoccupation with single aspects of a total situation has tended to perpetuate the atomism which characterizes so much of our education, religion, social life, and community strategy. The specialized and limited nature of scientific research may have contributed to the diffusion of social institutions. In a very real sense, the diverse interests compete for the time, money, and leadership of citizens, thus militating against the effectiveness of their efforts. What is needed above all else is a concern for the community and the nation as a whole. The ramifications of any intergroup situation lead into almost every aspect of our national life. Color, education, economics, religion, abilities, traditions, and so on, are inextricably interwoven. Statesmanship in intergroup relations would call, therefore, for an inclusive view of the situation under which specific aspects may be dealt with more intensively.

It is not without significance that within recent years more than one hundred and fifty major cities of the nation have developed Civic Unity committees. These have sprung up spontaneously and indicate a felt need for coördination of effort and a more comprehensive approach to intergroup relations. In many cities, however, such groups are formed primarily to deal with Negro-white relations to the neglect of other aspects of the total intergroup community situation.

The philosophy of such civic unity movements might well be the following. All possible tension situations should be analyzed, remedial steps undertaken, and when one group or another is the object of overt expressions of hostility the committee would rally community forces to the intelligent defense of that group. The interest of the committee would not be confined to crisis situations but would develop an overview of all forces and factors working for or against better intergroup relations, and in the light of this information would plan a strategy that would result in community activities designed to improve the conditions and relations of all groups comprising the community. In other words, the committee would be forehanded in its strategy and would practice the principle of preventive education and action. Coöperation of this nature, involving representatives of all groups and concern about the welfare of the

community as a whole, would do much to dissipate the consciousness of religious, color, and nationality differences which characterize some of the activities undertaken by separate agencies at the present time.

Certain specific problems would need to be studied by specialized agencies, but these would be subsumed under the social philosophy indicated and a Civic Unity Committee or Council, which would delegate to the respective agencies special responsibilities for which they are best qualified. The purpose of the committee is not to inhibit activities but to coördinate plans and to develop a sense of mutuality among all groups.

It should be stated clearly that in seeking a universal sense of mutuality among our peoples differences are not disregarded or condemned. These differences may be of opinion or of culture. When communication and coöperation become the norm of community relations, the permanently valued cultural differences will remain and will be treasured by community and nation; the nonessentials will be sloughed off. When barriers exist, undesirable behavior and customs may continue. Modification will occur only when there is communication and coöperation. Differences of opinion will be recognized as essential to the democratic way of life and will be subordinate to the purposive objective of building a cultural democracy.

Schools and colleges provide excellent laboratories for the application of the philosophy of wholeness. In a given classroom, or within the student body, there may be found usually an admixture of race, religion, and nationality which cannot be dissected into clear-cut culture patterns for these respective backgrounds. Here is a girl of Italian-American parents. She is affiliated with the Catholic Church. Her father conducts a fruit store "on the other side of the tracks." The religious culture pattern cannot be disassociated from nationality and economic backgrounds. The teacher who effectively guides the girl's educational experience must deal, therefore, with her as a total personality conditioned by many influences and responding to the total classroom or school situation. For this reason, attempts of outside agencies or of teachers to approach the problem of right social adjustment by segmenting the child's background and experience are unsound and may intensify maladjustments. Likewise, an attack upon Negro-white relations within a school may fail to create the broad understanding of basic human rights and the dignity and worth of all individuals which would lead to socially desirable relations among all members of a particular classroom, school, college, or community.

Implicit in much of the emphasis on intergroup relations in schools and communities is the misconception that all misunderstanding exists among members of the majority group and that they are entirely responsible for difficulties that may develop. A more inclusive approach will lead to modification of understanding and behavior on the part of all. Fundamentally it is a human problem, and the educational emphasis should be based upon this assumption.⁷

Until the American people have been convinced that diversity is a source of strength rather than weakness, and accept the principle of diversity within unity, until they see that an attack upon one group may be a threat to the security of all, until they understand and accept fully the facts of science regarding race and differences, and practice the teaching of religion, not until then may we be assured that a cultural democracy will be developed. When the creation of such a society becomes a common sentiment, progress may be expected. Such sentiment will unite the peoples of our nation even though great differences on many questions exist among them. It is a task commanding the united help of education, religion, and science, and is sufficiently challenging to enlist the wholehearted support of all character- and opinion-forming agencies.

⁷ For an excellent interpretation of an inclusive approach, see "A Community's Total War Against Prejudice," by Alice L. Halligan, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XVI, No. 6 (February, 1943), pp. 374-380.

CHAPTER XXIX

Intercultural Education

STEWART G. COLE

IT IS customary in school circles to consider that the basic outcome to be desired in education is an intelligent citizenry. The school, as the cradle of American democracy, seeks to graduate youth who are qualified to bear the obligations as well as enjoy the privileges incidental to living in a democratic society. This purpose may be implemented conventionally by instructing pupils in the letter of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, and the like. Such verbal learning, however well done, cannot be regarded as a guarantor of sound citizenship in the lives of the pupils. There is no necessary and direct transfer from documentary instruction to fit behavior. The problem of interpreting what constitutes superior civic life in a country composed of a diversity of racial and cultural peoples is not simply stated; and, when duly conceived, it is not easily taught to pupils.

Intercultural objectives. During the history of the United States, Americans have entertained a sequence of views of citizenship. These, in turn, have been introduced into the public school. In early America, the civic pattern was set in most seaboard communities by the Anglo-Saxon colonists. The good neighbor was one who practiced the best British traditions. These included white, Protestant, Anglo customs as the embodiment of a normative way of life. Thus there was built into the structure of communal relations in this country many of the folkways and beliefs of Anglo-Saxons. The pattern was symbolized in the official language of English speech. Later, this colonial pattern of living was written into the laws of the United States. Despite the fact that millions of non-Anglo, non-Protestant, nonwhite peoples have taken up residence in America during the past three centuries, the Anglo-colonial tradition has continued to remain a primary controlling force in society.

About the turn of the present century a change was registered in

public opinion with respect to good citizenship. So many peoples from every continent were represented in large numbers that it was becoming necessary to make a more friendly place for them in civic planning. The newer culture groups were unwilling to accept the traditional viewpoint in which white, Protestant, Anglo interests should dominate public life. There was a growing sentiment that all peoples had a contribution to make to the American pattern of life and that these gifts should be treasured. The concept, "the melting pot," arose to crystallize such sentiment. It became popular to believe that the best in America ought to be compounded of the finest traditions of all immigrant stocks. Should their traits "melt," the resulting amalgam of civic attitudes would represent the appropriate manner of living for all persons who entertained the high interests of the country.

This position, at first thought plausible, is being disqualified for two reasons. Not a few citizens are refusing to melt their cultural ways into a general stream of Americana. They desire to retain certain old-world folk patterns that are meaningful to them. Besides, it is becoming clear to more thoughtful persons that should such an effort be officially pressed, the net outcome of civic attitudes would be baneful. Instead of a rich variegated range of types of Americans, there would be one uniform type, and this type would crush spontaneity and democratic freedom in the civic expression of society.

Meanwhile, another conception of citizenship was developing in academic circles. This has been called "cultural pluralism." Its advocates recognize the face value of the diversity of folk contributions that peoples have made to the development of American civilization. They also take account of the continued loyalty that many "new" Americans pay to these traditions, loyalties that may not interfere with their becoming genuinely good Americans. Moreover, they believe that America has thrived on cultural heterogeneity, and that it can continue to grow greater by the purposeful preservation of such old-world customs, mores, and conventions as do not contradict the principles of democracy. Instead of non-Anglo, non-Protestant, nonwhite peoples being compelled either to surrender their distinctive folkways or to lose respect for them by the social pressure of Anglos, they should be encouraged to have pride in their social pedigree and to cherish such elements in it as they choose for their community life.

Thus educational programs of "tolerance" have sprung up in school systems, churches, clubs, and communities all over America. The

term, *tolerance*, suggests the doubtful soundness of this viewpoint. It smacks of a compromise position. New Americans do not want to be regimented into the citizenship pattern of the Anglo tradition. New and old Americans cannot agree upon a universally acceptable type of social behavior which would represent the best values in all sub-cultures. The proper way to resolve the dilemma is to encourage peoples to exercise their own initiative and to preserve their selective folkways, so long as they respect each other in the process and do not perpetuate activities detrimental to democracy. Cultural pluralism recognizes the right of and the need for diversities of group ways of life in this country, if the self-respect and social values of racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic groups are to be preserved.

Toward cultural democracy. The time is ripe in this country for the projection of a still further step in achieving American citizenship. A compromise position that errs on the side of excessive freedom of culture-group expression can scarcely be regarded as a fit foundation for the democratic life of a diversified people. The slogan, *E Pluribus Unum*, suggests a superior position. The implications of this ideal have yet to be worked out in terms of the relation of dominant group to minority peoples, the relation of the individual group, advantaged or disadvantaged, to the American population regarded as a united people, and the relation of the people and their public school.

The history of how Americans acquired political democracy may throw light on problem and method with reference to a procedure for the achievement of cultural democracy. This phase of the subject is opened up in Chapter II of the book, *Intercultural Education in American Schools: Proposed Objectives and Methods*.¹ Citizens of this country need to take account of two principles: the right of culture groups to retain such elements in their tradition as are meaningful to the members; and the obligation of all persons, irrespective of group identification, to discover universal American values to which they pay prior and commanding allegiance. These interests are not contradictory unless a group should treasure certain practices which do undermine democratic living. In such a case, the burden rests upon the members of that group to repudiate the questioned folkways. Indeed, these principles are mutually reinforcing in so far as one is cultivated in due relation to the other. They represent the possible integration of universal and particular, privilege and respon-

¹ William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943.

sibility, the one and the many, in a superior cultural way of life of the American people.

A good citizen of this country may retain a measure of loyalty to the racial, religious, ethnic, or socio-economic group in which he enjoys membership. It may be assumed that the ties that bind the group together are reinforcing to the personalities of the members and thereby contribute to the enrichment of American life. Should the bonds eventuate in a chauvinistic temper of the group, as they may if a policy of cultural pluralism is carried to the extreme, then there is the clearest evidence that a privilege of in-group nurture is being overworked to the neglect of the principle of out-group obligation. The individual's pleasure in sharing one of the multiple group cultures needs to be balanced by his assumption of responsibility to keep his primary allegiances to the people of the United States of America soundly enlisted. National cultural unity must not be jeopardized by an exaggerated development of the forces of cultural diversity.

When this viewpoint becomes articulate in school and community, members of the dominant culture group—usually white, Anglo, Protestant in pedigree—will not be permitted to hold up their vigorous traditions as normative for all other groups. This problem is one of the most acute in social and religious circles at the present time. Members of the Anglo group find it a difficult task to subordinate their community wishes to the will of all the peoples whose democratic interests need to be regarded. Snobbishness, bigotry, discrimination, prejudice, govern the policies of too many otherwise representative citizens. It is not at all astonishing that non-Anglo groups are countering these officious attitudes and practices and insisting upon their constitutional right to live and let live as their culture group interests invite. Unless the advantaged Anglo leaders yield to the pressures of the latter, forms of violence may be expected to continue in those areas where polyglot peoples live in congested neighborhoods. Every cultural group interest in this country will enjoy autonomy and will be recognized and respected by other minority groups and by the dominant group when Americans democratize their cultural relationships. This viewpoint needs to be nurtured in the mores of citizenship and in the instruction of the public school.

But the obverse side of the citizenship cause also needs to be kept in focus. A good citizen will sense the invaluable heritage of America that has made its people strong and sound and united, and he will pay

his unfaltering devotion to it. The democratic outcomes, the technological services, the religious idealism, the arts and crafts, the common-sense philosophy, the worldmindedness, that are symbolized in state documents, national holidays, and the Stars and Stripes, are precious achievements of the American people which cannot be disregarded save at the cost of losing the nation's soul. It is not a matter of taste or choice whether citizens shall treasure these jewels of social experience. It is incumbent upon every person, regardless of his culture-group affiliation, to understand this tradition, appreciate its real worth, and so live as to build it more reassuringly into the structure of American civilization.

Such a faith in school and community can make America one people indivisible. But the process of unification cannot be accomplished by rote recognition of what has been achieved. The rediscovery of the peerless values must be made by each succeeding generation of citizens, defended in the face of danger within or without the nation, and reinforced by new increments of interracial and intercultural endeavor. Such a high-minded allegiance to what makes America a great people need not rob local culture groups of the opportunity to enrich their individual ways of life. Indeed, caution needs to be taken to see that the will of "the one" does not encroach unfairly upon the desires of "the many." America's future lies in the proper correlation of the forces of unity *and* diversity. They are not contradictory in nature unless the democratic criteria of social living are repudiated. On the contrary, they constitute the "check-and-balance" foundation upon which a wholesome cultural democracy can be built. This perspective affords a charter of sound citizenship for the public school.

Intercultural planning in the public school. The public school has always been a forerunner in emphasizing education for citizenship. One of the signal achievements in this direction was the emancipation of schools from the control of the church and the resting of authority in the hands of the people. The kind of instruction that the school has offered the younger generation has always been conditioned by the prevailing mores of the dominant culture group. Historically, that stress has been more sentimental than realistic in its patriotic emphasis. Not until recent decades have schoolmen begun to question the quality of the instruction and the soundness of the principles supporting the practice.

If the viewpoint that has been presented in these pages is convincing, then educators should consider the advisability of moving forward

to a new frontier in civic education. Assuming that children are constantly subject to the acculturation process which their parents and the community afford, it is clear that their informal education in civic life is not good. Intergroup tensions were never as rife as they are today. Segregation, discrimination, snobbishness, prejudice, violence, are trademarks of the times. While favorable assimilation of group interests is taking place here and there, the disintegrative forces are too powerful for any educator to remain complacent. More effective methods of formal instruction in the school are necessary to cope with the adverse social conditions that environ youth. The American people have not yet acquired either a philosophy of citizenship to make of them one nation indivisible or a consistent practice in support of such a desired outcome.

The writer has suggested that the base for good citizenship is a proper balance in the individual between his assumption of the rights of the local culture group in which he holds a personal stake *and* the expectations of the American people among whom he is a significant member. A pupil ought to be thoroughly at home in each area of interest, and one tie ought to strengthen the other in his civic attitudes. Can this purpose be accomplished?

The practice of citizenship involves the achievement of a certain quality of social attitudes and values on the part of every person in the nation. Unless an individual senses superior folkways in the American tradition that move him to pay happy and high-minded devotion to them, he is not a good citizen, whatever other praiseworthy traits he may have. A good citizen is a person living in terms of moral convictions about the rights and responsibilities he shares as a member of American society. In school parlance this means that the emotions of pupils need to be educated in order to produce intelligent young Americans. This remains a strange doctrine to some schoolmen. Have educators not been encouraged for years to guard against introducing instruction that would affect the social enlistment of persons? Were they not to beware of controversial themes? It was good sense to appeal to emotional ties in the teaching of the arts, but educators were considered immune to the affairs of everyday living in a polyglot community.

This trend of unrealism has run its course. One of the objectives of the study sponsored by the Committee on the Relation of Emotion to the Educative Process reads as follows: "The recognition to be accorded emotional factors in the educative process, with special reference to the questions . . . whether the stress laid on the attitude

of neutral detachment, desirable in the scientific observer, has been unduly extended into other spheres of life to the impoverishment of the life of American youth.”² Prescott’s study vindicates this fact and points out how the teacher can and must take account of the emotional and attitudinal factors in pupil personality in helping him achieve a basis for good adjustment in our type of society. Since the role of a citizen has so much to do with folk interests, values, and ideals, and individual appreciation of and devotion to such cherished ways of life, it is incumbent upon educators to take more directly into their province of responsibility the education of the emotional life of American youth.

The natural way for an educator to begin this job is to cultivate a democratic atmosphere in the school. Usually, representatives of two or more racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic groups are present in the same classroom. If they carry over any of their ill feelings of an intergroup character into the school and make them controlling forces in their behavior among the members of the class, obviously there is a condition to deal with forthrightly. Evidence of such strained relations may be expressed in clique formations, subtle whispers and shrugs, smear words, discrimination in clubs and dances, observing strict race or culture lines in election to class offices, and so on. To tolerate such un-Americanism in a school situation is tantamount to approving it in the name of public education. However fit the social relations are in a good school, there are times when an untoward event arises involving Negro and white, Christian and Jew, “old” and “new” American, economically advantaged and disadvantaged, or some other division of group interests. These occasions are inescapable, the temper of society being what it is in this country. The leadership of a superior teacher is required to meet such contingencies with justice and liberty for all.

But good racial and cultural feelings regularly enlisted among pupils is not enough to insure the development of mature citizens. If intercultural planning stops here, it becomes a tenuous program of doubtfully effective value. It may even develop dual personality traits in the pupils: they may be happy to live democratically as members of different culture groups in the school, while they join their parents in the community in tensions and feuds across racial and religious lines. A good citizen is morally consistent in his social behavior. His democratic attitudes should be operative in all direc-

²Daniel A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process*, p. 4. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938.

tions, including those social relations that are most delicate and difficult to control.

This problem points to the need for incorporating into the core of the school program instruction in interracial and intercultural themes. Such themes should be presented against the background of what constitutes good and fit American citizenship. That frame of reference should never be lost sight of by the teacher and rarely by the pupil. In a well-conceived class program, the source materials for such learning will be drawn out of the experience of the pupils as well as from books depicting the intergroup situation in this country. Sometimes the teacher will use the incidental approach to intercultural education, pointing up an event in classroom, school, community, or nation that has particular appropriateness for the pupils. Good as well as unfortunate events ought to be considered and appraised. On other occasions, the teacher will help the group to develop a unit of work in which certain phases of an intercultural subject are carefully studied. These units might advantageously be set up on every grade level in the public school and with reference to any and all subject-matter fields of instruction. Some units will be pitched to take a direct approach to intergroup problems in American life, though usually teachers will find the indirect method less difficult to manage and more productive of good judgment on the part of pupils representing sectional group interests in the community.

Certain basic concepts ought to be understood by every youth graduating from a public high school. He cannot assume the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship and deport himself like a good neighbor unless he does know their implications. These symbols can only be listed in this connection.³ They include: *race, racism, culture, religion, socio-economic class, dominant culture group, minority group, personality, discrimination, prejudice, acculturation, democracy, citizenship, and Americanism*. If a youth is introduced to these concepts through sound educational procedure, and if his school life is so charged with democratic values and attitudes as to lend practical support to the formal instruction, then he will graduate from the protective climate of the school into the disturbing cross currents of society with a measure of competency to find his way and plot a course that will distinguish him as an American citizen. In such degree as the schools of this country do adopt such a plan as a regular phase of their program and address themselves to educating

³ For a significant list, see Chapter VI, *Intercultural Education in American Schools: Proposed Objectives and Methods*, by Vickery and Cole.

the emotions of youth so that they will stand firm as good and intelligent neighbors, the schools will not have failed the people.

The teacher as an intercultural educator. The success of a school program of American citizenship depends chiefly upon the contribution the teacher makes to the pupils. Her service to them is twofold. They observe her in the roles of a citizen and a teacher. These phases of her personality enlistment in classroom and community may or may not be harmonized. It is quite possible for an individual to be an effective instructor in a subject-matter field and at the same time reflect such social attitudes in her behavior as to make her a doubtfully good influence in the lives of the pupils. Children are quick to sense such duplicity of "instruction." If a teacher is straightforward with the white children and is condescending toward the Negro children, all the pupils know it. Although the effect upon the racial representatives is different, both types of outcome are harmful to the children. If a teacher favors the Christian faith by example or precept in a class composed of pupils of Christian and Jewish faith, similar attitudes result. In other words, should the teacher be prejudiced in her approach to any culture group or to representatives of a culture group, the attitude of prejudice becomes a part of her contribution to the education of the pupils and makes it that much more difficult for them to become democratic citizens.

Many teachers are keenly aware of the difficult problem of educating the attitudinal aspects of pupil personality with reference to racial, religious, and cultural relations. They recognize how much easier it is to condition children unfavorably than favorably with respect to the controversial issues that are distressing the American people. They know also that if they embark on a program of intergroup understanding, they may meet with protest on the part of parents disposed to prejudice and discrimination, and thus jeopardize their positions as teachers and the integrity of the regular program in the school. These conditions may lead an educator to conclude that she is not sufficiently well-qualified to deal effectively with the involved issues that center in intercultural education.

This judgment expresses a wholesome viewpoint. The field of intercultural education is not well charted, and few educators have achieved marked superiority in demonstrating how to educate pupils of divers culture conditioning to become good and intelligent citizens. However, the difficulties are not insuperable. With increasing clarity the fundamental problems are being documented. Some of the most challenging issues have been mentioned in this chapter. They center

around the concepts that have been noted and a connectionalism of pedagogy, which would make citizenship in American democracy a meaningful *motif* in public-school practice.

Current trends in intercultural education. Many alert teachers have been experimenting in intercultural education for years. Here and there one finds a local school whose inclusive program has been carried on with due respect for the racial and cultural interests of the pupils. Occasionally, a school system has undertaken an intercultural plan that is superior. Among the latter, the efforts of the Springfield schools in Massachusetts and the Santa Barbara schools in California may be mentioned. More recently, especially since World War II broke out, classroom experimentation has become widespread in the country. In virtually every metropolitan center in the North, intergroup tensions have become so acute that teachers and administrators have felt the unfavorable impact upon their pupils and, as a result, many are seeking guidance in the intercultural field.

Several agencies have organized to assist the schools in meeting this situation.⁴ Probably the best-known one is the Bureau for Intercultural Education. For many years this service organization has been pioneering in the field of intergroup relations. Its efforts have included classroom experiments with a view to testing the relative effectiveness of various teaching techniques, in-service teacher courses and institutes in city school systems, summer workshops in teachers' colleges, guidance by mail, research in relating the findings of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and education to discover a context of philosophy for intercultural education, and the publication of brochures, bibliographies, symposia, units of work, and manuals to spread the findings of the bureau's experience.

The National Education Association has officially recognized the problems of social conflict among the youth of America and has set up a commission to examine conditions in local school communities and to expose teachers to favorable ways and means of dealing with the problems of discrimination and prejudice. The American Council on Education has sponsored an investigation of the particular quality of witness that the textbooks in the schools of the nation bear with reference to interracial and intercultural issues. The United States Office of Education, in coöperation with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, sponsored the radio program, "Americans All—Immigrants All," and since then has published various teacher

⁴ See selected list, p. 658.

helps in the intercultural field. Several associations of teachers and administrators have produced monographs dealing with various phases of the subject, the Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction being the most widely known unit.⁵ Among the best symposia that have been published in educational journals are the following: "Education and the Cultural Process,"⁶ "Democracy in Education: Education in Democracy,"⁷ "Minority Peoples in a Nation at War,"⁸ "One Land, One Language, One People,"⁹ and "Community Tensions and Intercultural Education."¹⁰

The field of intercultural education is one of the beckoning frontiers in American school practice.¹¹ While the acuteness of the need for sound classroom action is hard-pressing because of the disintegrative social forces at work in the country, it would be unwise to assume that the problem may be met either simply or leisurely. Much substantial thought must be given to rethinking a frame of reference for education in a democracy constituted of people of divers races, religions, nationalities, and socio-economic classes. The schools need a charter for citizenship that takes into account the problems of diversity and unity in the cultural life of the people. Furthermore, classroom experiments need to be conducted in many directions in order to bring forth more reliable procedures for dealing with the controversial attitudes and values that characterize the children of the cultural groups of this country. Meanwhile, a vigorous program of pre-service and in-service education for teachers is called for to make the findings of research available to every leader in American education.

⁵ *Americans All: Studies in Intercultural Education*, 1942.

⁶ *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII, No. 6 (May, 1943).

⁷ *The American Teacher*, XXVIII, No. 7 (April, 1944).

⁸ *The Annals*, 223 (Sept., 1942).

⁹ *Elementary English Review*, XXI, No. 3 (March, 1944).

¹⁰ *Religious Education*, XXXIX, No. 2 (March-April, 1944).

¹¹ "What is Intercultural Education?" Stewart G. Cole, *The American Teacher*, XXVIII, No. 7 (April, 1944), pp. 4-8.

CHAPTER XXX

Changing Attitudes Through Classroom Instruction—An Illustration

DAN DODSON

THE RESULTS of most of the research studies in this field have shown that there is little change in attitude through the usual type of classroom instruction. Experimentation has demonstrated, for the most part, that differences in methods of presentation have varying effects upon the amount of information one acquires, and also that discussion in class sharpens opinions, but usually in the direction of the basic attitudes that the person already possesses. It is indeed a truism that there is little relation between the amount of information a person possesses and the attitude he holds. What the individual learns is usually rationalized to support his basic prejudices. We tend to select only those factors that support our beliefs, and we behave accordingly. This is as true of students in the classroom as it is of adults.

How then do attitudes change? As emphasized in other chapters, they change because the individual gets caught up in situations in which he is forced to see himself in roles that are different, and in which his former points of view have to be altered—situations in which the basic personality structure is changed. Attitudes change when the individual changes his personality so that the role he now plays makes his former points of view inconsistent with his present self. He changes his personality because he has had delineated for him a new role in the society or the group.

To be more specific, we will select an extreme example from a press account. When the battleship *Bismarck* steamed into the North Sea she carried a full complement of Nazi youth whose conception of self was that of supermen led by a Fuehrer who was infallible. The battleship itself was presumably superior to anything afloat—in fact it was unsinkable. Off the coast of Iceland they met the battleship *Hood* of the English Navy. One blast from the *Bismarck's* guns

scored a lucky hit, which exploded the *Hood*. It was convincing proof of the invincibility of both themselves and their ship. There followed the sea hunt by the British Navy, and finally the contact with the German ship between England and Spain. The torpedo planes hit her rudder and made her unmanageable. Still morale was high. The Fuehrer would send out a cover of airplanes to protect her. His submarines would stave off any attack. Instead, battleships of the Royal Navy attacked with torpedoes, and the Nazis came to the realization that the whole myth upon which their lives had been founded had fallen like a house of cards. At that point, the vaunted German discipline broke down and they became hysterical boys scrambling and fighting with each other for an opportunity to escape death.

Most situations are not so violent as the one described, but the underlying pattern is the same in the slower assimilation process that is an inevitable part of social interaction. It is notable that Southerners who go North and Northerners who go South absorb the patterns of the group into which they migrate in spite of all the loyalties they have to the section from which they come. It is also notable that the change of attitudes does not depend upon years of exposure, but rather upon the quality of experience to which the individual is subjected. This is illustrated by religion, in which, in some instances, there is sudden conversion; in others, a gradual nurture of the individual in the sacred concepts.

If the classroom, then, is to be an instrument in change of attitudes it must provide situations for the individual in which he is forced to see himself in different roles from those he has had in the past; that is, there must be situations which provide the individual with a new conception of self. This is extremely difficult in the classroom, but it can be done. Some of the ways in which it happens are described in the remainder of this chapter.

First, the change of attitude happens through the teacher-pupil relationship known as imitation. Faris has emphasized the role of imitation in the educational process in several of his essays. It is the Mark Hopkins technique, in which the student projects himself in his thinking into the role of the teacher, and unconsciously and unwittingly takes over the attitudes, sentiments, and values that the teacher possesses. There is scarcely a teacher who cannot point to another teacher as the one who started her thinking about becoming a teacher as her vocation. Some of us find ourselves, often with surprise, using the mannerisms and gestures of those teachers who were most influential in shaping our professional lives. Why? Because we are

so affected by such individuals that we identify ourselves with them, take their roles in our imagination, see ourselves as if we were they, and unconsciously accept their attitudes as our own.

The teacher is part of a subtle but powerful psychological process—a process at work in some direction whether she likes it or not. This truth makes it imperative that the teacher be the sort of person worth imitating; that she create in the classroom a primary group relationship that will enable the children to know her well enough so that they will want to imitate her. It means that, as far as possible, the teacher must become a part of the life of the school and of the community, if such an imitative process is to be put into operation. It means that she must be sincere in what she is trying to accomplish in her program, else her insincerity is detected immediately.

Dr. James Weldon Johnson was such a teacher. While he was conducting the course "Racial Contributions to American Culture" in one of the large northern universities he was continually besieged by students who sought his advice. Many were the class sessions that were adjourned to the cafeteria and finished over cups of coffee. One could scarcely sit in his class without having the spell of his sincerity and kindliness of spirit come over one. No wonder he was employed at Fisk University as an adviser to the students who were interested in creative work. He stood as a negation of all the stereotypes of his race. The Negro students had demonstrated to them in the flesh an individual who had climbed above race prejudice, and who was too big to let the littleness and narrowness of others hurt him, regardless of what they said or did. Somehow they came to conceive themselves in Dr. Johnson's role, and their spirits, too, grew more noble and refined. White youths who sat in his classes also had things happen to them. Here was a Negro who gave the lie to all the false things they had ever heard or learned about the Negro. He was educated, refined, creative, intelligent. His gentleness and warmth of personality made it easy for them to admire him and see themselves as if they were Dr. Johnson. When that happened, it was only a step to the eradication of other such prejudices.

The second way by which the teacher can provide a new conception of self is to create within the class a pattern of group relationships which makes of the classroom a situation where the student must see himself objectively with reference to members of other groups. This is much more difficult than teacher imitation. It was very earnestly attempted in the course "Racial Contributions to American Culture" previously referred to, conducted by Dr. Johnson prior to his death.

For several years the author of this chapter sought to carry on Dr. Johnson's work in the course.

This course was designed primarily to be of assistance to teachers who work with youths of backgrounds different from their own. Professor Abram I. Katsh conducted an attitude study of one group in this course and found that in a semester of time they had changed on the distance units of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale as much as 50 per cent more than had comparable classes who were not taking the course. This change seems substantiated by observation, comment, and appraisal by many others through the years.

If this rich experience has any value to others, it must be analyzed. It consists, the author believes, of at least the following factors.

The most important aspect of the experience is the classroom atmosphere, or what has been called the "climate of opinion." No attempt is made to force a group situation before the class members begin to feel common interests. There is an atmosphere of complete informality and freedom of discussion at all times. This pattern is deliberate and intended to assist those who have fears, prejudices, or stereotypes to bring them into the open as a sort of catharsis. Every effort is made to create a continual attitude of complete honesty and absolute sincerity. Unless this is achieved, more harm than good is done. People are more likely to sense insincerity in fields of subject matter of this sort than in any other. The teacher must believe implicitly in what he teaches about race and prejudice or he had best not begin. There is a conscious attempt to create in the classroom the attitude of open-mindedness. Nothing is handled as a dogmatic verity. Suspended judgment is emphasized, so that there is an attitude of seeking together the answers to some of these problems. This makes it possible for the individual to examine his own dogmatism and encourages him to place some of his prejudices on the table, so to speak, and look at them objectively. All in all, a definite attempt is made to make of the classroom atmosphere one of the most basic factors in the situation in which the individual is caught up. Before him is demonstrated the sort of group relationship that symbolizes what we are trying to achieve.

The second factor in the experience is undoubtedly the people who are brought in to present the subject matter materials of the courses to the group. These persons are chosen not alone for their grasp of subject matter, but for their personalities as well. In the semester in which the Negro contributions are studied, those selected to present the various topics are specialists in their fields and are also persons

who are themselves the embodiment of the opposite of the stereotypes about the Negro. Negro students in the class have an opportunity to meet, often for the first time, some of the leaders of their group. White students also have the same opportunity, and to many of them this is a unique experience, for the average white seldom gets to know the leadership of the Negro community. Too often his ideas of Negroes are drawn from casual contacts, or from the stereotypes held by his own associates.

In the presentation of the other minorities during the second semester, the procedure is the same. The Jewish contributions are presented by a scholar who fits none of the stereotypes of the Jew. He is a person who is sufficiently objective to have prevented his personality from being warped by the pressures and strains of growing up a member of a minority group. The Italian contributions are presented by a person who is of Italian background and a leader of the Italian community. The others are selected on a similar basis. An outstanding authority on intercultural understanding, Dean E. George Payne, usually introduces the first semester with a lecture on culture. The second semester he and his wife, who is a gifted reader, provide the frame of reference for the course by presenting the contrasting points of view of cultural pluralism, which he talks over briefly, *versus* the "melting pot," which Mrs. Payne presents by reading selections from Israel Zangwill's play of that name. The interest shown by the leadership of the institution is an integral part of the class situation and adds tremendously to the class atmosphere previously mentioned. It gives the ring of sincerity and earnestness to all that we are trying to do.

The third element of the experience is the subject matter itself. Here, for the first time for many students, is the presentation of the creative works of the minority groups. It is interesting to watch the reactions of persons, many of whom are graduate students, as they come to realize that here is a whole area of American life they have missed, even though they are the products of supposedly the "best" school system in the world. At first they feel largely astonishment, but later this turns almost to resentment and the gradual development of a determination that the children they teach shall not be reared in the one-sided manner in which they themselves were educated. They come to realize that a course such as this would not be necessary if the historians and the other writers of textbooks had been objective about their task and if the teachers had taught with a sufficient degree of enlightenment and honesty.

Along with the creative contributions is presented enough of the problems to assist the class to realize the limitations under which the contributions were made, to assist them to understand the reasons why the attitudes we hold were developed, and to assist them to become intelligent about the present problems.

Since the whole course is focused upon achieving the democratic goal of life, emphasis is placed on the efforts of democracy to achieve opportunity for all peoples as a requisite to the security of the rights of any group. Thus each individual must be concerned about the status of all others with whom he lives in social interaction. In this wider frame of reference, there is the identification of oneself with what has been called "the common man" and the desire to achieve for all a democratic way of life.

From this interpretation, the course emphasizes the capacity of all races and peoples to absorb the finer appreciation and understanding of civilization. It emphasizes the unfortunate effects of stereotypes in providing ready-made categories which predetermine the quality of stimuli. It emphasizes how such stereotypes arose, and labels some of them. It emphasizes the problems faced by minority groups, and makes the point that the total society is the loser when any one of us is denied the opportunity of developing his aptitudes and capacities to the fullest. Then, after considering these handicaps, it presents the contributions made.

In the discussion of the minority groups (Jewish, Italian, Polish, Czech, and so on), the contributions that they have made to the common stream of American life are presented, and the problems that they have faced as they have been caught in the melting-pot process are discussed. The students come to see the necessity of cultural democracy if the greatest creativeness is to be achieved by minority groups. They see that these groups met with the characteristic prejudices always shown to "out-groups." Thus they better understand that color is not the basis of the problem of Negro-white relationship, but rather an identifying symbol of one group, which it cannot escape. The discussion also helps to drive home the fact that historically America never solved her problem of minorities by becoming respectful of differences. Rather, America for a century and more ignored the problem, hoping, erroneously, that the minority would escape its identification after a generation here. Thus is underscored for the students a determination that a genuine democracy shall be achieved.

CHAPTER XXXI

Intercultural Education and International Relations

HOWARD E. WILSON

THE dichotomy, traditionally cherished in American history and letters, between the "foreign" affairs and the "domestic" affairs of the republic has been largely liquidated by the events of the past half-century. What happens today within the United States has repercussions in the farthest segments of the globe; what happens today in Chungking or Warsaw, in Amekameka or in Falaise, has potential influence on life in San Francisco and Boston and all the populated places in between. Each nation is caught up in a network of global relations, a network through which its domestic concerns extend beyond the horizons, and foreign events condition its affairs at home.

Within this "seamless web" of human affairs, now recognizably global in scope, are to be found the relations between varied cultural groups in the population. The race problem in the United States, once sectional in character, long grown to national scope, is now a phase of a larger world problem. Religious and ethnic and cultural diversities within the framework of national unity are phases of the greater variety in total humanity. Race riots in American cities affect the relations of white-skinned and dark-skinned people in Asia, affect the prestige and the policies of the United States in many sections of the globe. The treatment of Indian and Spanish-speaking minorities within the United States helps determine the success or failure of the "good neighbor" policy throughout the western hemisphere. Asiatic minority groups within the United States and our treatment of them reflect and affect the whole gamut of relations between Occident and Orient.

The world-wide ramifications of intergroup relations within the United States are of consequence to education—both to education for constructive international relations and to education for intergroup coöperation within our borders. If pupils acquire through the pages

of their history books a Kiplingesque condescension toward China—as, apparently, they often do—an adequate understanding and friendly attitude toward Chinese Americans is thereby made harder to acquire. A good-neighbor policy toward the Indian republics in northern South America cannot thrive on an educational program which assumes the frontier ideology that the “only good Indian is a dead one.” Democratic realization and acceptance of the inherent worth and dignity of dark-skinned individuals in Haiti or the Philippines or India is not easily built into young citizens for whom a dark skin in the United States is evidence of innate inferiority. There is a sense in which prejudice is all of one piece; the struggle for friendly relations among varying social groups—a long and hard struggle—is fought on an infinite number of fronts.

The close relationship between coöperation among varying peoples within our country and beyond our borders in world affairs can be excellently illustrated in our programs of education about Latin America. Recently, under the auspices of the American Council on Education, a survey was made of the Latin American content in basic teaching materials widely used in schools and colleges of the United States. The survey dealt not only with direct and systematic presentation of material about Latin America, as in textbooks and motion pictures and other teaching aids used in classes in history and geography; it dealt also with the casual and tangent references to Latin America in school music, in literary anthologies, in art materials, and in current-events papers and magazines. In the report of conclusions drawn from that survey are these significant paragraphs:

... many of our books and pictures embody in their discussions of Latin American matters, unconsciously and with alarming frequency, certain racial prejudices and prejudgments which are basically inimical to our adequate understanding of Latin America. Unwarranted assumptions about the Negro and Indian races, their cultural status, their political and social capacities clutter up too much of the Latin American materials now available for educational use. These prejudices are rarely avowed or directly expressed; indeed, they are frequently disavowed, but they leave unmistakable traces in too many of the fields surveyed in this study. In geography and history books, for example, the “retarded” political and economic development of sections of Latin America is often explained by the supposedly congenital laziness and ineptitude of Creoles and the “instability” of Indians, Negroes, and mestizos. Frequent dictatorships are often attributed either to the Iberian tradition of absolutism or, in works published since the rise of Mussolini and Hitler, to the imitativeness of a politically inferior people. Philosophies, mores, and social institutions which differ from our own are too often dismissed as inconsequential on the unconscious basis of racial prejudice.

The attitudes toward the races of Latin America to which our teaching materials contribute arise not only from direct discussion of Inter-American topics but also from discussions of presumably domestic affairs. What our books and pictures say about Negroes and Indians and Spanish-speaking minorities in the United States, and the *way they express* their judgments, at present need the serious attention of those who are concerned with constructive international relations. Our teaching aids fall far short of "fair and unbiased" treatment of the universal problem of race relations, and the indirect references to that problem are more disturbing and destructive than are the direct accounts of racial questions.¹

Many illustrations of the general thesis advanced in this quotation can be found in the same report—illustrations that deal not only with relations among groups varying as to ethnic origin but also among groups varying in other factors. Certain of these illustrations may pertinently be cited here.

In school books prepared for various subject fields the heterogeneity of the United States population is commonly presented as a source of richness and strength in our culture. These books eschew the Hitlerian dogma of a master-race and talk of American mixture of peoples—at least of European peoples—with seeming approval. Turning to the Latin American scene, however, admixture of races is frequently assumed by these same writers to be a characteristic weakness. "Mixed breeds," "half-breeds," "mestizos," even *Criollos*, become explanations of weakness, poverty, illiteracy, and backwardness. While for one side of the border assimilation and merging of groups is praised—and limited to European groups at least by implication, for the other side of the border mixture of peoples is condemned—and the mixture referred by implication to the merging of Negroes and Europeans and Indians. Assumptions underlying these points of view are rarely brought into the open. The generalized statements of some books make their doctrines inconsistent; the more precise statements of others draw the color line tighter, and yet also confuse ethnic strains with national origins and cultures. The total effect of such presentations is hardly a contribution to clearer thinking by pupils about the basic problems of intergroup relations either at home or abroad.

In books and other teaching aids, as well as in direct oral instruction of young people, even where there are protestations of tolerance and avowed lack of prejudice, value judgments creep in. A biog-

¹ Arthur P. Whitaker, *et al*, *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials*. Washington: American Council on Education, pp. 29-30.

raphy of the Empress Carlotta, widely read in the United States, describes at one point her attendance at a great religious festival in Mexico City; the author comments, "white skinned and fair haired she must have looked like an angel among the dusky women present." The stereotyped picture, rampant in school art classes, of a Mexican as inevitably a peon, dozing in a siesta under a cactus, with a burro drowsing in the distance, fastens upon young pupils an erroneous concept of a typical Mexican. Over and over again, in words and in pictures, often with a desire to arouse interest by using the picturesque and exotic, we present, in effect, the atypical as typical, the novel as the ordinary. These stereotypes apply, no matter where the subject of them is found; Mexicans in Los Angeles and in Acapulco or Vera Cruz are alike stigmatized by the sombrero and siesta. That many of our books for children are written by travelers with the taste of tourists is unfortunate for group relations everywhere.

An illustration of the effect of certain kinds of teaching about Latin American history on the relations of religious groups in the United States may be given. Too frequently our history books dealing with the colonial period, especially the books for younger pupils, present the Spaniards as cruel, bigoted, inept in colonizing, greedy for gold, and using religion as a shield for persecution. This interpretation of Latin American colonial history is a perpetuation of *la leyenda negra*, the "black legend" of Spanish deficiencies. Actually the story is an unwarranted generalization, not good history, and not good in its effects on the relations of religious groups in the United States. For Catholics, the story is offensive and unjust; for Protestants, it tends to perpetuate the mentality on which blind prejudice thrives.

Much of the material on Latin America now presented in our schools and colleges, which arouses or perpetuates prejudices among groups in the United States, does not appear in direct and systematic instruction but in casual references. A good illustration of this situation may be drawn from the field of literature. In the survey conducted by the American Council on Education, an extensive group of literary anthologies, widely used in United States schools and colleges, was examined. The examination revealed that pupils in this country rarely are presented with translated excerpts from literary writings of the Latin American countries. Where Latin America is dealt with directly, it is presented through the eyes of Anglo-Americans, by no means all of whom have ever been south of the border, and who commonly find in their written observations reflections of their own preconceptions. Or materials from European

literature of the colonial period, chosen exclusively on the basis of "literary effectiveness," tend to pass on to young Americans the wild surmises of Sir Walter Raleigh and his contemporaries about Latin America. We are told that "Mexicans esteem flat foreheads as signs of beauty"; we are surfeited with the rhythmic but unidentified place names of colonial Latin America and the endless cadence of "uncut emeralds out of Rio." The passages of literature often feed the fires of young imperialism, and, in so doing, strengthen feelings of racial and cultural superiority and inferiority.

Although it is true that the study of some widely used literary materials making more or less casual assumptions about Latin American peoples affects the attitudes and understandings pupils acquire about Spanish-speaking, Indian, and Negro groups within the United States, it is also true that other widely studied literary materials dealing with the American scene tend to develop attitudes inimical to good international relations. Many school anthologies have sections devoted to the colorful literature of our Southwest. In these emotion-stirring narratives, chosen apparently without thought of the "concomitant learnings" pupils are likely to derive from them, the Mexicans who appear are almost inevitably border brigands, dull peons, or unlettered house servants. Again for pupils, the atypical is too frequently mistaken for the typical. Even more striking is an illustration in a small volume recently prepared by a distinguished leader in the field of intercultural relations in the United States, which deals with prejudices, what they are and how to detect them. In illustrating prejudices the author says, "Declaring that the Indians did not belong to the human race because they were not Christians and had no souls, the Spaniards treated the Indians cruelly." Here, in an avowed attack on prejudice at home, is prejudice abroad.

The illustrations here presented from a survey of the Latin-American content in basic teaching materials used in our schools and colleges could be duplicated for other geographic areas of the world and for other cultural groups within the American population. The point to be made is clear: for the sake of educating to improve group relations within the United States, we must concern ourselves with group relations on the international scene; and for the sake of ameliorating the broader international problems that will plague the postwar period, we cannot ignore education in intergroup relations at home.

CHAPTER XXXII

Contributions of the American Indian

CLARK WISSLER

AMONG all the minorities discussed in this book few exceed the Indians in the originality and importance of their contribution to world culture. One of the more obvious contributions is in food plants—maize, potato, kidney bean, tomato, peanut, tobacco, chocolate, manioc, chili pepper, avocado, and so on—cultivated for centuries before contact between Europe and America. Many of these are now grown in quantity in every part of the world where climate permits. Had the new world possessed no aboriginal inhabitants, it is unlikely that many of these plants would have been cultivated, since European colonists would have introduced and exploited their own traditional food crops.

Yet it is not alone in such crass material resources that the contribution of the Indian minority is to be measured, for the stimulus the aboriginal way of life exerted upon the European mind, though less obvious, is perhaps of greater significance. We scarcely realize how intimately the Indian is a part of the American tradition; he plays the major role in the dynamics of colonization and the frontier, gives a non-European cast to our folklore, is ever present in the history of our national expansion, and has profoundly influenced our art. In our elementary education, both at home and in the school, the facts of Indian culture vie with those of nature in developing an appreciation and love for outdoor America.

In the first place, the Indians had from long experience adapted their mode of life to the environment of the forests, the plains, the deserts, and the mountains of the United States. The first European settlers in our land sought the tuition of friendly Indians in agriculture and woodcraft, without which many of them would have failed to survive. The Indian-taught techniques for raising maize, beans, and squashes were of vital importance.

Dr. A. C. Parker, now director of the Museum of Science in

Rochester, New York, once wrote that "the maize plant was the bridge over which English civilization crept, tremblingly and uncertainly at first, then boldly and surely to a foot-hold and a permanent occupation of America."

The folk medicine of the Indian was about on the same level as that of the European colonist—though wholly based upon native flora. Hence, its wholesale adoption by the whites. In early days many local Indian practitioners enjoyed a large practice, and even now the vendor of a reputed Indian remedy receives undue preference. The original use of many medicinal plants—cascara, witch hazel, cocaine, quinine, and so on—is credited to the Indians.

The colonists made use of a number of Indian inventions, such as hammocks, the tobacco pipe, the cigarette, birch-bark canoes, lye hominy, maple sugar, succotash, the lacrosse game, Indian types of snowshoes, toboggan, moccasin, and buckskin tan. The English-speaking colonists adopted a number of expressive linguistic terms, as *pow-wow*, *war path*, *take the trail*, *war paint*, *war dance*, *council fire*, *bury the hatchet*, *ambush*, *run the gauntlet*, *wampum*, *smoke the pipe of peace*, *scalping*, *wigwam*, *tipi*, *squaw*, *papoose*, *brave*, and the like. Some of these words were incorporated into our language, others were English translations of Indian words, but all were descriptive of traditional acts and concepts common to many Indian tribes. Further, a large number of geographical names were taken over in the original and others in translation. Twenty-three of our states have Indian names, as also have many important rivers, lakes, and large cities, not to mention numerous small towns, creeks, hills, and so on.

We turn now to the mental and spiritual stimulus exerted by the Indian through contact with the colonists. The discovery of the many independent tribes and languages offered a standing challenge to the intelligent and philosophical-minded white men. The perplexing question of Indian origins, the logical necessity for rediscovering their lost history, and the harmonization of these new facts with the theological and scientific beliefs of the time, gave impetus to the study of man. Indian languages began to be studied and classified objectively, thus making important contributions to philological science, in which men like Jefferson, Duponceau, Barton, Gallatin, and others played an important role. The development of anthropology as the science of man stemmed largely from studies of the American Indian tribes. American art and literature owe to the Indian the lion's share of their original features, or those that distinguish their contributions from those of Western Europe.

Finally we should recognize the Indians' own art, from which we have borrowed much and seem destined to borrow more. One need but stroll through the halls of a large museum to note the Indian originality of design as seen in beadwork, rawhide painting, quillwork, textiles, baskets, and pottery. In the use of geometric patterns and flat even-color tones the Indian was a genius, and so characteristic is the decorative style of his pottery, basketry, and textiles that they are easily recognized at sight. More and more of these motives are finding their way into our own art and an ever-increasing volume of Indian-made decorative objects finds its way into the contemporary market. In pueblo architecture we have a style influencing the house types of our contemporary Southwest, and no primitive dwelling rises to the artistic excellence of the best Indian tepees of the plains.

Cultural interaction. We have completed a partial résumé of the data one should scan to form a judgment as to how far the culture of these United States is different in content from what it would be if the new world had received its first human inhabitants after 1492 from Europe. It is obvious that the framework of our culture was transplanted from Europe; such concepts as the cultivation of old-world cereals, use of cattle, horses, and swine, Christianity, trial by jury, representative government, universal education, printing, monogamy, and rights of property tend to define its outline. Also a standard of living was brought here. What was left behind were systems of serfdom, social privileges of birth, and most of the practices that pertained to social stratification. Once here, the individual settlers found themselves all about on the same social level, aspiring to, and for the most part achieving, equality in housing, dress, and mode of life. None of these things came from the Indian, since they have developed in English, French, and Dutch colonies the world over.

On the other hand, the particular types of Indian society confronting the various European nationals did create differing social environments. It is probable that the characteristics of Indian cultures in the United States and Canada presented contrasting conditions to those in Mexico and Peru, where the Spanish conquerors found much denser populations, socially stratified and disciplined, ready to be exploited as plantation laborers or village artisans, which in part explains the present culture of those countries. In the eastern United States, on the other hand, were small independent tribes enjoying great freedom both as communities and as individuals, ready to maintain this freedom at any price. The only way the colonists could exploit them was by trade and their occasional enslavement as household

servants. We suspect that the absence of a disciplined, docile native race for the Atlantic colonists to seize and to dominate, greatly delayed white social stratification and thus biased our culture toward individual freedom. The importation of Negro slaves into the South and its social consequences suggest what might have happened had the original Indian population of the United States and Canada been similar to that of Mexico and Peru. In that case the colonials could have set themselves up as holders of estates, rulers of sizable blocks of native peasants and laborers. As soon as the territory was well occupied there would have been no more opportunity for the European individual, and so no lure for him. Immigration would have been less and the industrial development of a different character. The later differences between Latin and English America would then have been chiefly matters of language and economics.

The foregoing is in line with the historical interpretations some historians have offered as to why the English settlements upon our Atlantic coast quickly outstripped others. In Canada, the French encountered climatic inhibitions to rapid agricultural expansion, but they were upon the threshold of a great fur country, where the Indian, long a master in woodcraft and the hunt, needed but the stimulus of trade goods to increase his fur production. And so the French tried to be friendly to the Indian and hold him by slender ties of economic dependence. In this they succeeded rather well, but the Indian could not be readily welded into a population sufficiently loyal to offer great resistance to the advancing frontier of the English, which prevailed by sheer ferocity and force of numbers. Had there been no Indian trade to exploit and no Indians, the French might have done better in the way of penetration into the Mississippi Valley. Naturally all this is speculation, but we have been able to point out many obvious conditions the Indian presented to the intruding European, so that any reasonable theory of influence, based upon human experience elsewhere, should have a fair degree of probability.

It is a common belief that the conquest of the wilderness, breaking into the forest, clearing a space for a cabin, and a life and death struggle against starvation, was the school which developed in the survivors the courage, energy, and liberality discernible in old American character. We consider all this as due to the frontier, and many now feel that our future is insecure because there is no longer a wilderness to try the youth and harden those who survive. There can be no doubt as to the absence of the wilderness, but our interest here is to note that when the frontier was still a reality no small part

of this training was given by the Indian, who made the frontier a perpetual skirmish line.

Granting, then, that the framework to our culture is European, we have seen how greatly the Indian contributed to the rounding out of the picture. For example, when the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, friendly Indians taught them how to raise maize, as well as other useful techniques; without this aid the first colony might have perished to a man. This is the theme of the economic as well as the social contributions of the Indians; he had lived in the country for many generations, not merely surviving, but enlarging his control over nature. Our colonial ancestors had this experience and knowledge for the taking. That they profited greatly in the taking is easily demonstrated, and we are still profiting in increasing measure, not merely economically but socially and aesthetically. To us it is a richer and more beautiful world because the Indian preceded us.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Contributions of the American Negro

STERLING A. BROWN

THE CAREER of the American Negro in labor, education, religion, scholarship, science, the professions, and business is an important part of the story of American democracy. The vital part that Negro labor has played in the upbuilding of America is well known. Negro trade union organizers are now working zealously for industrial democracy. In American education, Booker T. Washington has a secure place for his advocacy of industrial training; and Negro educators, from college presidents and faculty members down to the overworked teacher in a one-room shanty, have waged war on illiteracy and ignorance. Negro scientists and scholars, led by Ernest E. Just, biologist, and George Washington Carver, chemurgist, and Negro doctors, lawyers, and journalists, play roles increasing in importance to America. The Negro church is the Negro's oldest and probably his most thriving organization, and clergymen, more than publicists or politicians, are still leaders of the masses. Negro businessmen have established growing concerns and have achieved moderate success in the world of small business.

In spite of their high standing among their own people and their service to America, the leaders in the above-mentioned fields have not won as great distinction as have Negroes in the sports and arts, where opportunities for noteworthy achievements are better. True to American hero-worship, where the home-run hitter, the forward-passer, the crooner, the jazz-band leader, and the movie actor and actress are glorified, Americans generally know most about Negroes who are champions or stars in the popular arts and sports.

American sports are still far from completely democratic, yet Negroes have been famous athletes for over a century. The Negro athlete has won greatest renown in prize fighting. In the early nineteenth century, Negro pugilists such as Tom Molyneaux were among the greatest; at the turn of the century, three Negroes—George

Dixon, featherweight, Joe Gans, lightweight, and Joe Walcott, welterweight—held championships at the same time. In more recent times, Jack Johnson, heavyweight champion, Sam Langford, Joe Jeannette, Jack Blackburn, and Tiger Flowers were great prize fighters before the time when the titles were monopolized by Joe Louis, the phenomenal heavyweight, John Henry Lewis, light heavyweight, and Henry Armstrong, who was the only fighter to be simultaneously feather, light, and welterweight champion. Leading fighters today are Ray Robinson, Bob Montgomery, and Bo Jack. In track, Howard Drew, Ned Gourdin, De Hart Hubbard, Jesse Owens, Ralph Metcalfe, Eddie Tolan, Cornelius Robinson, Ben Johnson, and John Woodruff are but a few of the famous names.

The national pastime, baseball, will not permit Negroes to play in the major or minor leagues, but sportswriters and ballplayers agree that Negro players such as Satchell Paige and Josh Gibson belong among the best. In football, many Negroes such as Paul Robeson, Duke Slater, Fritz Pollard, Brud Holland, Sidat Singh, Kenny Washington, Ozzie Simmons, and Bernard Jefferson have won national fame playing for northern colleges, and as many players on Negro college teams have been unusual. Professional football, however, is closed to Negroes. Negro professional basketball teams, the Harlem Globetrotters and the Renaissance Club, have frequently won the world's championship. When the United States won the Olympic Games in 1936, largely because of the Negro runners, Hitler burst out in anger at the use of Negro "auxiliaries." In American sports, however, especially of the individual performer variety, the Negro is not at all an auxiliary; he is a well-known participant, and often a champion. Thus, when John Borican won the decathlon championship of the United States, awarded for the greatest track and field versatility, the fact that he was a Negro occasioned no surprise in America.

In the American arts, especially those called "the lively arts," the Negro has also won acceptance, sometimes begrudged and incomplete. His record in the arts is racially more distinctive than that in sports, for whereas to sports he brought the brawn, speed, and brain of an individual, to the arts he brought not only his personal gifts but sometimes an influential tradition from his people.

Music

James Weldon Johnson has stated that "where music and dancing are concerned, Americans are always doing their best to pass for

colored." Though not so openly admitted as in the Caribbean Islands and South America, the Negro influence on these arts in the United States requires little search.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the eye- and ear-catching dancing and singing of American Negroes had attracted widespread attention, and black-face minstrel shows thrived because of their imitation of them. Stephen Foster, America's most popular composer, specialized in minstrel or "Ethiopian" melodies, such as "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home." Though the minstrel show was chiefly aimed at cartooning Negroes, the songs caught the fancy of Americans as expressive of themselves. When the forty-niners rushed to the far west seeking gold, their favorite song was "O Susanna," in which Foster had attempted to catch the infectious gayety of a Negro dance-song. Emmett's "Dixie," the battle-song of the Confederacy, was likewise "Negroid" in melody and dialect. The official state song of Virginia is "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia," also in dialect, the composition of a Negro, James Bland.

But these were imitations of Negro folk song. The genuine article was to be found in the churches allowed to the slaves, in brush-arbor meetings, and in gatherings, often furtive, in the slave quarters. Although antebellum travelers through the South mentioned this music enthusiastically, it was only after the Civil War that its best products—the spirituals—were revealed to the world as "probably the richest and proudest and artistically the most significant of American folk music."¹ The Jubilee Singers of Fisk University played a great role in the revelation.

It has long been a matter for strenuous debate whether the spirituals derive from white camp meeting or are essentially African. All parties to the debate agree, however, that regardless of ultimate source, the spiritual in musical performance became the Negro's own. If not a rigid survival of original musical features, the spirituals did achieve a special form removed from European prototypes. Winthrop Sargeant, in a thorough analysis of American Negro music, dismisses the controversy, since "most of it is waged on such superficial and comparatively irrelevant grounds as the similarity of texts and tunes as between white and allegedly Negroid products."² He believes that there is a vast gulf between the performance of the

¹ David Ewen, "American Folk Music," *Common Ground*, III, 4 (Summer, 1943), p. 109.

² Winthrop Sargeant, *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid*, p. 182. New York: Arrow Editions, 1938.

Negro folk and what the transcriber notates. Detailed examination of their musical structures leads him to the conviction that jazz and the spirituals are "most assuredly Negroid." Though both "white and 'African' contributions play indispensable roles,"³ the polyrhythm and polyphony, accent shifting, free improvisation and unique scalar structure of this music are traceable to African sources.⁴

A musical hybrid, as the American Negro is a biological hybrid, the spirituals are not African, but peculiarly American, forged in the experience of slavery. They express the sufferings, fortitude, and faith of the newly Christianized slaves. In mood, they range from the joyful "Little David, Play on Your Harp," through the martial "Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho" and the challenging "Go Down, Moses" to the mournful "Steal Away," the majestic "Deep River," and the tragic "He Never Said a Mumbaling Word." Christianity taught the hard-pressed slaves to look to heaven for surcease and balm. Many spirituals are otherworldly, glorying in "that great camp meeting in the promised land," hoping to cross the deep river of Jordan "where all is peace." Images of escape abound, as "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot, Coming for to Carry Me Home," and

Some one of these mornings, bright and fair,
Hitch on my wings and cleave the air.

But quite as many spirituals took a clear look at this world: "O, I Been Rebuked and I Been Scorned," "My Way Is Cloudy," "I'm Rolling Through an Unfriendly World," and "Lord, Keep Me from Sinking Down." Sometimes there will be a satiric thrust:

Rich man Dives, he lived so well,
When he died, he found a home in Hell.

Occasionally from the earthbound life would come a simile: "Keep a-inchin' along, like a po' inch worm"; or a couplet of admonition:

Better mind dat sun and see how she run,
An' mind: Don't let her catch you wid yo' work undone.

Spirituals were often sung with double meanings, though these were naturally dangerous in the heavily censored slave states. Fugitive slaves and workers on the Underground Railroad, as Frederick

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

Douglass and Harriet Tubman, have explained how in the doubletalk of the quarters Canaan stood for Canada, Egypt for the southern states, Pharaoh for the master class, and the Israelites for the slaves.

O, Mary, don't you weep, don't you mourn,
Pharaoh's army got drowned.

"Go Down, Moses, Tell Old Pharaoh to Let My People Go" was the slaves' "Marseillaise," their most outspoken spiritual, until the Civil War when songs like "No Mo' Driver's Lash for Me" and "I Thank God I'm Free at Last" sprang up overnight.

The slaves did not sing only of their sorrows and hopes. They had a gay secular music for their random good times, when less religious slaves created dance and play-party songs. The words were frank and satiric as:

My ole missis promise me
'Fo she died, she'd set me free.
She lived so long dat her haid got bal'
An' she give outn de notion of dyin' at all.

Sometimes the words were nonsensical, merely to set up a rhythm for a dance:

Juba dis, Juba dat,
Juba skin de yaller cat,
Juba, Juba.

For these reels the slaves used fiddles, often home-made; crude tambourines, bones which they clicked like castanets, ingeniously improvised drums, and pots, pans, and triangles for percussive effects. Scanty instruments were eked out with singing, shouting, the clapping of hands, and the stamping of feet. This music is not so available as is that of the spirituals, but musical historians believe that it was sharply syncopated and spirited.

Other types of Negro secular folk songs are hollers, worksongs, ballads, and blues. These, as found in primitive areas of the South, are probably closer to the African musical idiom than the spirituals are. The holler is a rudimentary blues, musically intoned, a scrap of melody sometimes with a few words added. "The holler is a way of singing—free, gliding from a sustained high note down to the lowest register the singer can reach . . . marked by spontaneous and unpredictable changes in rhythm."⁵ The hollers accompany

⁵ John A. and Alan Lomax, *Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly*, p. 113. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

a lone Negro's work; more developed worksongs accompany work in unison. Roustabouts on the levees, steel-drivers, axemen in the woods, the shantymen on the old windjammers, lighten their labor by singing in rhythm with it. A gang driving spikes will sing, punctuating their lines with a grunt as the hammer falls:

Dis ole hammer—hunh—
Killt John Henry—hunh—
Won't kill me, baby—hunh
Won't kill me.

The verses are somewhat unconnected, the men singing what first comes to their minds, concerned chiefly with the functional rhythm. But consecutive narration is to be found in the ballads. These celebrate outlaws like Railroad Bill, Po' Lazarus, and Long Gone Lost John, historic events like the sinking of the Titanic, and working-class heroes like John Henry, whose strength and courage defeated the steam drill in a tremendous contest. One of the best American ballads tells of the boll weevil, who

Come all the way from Texas,
Jes looking fo' a place to stay.

This vigorous music, deeply satisfying to folk Negroes, as to other Americans, was originally sung unaccompanied or to a guitar. As Negroes obtained instruments, they developed the musical forms of ragtime, the blues, and jazz. These cannot accurately be called folk arts, but they have a widely popular base.

Elements of ragtime, such as syncopation and polyrhythm, probably go back to the plantation entertainments of the slaves.⁶ By the time it got a name, ragtime was a characteristic idiom of the Negro's piano technique, owing most to men of "digital expedience and native rhythmic sense,"⁷ such as Scott Joplin, probably the greatest ragtime composer, Tom Turpin and Louis Chauvin, two Negroes of St. Louis, and Ben Harney, a white pianist of great adroitness. During the first decade of this century, when America was dancing as never before, Bert Williams announced that "syncopation rules the nation." Ragtime was essentially instrumental, not a vocal art, though the "Bully Song," a Negroid shout made famous by May Irwin, the early "coon songs," and the songs of George M. Cohan and Irving Berlin (especially "Alexander's Ragtime Band"), were widely sung—though then

⁶ Sargeant, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

the rag was in creative decline, cheapened by exploitation.⁸ Before World War I, Will Marion Cook's and James Reese Europe's ambitious experiments with orchestral ragtime were on the way to becoming one kind of jazz.

Rich in percussive rhythmic elements of the Negro idiom, ragtime contained little trace of the harmony, and no trace of the characteristic singing style, of Negro folk music.⁹ The blues furnished these vocal aspects. In 1912, W. C. Handy, the "father of the blues," composed his most famous "St. Louis Blues." Handy was the first trained musician to appreciate and to compose and publish the blues, but he had heard and responded to them up and down the South for years before. "Ma" Rainey and "Jelly Roll" Morton tell us that the blues go back a long way. Handy's "St. Louis Blues," however, "commenced a revolution in the popular tunes of this land." The genuine folk blues, not the synthetic Tin Pan Alley favorites, which are blues only in name, are considered to be the Negro music closest to African sources.¹⁰ Louis Harap explains the "blue note" that they brought into jazz: "The third and seventh in all Negro music from spirituals to hot jazz are not pitched steadily. They are, as Abbe Niles has said, 'worried,' wavering between flat and natural."¹¹ This characteristic, Harap believes, gives special poignance to Negro music and is unique. The stanzaic form of the blues is unusual, consisting of three rhyming lines, the first of which is repeated sometimes with minor variations, and the third line clinching the meaning. An example:

/ / / / /
 I'd rather drink muddy water, sleep in a hollow log,
 / / / / /
 Drink muddy water, Lord, sleep in a hollow log,
 / / / / /
 Than to stay in dis town, mistreated like a dirty dog.

Unlike the spirituals, the blues are for solo and not choral performance, and in their developed form require instrumental background (the guitar, the piano, a rhythm section, or a small band). Often frank to the point of bawdiness, they deal elementally with things of great moment to the folk. Most express sorrow in love:

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁰ Ernest Borneman, "The Anthropologist Looks at Jazz," *The Record Changer* (April, 1944), p. 8.

¹¹ Louis Harap, "The Case for Hot Jazz," *The Music Quarterly*, XXVII, No. 1 (January, 1941), p. 57.

Love is like a faucet, you can turn it off or on,
But when you think you've got it, done turned off and gone.

Some tell of rambling, of leaving an oppressive place:

Went down to de depot, looked up on de board,
It say: Dere's hard times here, dere's better up de road.

And some, such as "Back Water Blues" by Bessie Smith, about the Mississippi in flood, deal starkly with the tragedies of nature. Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Clara Smith and Ida Cox, Lonnie Johnson, Jim Jackson, Leroy Carr, and Big Bill, are blues singers who have commanded large followings.

Jazz was the adaptation of vocal blues style to brass band instruments, such as the cornet, clarinet, trombone, and drums.¹² The birthplace of jazz was New Orleans, where brass bands were in demand for the numerous parades, funeral marches, Mardi Gras celebrations, advertising wagons, barbecue picnics, and dances. In the funeral marches, doleful dirges would be played on the way to the cemetery, but once the funeral was over, the band would parade back to gay and spirited tunes. Legendary pioneers in those parades were "King" Buddy Bolden, a cornet player of great talent and power, Bunk Johnson, cornettist, and Alphonse Picou, clarinetist.

Many of the early musicians could not read music, but they made this lack into a virtue, for they improvised freely and, with time on their hands, experimented tirelessly to extend the technical possibilities of their instruments and the range of their expressiveness. This innovation, springing from a sincere love, took New Orleans by storm. Soon younger men as King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet, Johnny Dodds, Jimmie Noone, and Zutty Singleton, were serving a feverish apprenticeship before going out to become headliners in the jazz world. In addition to brass bands, piano playing was a lucrative necessity in New Orleans' sporting district, where famous piano "professors" were Tony Jackson, "Jelly Roll" Morton, Spencer Williams and Clarence Williams, the authors of well-known blues. Jazz soon crept over the low racial barriers in New Orleans; white musicians took up the new techniques; and the first nationally famous band to spread the new music was white, the Original Dixieland Jass Band. But all admitted that "jazz came from Uptown," where the Negroes lived.

¹² Charles E. Smith, *et al.*, *The Jazz Record Book*, p. 8. New York: Smith and Durrell, 1942.

Space does not permit an adequate story of jazz—how on the river boats and during the migration it went Northward and had to “go underground” in the “Whiteman era” when symphonic jazz was commercially dominant.¹³ Negro bands, however, kept to the authentic style, and white jazzmen later to become famous haunted Negro cabarets, assimilating techniques and spirit. In the thirties, the white bands of Goodman, Artie Shaw, and Tommy Dorsey, and the Negro bands of Ellington, Lunceford, and Basie, brought about the triumph of “swing,” which leans toward the earlier expressiveness and away from the symphonic semiclassical sweetness. Jazz is now an American musical language, “affecting every stratum of American society . . . certainly capable of expressing deeper matters than those which occupy the world of sophisticated entertainment.”¹⁴

This language, first spoken and chiefly developed by Negroes, is now truly national, truly interracial. It is also a melting pot, as attested by a random listing of important jazzmen: Bechet, Beiderbecke, Beneke, Bernstein, Bigard, Brunies, D’Amico, Elman, Fazola, Guarneri, Kaminsky, Krupa, La Rocca, Lamare, Norvo, Ory, Rappollo, Spivack, St. Cyr, and Tizol, as well as the countless others of British-American names such as Armstrong, Dorsey, Ellington, James, Kirk, and O’Brien. Though Negro bands do not reap the greatest financial rewards from jazz, since they are “almost never to be encountered in a prominent hotel and never on a commercial radio program,”¹⁵ they are still universally considered top-notch. Polls of jazz fans always place them high. Negro stars nearly monopolized the voting for the *Esquire* Magazine All-Star Band.

Of the many Negroes prominent in the history of jazz mention must be made of Louis Armstrong, considered to be the greatest single influence, and Coleman Hawkins and Earl Hines, both innovators in technique. Negro arrangers have helped make the reputations of leading white bands. Boogie-woogie is a late innovation to jazz, popularized by Meade Lux Lewis, Al Ammons, and Pete Johnson from the percussive, polyrhythmic piano style long known in Negro honky-tonks and house parties. For a consistently high level

¹³ This is well told in *Jazzmen*, edited by Frederic Ramsey and Charles E. Smith, one of the pioneer works of jazz criticism in America. The European critics Panassié, Delaunay, and Goffin, and a growing body of American historians and critics, treat jazz with respect and scholarship due to a thriving art form, as well as with enthusiasm.

¹⁴ Sargeant, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

¹⁵ Irving Kolodin, “The Dance Band Business,” *Harper’s Magazine*, June, 1941, p. 79.

of musicianship and for extending the boundaries of jazz, no band can equal Duke Ellington's. Fletcher Henderson has numbered in his several orchestras more star performers than has any other band leader. The orchestras of Count Basie, Jimmy Lunceford, and Cab Calloway would have to be listed among America's best and most popular bands.

Of all the arts, jazz music is probably the most democratic. Mixed units of Negroes and whites have recorded for well over a decade, and most of their records are jazz classics. Benny Goodman used Teddy Wilson and Lionel Hampton in his famed quartette; Goodman, Mezzrow, and Joe Sullivan experimented with mixed bands; several white bands have used individual Negro performers, and Fletcher Henderson has returned the compliment by using white performers. The mixed band meets up with difficulties, especially in the South. But completely democratic are the jam sessions, both public and private, where Negro and white musicians meet as equals to improvise collectively and create the kind of music they love. Here the performer's color does not matter; the quality of the music he makes is the basis for comradeship and respect.

The Negro's folk and popular music are of course by no means his sole musical contribution. Negro concert artists were known to America even before the Civil War, though sometimes viewed as curiosities or forced to make concessions to audiences brought up on minstrelsy. "Blind Tom," a slave pianist of amazing memory, received as much attention as a prodigy as a musician, but Elizabeth Greenfield, the "Black Swan," and Sissieretta Jones, the "Black Patti" were recognized as having magnificent voices. Only in the last quarter century, however, has the Negro's place on the concert stage been assured. Roland Hayes opened the way when he returned to the United States after startling critical acclaim in Europe. Marian Anderson and Dorothy Maynor are now among the world's greatest soloists. Harry T. Burleigh, the late Jules Bledsoe, Paul Robeson, and Todd Duncan have had imposing successes as concert artists. Younger singers such as Anne Brown, Otis Holley, Aubrey Pankey, Kenneth Spencer, and Lawrence Whisonant have promising futures.

Negro singers have not sung with the great opera companies in America, but Lillian Evanti and Caterina Jarboro have appeared in opera in other countries. No Negro artists play with the famous symphonic orchestras, though Dean Dixon has served as guest conductor of several symphonies. A list of American instrumentalists of distinction would have to include Will Marion Cook, Clarence

Cameron White, Kemper Harreld, Bernard Lee Mason, and Louia Vaughn Jones, violinists; R. Augustus Lawson, Hazel Harrison, William Lawrence, William Allen, and Warner Lawson, pianists; and Melville Charlton, Roy W. Tibbs, Carl Diton, and Ernest Hays, organists.

White composers of popular music have made use of the Negro idiom for over a century, from Stephen Foster to George Gershwin (famed for the "first American folk opera," *Porgy and Bess*), Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, Hoagy Carmichael, Harold Arlen, and Johnny Mercer. Of the even more numerous Negro popular composers, W. C. Handy, Clarence Williams, James P. Johnson, "Fats" Waller, and Duke Ellington have done their share to keep America singing. Louis Gottschalk, Daniel Gregory Mason, John Powell, Louis Gruenberg, and Otto Cesana are white serious composers who have experimented, with varying success, with the Negro idiom. Foreign composers, following Anton Dvořák, have been enticed to the use of the unique material, ranging from Coleridge-Taylor, an English Negro, to Stravinsky, Delius, and Darius Milhaud. The Negro serious composers, Will Marion Cook, Harry Burleigh, and J. Rosamond Johnson, were the first to win artistic recognition for the musical idiom of their race, and more recently Edmund Jenkins, R. Nathaniel Dett, William Dawson, and William Grant Still have explored the idiom with rewarding results. For the New York World's Fair, William Grant Still was selected to compose the orchestral music. This seems significant, for according to one musicologist:

There is a great deal in American popular music which does not stem from Europe. . . . This element of originality in American popular music—and it is the only element of originality on the whole music horizon of America—is the Negro tradition. . . . The story of American folk music begins not with the Mayflower but with a slave ship of 1619.¹⁶

The Dance

"Though outwardly yielding to the despotism of the master, the real Negro rulership was vested in that great triumvirate, instrumental music, dancing, and song. . . . Early slave amusements consisted largely of the dances that the Negroes had brought over from Africa."¹⁷ The slaves' fondness for dancing was often attested as

¹⁶ Ernest Borneman, "Jazz and the Anthropologist," *The Record Changer*, July, 1944, p. 38.

¹⁷ Newbell Niles Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, p. 56. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

proof of the easy regimen of slavery and of the gay childlike nature of the slaves. It is better explained as a poor man's inexpensive outlet, enthusiastically welcomed because of long familiarity and because few other outlets were available.

In the slave's acculturation, he did not completely forget the highly ceremonialized African dances, though the function of dancing changed. That many American Negro forms of dancing are essentially African, Herskovits finds "confirmed by motion pictures taken of African rites which include striking resemblances to . . . styles of American Negro dancing."¹⁸ Well after the Civil War, New Orleans Negroes were dancing such African dances as the Calinda and the Bamboula in Congo Square, according to numerous spectators, Lafcadio Hearn and George Washington Cable among them. Though Katherine Dunham finds the African dance tradition persisting less tenaciously in North America than in the West Indies and South America, she recognized definite African forms in the dancing of religious cults.¹⁹ In coastal Georgia, Lydia Parrish has found many living Negroes able to perform such old slave dances as the Ring Shout and pantomimic dances that she believes to be close to African prototypes.²⁰

Nevertheless, except for the Ring Shout, Negro folk dancing strayed far from African dancing in purpose, and was altered in content in the new environment. The Juba, for instance, originally an African competitive dance, was modified in America by the square dance, as in its turn it influenced the Big Apple.²¹ Negro square dances included variations of the polka, mazurka, and other European dance steps.²² The sand dancing and the buck and wing of the plantation were fused with the Irish clog, to lead to present day tap dancing.

This hybridized dancing of the slaves one observer considered to be "the clumsiest of dances to uncouth music,"²³ whereas another

¹⁸ Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, p. 146. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941.

¹⁹ Katherine Dunham, "The Negro Dance," in *The Negro Caravan*, edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee, p. 994. New York: The Dryden Press, 1941.

²⁰ Lydia Parrish, *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*, p. 108. New York: Creative Age Press, 1942.

²¹ Dunham, *op. cit.*, p. 998.

²² Charles E. Smith, *et al.*, *The Jazz Record Book*, p. 8. New York: Smith and Durrell, 1942.

²³ William Howard Russell, *My Diary, North and South*, p. 189. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham, 1863.

found in it "a suppleness of limb and peculiar grace of motion beyond the power of our dancing masters to impart."²⁴ Both expressed widespread reactions, but to all commentators, the dancing in the quarters differed widely from that in the Big House ballroom. In the early nineteenth century, "Daddy" Rice's imitation of an old Negro's shuffling dance which Rice named "Jim Crow" won instantaneous success, and began the minstrel show's capitalization of what it considered grotesque dancing. The real Negro dance, however, undeterred by ridicule, continued on its merry way, until at the turn of the century the cakewalk and other ragtime dances were not only recognized as entertaining spectacles but were being learned by white society.

Because of its own creative reluctance, according to John Martin,²⁵ the modern American dance draws upon the North American Negro and Latin America as chief sources of creativeness.

In neither case is this material transported over the racial barrier without serious loss, but it brings a certain vitality . . . to what would otherwise be a distinctly anemic field. The Negro, indeed, has discovered for himself a rich and admirable recreational dance, and his contribution to our own development along these lines has far greater potentialities than have been realized.

Some of the earlier dances invented by Negroes are the Pas Mala, the Strut, the Palmer House, Walking the Dog, Balling the Jack, the Bunny Hug, the Grizzly Bear, and the Fox Trot. Several of these influenced the dancing of Vernon and Irene Castle, who set the vogue for social dancing in the jazz age, when the waltz lost out to the one-step and the fox trot. The Castles refined the dancing, changed its names, and made it fashionable, but they frankly admitted their debt to James Reese Europe, who acquainted them with Negro dancing and music. Later Negro creativeness in the dance was illustrated by the Charleston, the Lindy, Trucking, the Big Apple, the Boogie, and the varieties of Jitterbugging. The Lindy, dating from Lindbergh's flight to Paris, was a dance of wild, soaring improvisation, calling "for an equal amount of acrobatic skill and of telepathy, for partners separated by several yards . . . often execute simultaneously newly improvised steps."²⁶ From the Lindy and Jitterbugging, the dance of

²⁴ H. C. Spalding, "Under the Palmetto," *Continental Monthly*, IV, 1863, p. 196.

²⁵ John Martin, *Introduction to the Dance*, p. 163. New York: W. W. Norton, 1939.

²⁶ Geoffrey Gorer, *Hot Strip Tease and Other Notes on American Culture*, p. 111. London: The Cresset Press, 1937.

present-day American youth derives. Some of our soldiers, according to photographs and newsreels, demonstrated it as the typical American dance in the canteens and dance halls of foreign lands, even in the streets of captured cities. It is American now, gladly, even wildly accepted as such, but it got its start in New York's Savoy, the best-known Negro dance hall.

In tap dancing, "Bojangles" Robinson is rightfully the most famous, but there are many other Negroes who, if they cannot fill his shoes, still beat out intricate rhythms with their own. Negroes, of course, are not the only famous dancers in the popular theater. Ann Pennington was known as the "Charleston" girl, and Fred Astaire is a great tap dancer. Many ambitious whites, however, still come to Harlem for pointers; Bill Robinson and Billy Pierce, who conducted a dance studio, have taught many of the best-known stage and screen stars; and historians of the popular theater trace the new type of swift, enthusiastic chorus dancing to the Negro shows of the twenties such as *Shuffling Along* and *Running Wild*.

In the serious dance, several of the representatives of the New Dance have carefully studied the Negro idiom. Occasionally, concerts of African tribal dancing are given in New York, but, though vivid, moving spectacles, they concern American Negro dancing only as source material. Katherine Dunham has trained a successful troupe of dancers which concentrates on the fertile field of Caribbean dancing, although they perform interesting versions of the cakewalk and the honky-tonk boogie as well. Pearl Primus is making a careful study of the roots of American Negro dancing in Africa, and in American religion and jazz. She is an imaginative dance stylist as well as a scholar, and her determination to bring the Negro dance from the dance floor to the concert stage and yet keep its expressiveness, vigor, and frankness, is an artistic experiment of great promise.

Literature

The Negro's influence on literature has not been formative as in music and the dance. The novels, plays, and poems that Negroes write are inevitably in the traditional techniques. Nevertheless, if not an originator of forms, the Negro is important to American literature, first, passively, as subject matter, and second, creatively, as interpreter of his own character and experience.

Early American writers such as Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, and Poe found their curiosity teased by Negro characters, but the bulk of the fictional writing was part of the slavery controversy.

Proslavery novels, starting with James P. Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, stressed the Negro's peculiar endowment: he was comical, docile, a natural and therefore contented slave, a child needing the "benevolent guardianship" of slavery. After the Civil War, this stereotyping was hardened into what is called the plantation tradition, which described slavery as a "perpetual Mardi Gras," peopled by chivalrous aristocrats and happy serfs. *Gone With the Wind*, one of the most recent books in this tradition, has been widely accepted as the truth about antebellum life, in spite of its exaggerations and omissions. Antislavery fiction stressed the Negro's humanity, his wretchedness and rebelliousness. Though its champion was Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, America's most popular novel, antislavery fiction also suffered from the simplification of propaganda, concentrating on the idealized noble Christian, or tragic victims, too often quadroons or octoroons.

The stereotyping of the Negro in American literature, similar to that of the Irish in English literature and the Jew in the literature of the world, has been a handmaiden to social policy. The stereotypes that still prevail are the buffoon, the self-denying and self-belittling servant, the brute (a favorite creation during Reconstruction), the tragic mulatto, and the exotic primitive. All of these argue for a peculiar subhuman personality, and concurrently for a peculiar position in the social order. The loyal servant, for instance, is used to prove that the Negro is happy only "in his place," which is construed as menial service. The tragic mulatto, doomed because of the "warring bloods in his veins," is supposed to be a horrible example of the fruits of amalgamation.

Many white authors, however, did not fall into the easy habit of stereotyping. Though confronted by barriers to understanding, they tried honestly to get at the truth. Herman Melville, desiring to explore the "common continent of man," gave convincing portrayals of his Negro shipmates in *Moby Dick* and of the mutiny of Negroes on board a slave ship in *Benito Cereno*. George Washington Cable, Mark Twain, and Albion Tourgee, in the closing decades of the last century, revealed qualities in Negro characters that the propagandists had suppressed or never realized.

Modern realism in dealing with Negro life has advanced to a position of forthright honesty, from the early sociological fiction of T. S. Stribling, Clement Wood, E. C. L. Adams, and Du Bose Heyward to the penetration and understanding of Erskine Caldwell, William Faulkner, William March, and Hamilton Basso. Three recent novels,

The Darker Brother by Bucklin Moon, *Strange Fruit* by Lillian Smith, and Howard Fast's *Freedom Road* are remarkable for their social and psychological insight.

The larger amount of fiction about Negro life has been written by white authors. Some works, like those minor classics, the Uncle Remus tales of Joel Chandler Harris, have a great deal of local-color realism, and lately a few works show deeper awareness. White authors have won Pulitzer prizes interpreting the Negro and some, especially the purveyors of comedy to the popular magazines, have attained wealth and a sort of literary fame. A few years ago, publishers periodically advertised certain white authors as the one "who knows *the* Negro best." The white author's right to handle Negro life and character cannot be gainsaid; there should be no color line segregating an author's choice of material; and the honesty and understanding that several white authors have shown is a gain to American literature. Nevertheless, it is likely that America will turn more and more to Negro authors for the inside view, the more authentic understanding, of what it means to be a Negro in America.

The record of the Negro author is a century and a half old. It begins with what might be called "literary curiosities": Jupiter Hammon, writing religious poems in the manner of the Methodist hymns of his masters; Phillis Wheatley, writing abstractly in the manner of the neoclassic poets favored by her tutors; George Moses Horton, writing a sort of "mocking-bird" verse, while serving as a handyman at the University of North Carolina. They showed assimilability; for instance, Phillis Wheatley's metrical facility was amazing for a young woman but a few years arrived from Senegal. But they told us little of themselves or their people.

In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Negro authors, most of them self-taught, used literature as a weapon in the antislavery struggle. A few wrote poetry, but the majority preferred the propaganda forms of pamphleteering, journalism, oratory, and the fugitive slave narrative. Sincerity and urgency were their main virtues. Outstanding among this abolitionist literature are Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom*, a first-rate autobiography, and his justly famous orations. Samuel Ringgold War and Henry Highland Garnet were powerful orators, and William Wells Brown and Martin Delaney, in the midst of antislavery labors, wrote the first novels by Negroes.

Little other creative use of Negro life was made until the end of the nineteenth century, when Paul Laurence Dunbar pioneered in

poetry and Charles W. Chesnutt pioneered in fiction. Dunbar, as William Dean Howells said, was the first American Negro "to feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically." His poetry in standard English expresses the doubts and loneliness of his brief and unhappy life and his aspiration for his people. His greatest contribution is probably his dialect poetry in which with pathos and humor he rounded out more fully the portrait of the Negro peasant, whom most writers had left as a caricature. Compared with true folk poetry, Dunbar's portraiture smacks of the idyllic, with the harsh and tragic neglected. That his gentleness and charm won a popularity that forthright realism might not have secured, is partly borne out by the neglect of his contemporary, Charles W. Chesnutt. As truly an artist as Dunbar, Chesnutt wrote militant and uncompromising exposures where Dunbar wrote pastorals. His novels were answers to the melodramas of Thomas Nelson Page and Thomas Dixon, whose stock-in-trade was the obsequious Negro or the brute or the rapist. Chesnutt fought their fire with fire, but his work contains a great deal of skillful writing and sound social knowledge. In the present century W. E. B. Du Bois's creative writing, ranging from *The Souls of Black Folk* to *The Dark Princess*, and James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* have been packed with discussions and revelations of the absurdities and tragedies of the problem of race in America. Their works indicated trends to be continued by Walter White's *Fire in the Flint*, a forceful novel centered about lynching, and by Jessie Fauset, who depicted the lives of the Negro middle class and the phenomenon of "passing for white." James Weldon Johnson, by his valuable editing and essays, helped to awaken Negro writers to the wealth of folk material that lay ready at hand. In his most successful book of poems, *God's Trombones*, Johnson discarded minstrel dialect for a speech truer to folk idiom and cadence, and was rightly influential.

In the nineteen-twenties, Negro writers began to lose the old underestimation of folk material and turned to it with respect and fuller knowledge. Jean Toomer's *Cane*, a book of great beauty, captured the life of both backwoods Georgia and middle-class Washington. Langston Hughes, writing in the folk speech and sometimes the blues forms, expressed the hidden thoughts and characters of the small town and urban masses. Claude McKay, Rudolph Fisher, and George Schuyler caught the drama—satiric, comic, and tragic—of teeming Harlem, America's largest Negro metropolis. The poetry ranged from Claude McKay's ringing challenges to Countee Cullen's musical

lyrics, celebrating the newly discovered beauty of his people, or stating the dilemmas that the brown American faces.

These authors were in the vanguard of a literary movement to which in 1925 Alain Locke's *The New Negro* gave a name and a manifesto. Other sponsors were Charles S. Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, and Carl Van Vechten. Consonant with the triumphant realism in literature, this movement was noted for its rejection of sentimentalism and optimism, and for its frankness and self-reliance. It secured hearings for many Negro authors, acquainted America with the artistic potentialities of the Negro, and produced a great deal of valid work. There was some faddishness about the movement, too great isolation from the main body of Negro experience in favor of the glamour of Harlem, and an overuse of the atavistic theme of nostalgia for Africa. But it served as an entering wedge to the publishing world.

The depression years ended the New Negro movement as a movement, and ended whatever tower-of-ivory pretensions some of the artists may have held. From the thirties to the present, Negro authors have followed differing traditions, but by and large they have been socially responsible. Arna Bontemps has resurrected lost history in *Black Thunder*, a novel of slavery and revolt. Zora Neale Hurston has continued to harvest her native Florida for authentic folklore and fiction. Richard Wright, with his smashing stories of brutality and violence in the South or on Chicago's South Side, has brought new gifts of power, understanding, and protest. Roi Ottley and J. Saunders Redding have recently given new slants on Negro experience. Certain recent poets like Robert E. Hayden, M. Beaunorus Tolson, Frank Marshall Davis, and Margaret Walker speak out now with confidence and skill. There are extensive areas of Negro life and character still to be explored and charted, but Negro writers, though still few in number, seem to be developing the maturity necessary for the tasks.

Theater, Moving Pictures, and Radio

The presence of the Negro in America caused one unique American contribution to the popular theater: the black-faced minstrel show. Certainly no great dramatic development, the minstrel show was extremely popular, reflecting the tastes of the burly, fun-loving frontier. Historians trace the source of minstrelsy to the antics of plantation Negroes and find rudimentary realism in its first imitations. But minstrelsy soon degenerated into a ritual far from any truth to

Negro life, with stale jokes, distorted language, and exaggerated make-up. It should always be remembered that black-face minstrelsy was composed by white men, performed by white men, for the approval of white audiences. More than burnt cork and grease and huge red lips were necessary to make it Negro. Indeed, Negro performers were not acceptable in minstrelsy until after the Civil War. Even then, strangely enough, Negroes had to make use of the exaggerated make-up. They were not entertaining, otherwise.

On the legitimate stage, dramas made use of a few minor Negro characters, played by whites in burnt cork. The dramatization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the first theatrical success to make use of Negro life with any fullness. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ran its popular career for three decades before the idea struck a bold producer that maybe a Negro could be cast in the role of Uncle Tom. The performance of whites in black-face was an accepted tradition in American drama, only recently superseded. Daddy Rice, Dan Emmett, Joseph Jefferson, David Belasco, George M. Cohan, Al Jolson, and Eddie Cantor are a few of the noted American theatrical figures who have appeared in black-face.

Negro performers first entered the American theater as entertainers, not as actors. The early Negro minstrel companies copied the successful white companies, perhaps with some freshness added, but with little more basic truth to Negro life. Black-face minstrelsy, however, was not long favored by Negroes. Around the turn of the century, Negro shows were developed, keeping the core of drollery in black-face, but adding superior musical scores and good-looking chorus girls. J. Rosamond Johnson, Bob Cole, Will Marion Cook as composers; James Weldon Johnson, Alex Rogers and Paul Laurence Dunbar as librettists; and Ernest Hogan, George Walker and Bert Williams as comedians, established the Negro show. Distinctive in music and dancing, with genuine humor flashing at times above the dreary catering to popular taste, the shows afforded apprenticeship to several Negroes who have become well known theatrically. These shows led to better-known Broadway hits such as *Shuffle Along*, *Running Wild*, and Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds*, where nationally famous entertainers such as Flo Mills, Ethel Waters, Bojangles Robinson, and Josephine Baker first made their theatrical marks. The tradition of the Negro performer in song and dance shows is now firmly set in the American theater. *The Hot Mikado*, *The Swing Mikado*, *Swingin' The Dream* (a jazzed-up version of *Midsummer Night's Dream*) and the more recent *Carmen Jones* are in the long line of

spectacular extravaganzas that have brought to the theater the virtues of vigorous, spirited dancing and free, enthusiastic music.

The Negro actor has been less welcome on the legitimate stage than the singer and the dancer. Serious realistic drama of Negro life was introduced to the American theater only in 1917, when Ridgely Torrence produced two one-act plays, reminiscent of the Abbey Theatre plays in mood and feeling, but grounded in a real knowledge of Negro folkways. Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, though spectacle more than interpretation of realistic experience, still introduced a new type of Negro character, a tragic hero, not a comic servant, and types of experience never before dared on the stage. O'Neill's interest in the Negro was also shown in *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, an earnest, though controversial and unconvincing problem drama about intermarriage. Paul Green handled Southern folk life in several plays of which *In Abraham's Bosom* is the best for its searching honesty and presentation of a bitterly frustrated hero. The pastoral *Green Pastures*, by Marc Connelly, purports to be a dramatization of the Negro's conception of religion, and succeeds in being a winning portrait of the less uneasy aspects of Negro folk life. *Porgy and Bess*, derived from Du Bose Heyward's beautifully written novel of waterfront Charleston, proved to have such dramatic vitality that George and Ira Gershwin wrote the first American folk opera around its plot. Du Bose Heyward's *Mamba's Daughters* was also dramatized into a serious, moving drama. Social realism, instead of exoticism, marked *Never No More* by James Knox Miller, a grim anti-lynching play; *They Shall Not Die*, John Wexler's dramatization of the Scottsboro case; and *Stevedore* by Paul Peters and George Sklar, a militant drama of a frame-up and rioting in New Orleans, stressing the need for unity between white and black workers.

Negro playwrights have been scarce on Broadway. Considerable runs were achieved by Langston Hughes' *Mulatto*, a sardonic melodrama, and Hall Johnson's *Run, Little Chillun*, of which the virtues were musical and choreographic as much as dramatic, but which contained some scenes of great authenticity. Richard Wright and Paul Green's dramatization of Wright's best-selling *Native Son* certainly widened and deepened the characterization of Negroes in American drama.

Although the nineteenth-century tragic actor Ira Aldridge had to reach his triumphs abroad, Negro serious actors have emerged as plays calling for their abilities have braved Broadway. Prominent are Charles Gilpin, the first Emperor Jones; Paul Robeson, who has

shown that at last America will accept *Othello* with a Negro in the title role; Richard Harrison, the Lord of *Green Pastures*; Jack Carter, the Haitian Macbeth; Todd Duncan as Porgy; Canada Lee as Bigger Thomas, and Rex Ingram; Rose McLendon, Abbie Mitchell, Ethel Waters, Fredi Washington, Anne Brown, Edna Thomas, Etta Moten, Muriel Rahn, and Muriel Smith. The American Negro Theater's first-rate performance of Philip Yordan's *Anna Lucasta* (originally about a Polish family) interested producers so much that they brought the play from the cramped theater in Harlem to Broadway. The cast, led by Hilda Simms, a dramatic find, has been highly praised. The Negro playwright has not kept pace, since he lacks the theatrical apprenticeship necessary to learn techniques at first hand. The Federal Theater Project, the greatest opportunity afforded to the Negro playwright and technician, was unfortunately short-lived. Amateur groups such as Abram Hill's American Negro Theater and the Jeffiffe's Karamu Players in Cleveland, seem to offer him now his best openings, together with college dramatics, a tributary theater with which such playwrights as Randolph Edmonds and Owen Dodson are working.

A far more popular medium, the motion pictures, has lagged behind the legitimate drama, and even farther behind fiction in realism about Negro life. Kenneth MacPherson blames this lag on the white man's determination "to portray the Negro as he likes to see him, no matter how benevolently. Benevolence . . . sugar-coats much that is not, so to speak, edible."²⁷ But there has been malevolence as well. The first large use of Negroes in motion pictures was in *The Birth of a Nation*, a picture historic in its technical advances but, in the words of Francis Hackett, "cunningly calculated . . . to provoke hatred and contempt for the Negro." Another "colossal" picture, *Gone With the Wind*, continued, also with cunning, to confine Negro characters to venality, ignorance, brutality, clownishness, or obsequiousness.

Benevolent condescension, however, rather than ill will, has been Hollywood's attitude to the American Negro. The favorite Negro actors have been the amusing gamins, Sunshine Sammy and Farina; the loyal servants most often played by Hattie McDaniel, Louise Beavers, and Clarence Muse; the tapdancer Bill Robinson; and such comics as Stepin Fetchit, Rochester, and Butterfly McQueen. When studios have ventured into ambitious productions of Negro life, they

²⁷ Kenneth MacPherson, "As Is," *Close-Up* (London), V, No. 2 (August, 1929), p. 87.

have not progressed far from these stereotypes. *Hearts of Dixie* and *Hallelujah* had something of local-color realism, but maintained most of the old characterization. *Imitation of Life* aimed at tears rather than laughter, but the central characters were the time-worn loyal mammy and her tragic octoroon daughter. None of these "all-Negro" pictures deepened the understanding of Negro life. Nor did the well-acted, well-directed, splendidly photographed motion pictures filmed from stage successes, such as *Show Boat*, *The Emperor Jones*, and *The Green Pastures*. Negro film companies, generally capitalized by white producers, added nothing, as almost always they ineptly imitated Hollywood successes, going so far as to produce gangster films with brown-skin Dillingers and Capones, and transplanting Harlem to the prairie for brown-skin Westerners.

Lately, partly stimulated by the war demand for democracy, pressure from such figures as Walter White, Wendell Willkie, and several Hollywood writers has been exerted to bring about a treatment of Negro life that squares more with the truth. Producers have answered this chiefly by making superior musical shows, availing themselves of the vast amount of song and dance talent. *Cabin in the Sky* with Ethel Waters, Rochester, and Lena Horne; *Stormy Weather* with Lena Horne, Bill Robinson, "Fats" Waller, Cab Calloway, Katherine Dunham and her dancers, are first-rate musical shows. But they naturally bear little relevancy to the main currents of Negro experience in America. *Tales of Manhattan* attempted to include a picture of share-cropping poverty, but in spite of the presence of Ethel Waters and Paul Robeson it remained unconvincing. One of the best pictures for dignified respect for its material is *The Negro Soldier*, a propaganda film made by the Army to illustrate the Negro's long career of military service and his stake in World War II.

Perhaps not so curiously, the most truthful representations of Negroes are to be found in bit parts, almost hidden. In *They Won't Forget*, a story depicting the lynching of a white Northerner (based on the Leo Frank case), a Negro janitor is submitted to the third degree. A historian of the motion pictures calls this "one of the few instances in American films in which the fear and oppression that fills the life of the Negro is strikingly told,"²⁸ and another critic calls this character "probably the most realistic Negro . . . that the screen has ever seen."²⁹ Other memorable characters are the Negro doctor

²⁸ Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film*, p. 486. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939.

²⁹ Margaret Thorp, *America at the Movies*, p. 131. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939.

in *Arrowsmith*, the old stable hand in *Of Mice and Men*, the old Negro in *The Ox-Bow Incident* (both played admirably by Leigh Whipper), and the young student in *In This Our Life*. Negro participants in the fight against nazism in such pictures as *Bataan* and *Sahara* have been shown with dignity and courage, and *Lifeboat* opposed a few of the stereotypes. But it must be admitted that so far realism in the motion pictures has come in small packages.

A large number of the seventeen thousand motion pictures of America are in the South. The movie magnates are sedulous about not offending Southern moviegoers. *Variety* Magazine has recently revealed that in the South films are doctored to prevent giving offense, and sequences showing Negroes in other than the acceptable roles are excised. Moreover, since in Hollywood the producers seem to believe that their audiences want "escape" pictures, any presentation of social realism is exceptional, to be found only in such unusual pictures as *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, *Fury*, and *The Grapes of Wrath*. It is significant that although these show respectively the tragedies of the convict system, lynching, and the migration of impoverished sharecroppers, tragedies that certainly loom large in Negro life, their protagonists are white characters. It is hardly likely that a medium so sensitive to popular taste, so hemmed in by its code, should handle the shockingly brutal aspects of Negro life in America. But there is still a great deal of Negro life in America that could be handled with serious respect. So far, in the main, motion pictures (with the great power of which they are capable) have merely perpetuated and re-enforced the stereotypes of Negro character.

Like the motion picture, radio is responsive to social pressure. For over a score of years, "Amos 'n Andy," a black-face serial, continuing the minstrel tradition with some humanizing, has reaped the highest popularity and financial rewards, illustrating how remunerative the impersonation of Negroes by whites can be in American entertainment. It is unlikely that any Negro pair, though more authentic in humor and language, could equal or even rival their drawing power. Other black-face serials like the "Johnson Family" have also prospered. But the place filled in radio by real Negroes is exceedingly modest.

The best-known Negroes in radio are probably the comedians Rochester of Jack Benny's show, Eddie Green of "Duffy's Tavern," and Butterfly McQueen. The numerous serials introduce a Negro character only rarely and then almost entirely in stereotyped fashion. There were a few short-lived Negro programs, such as Juan

Fernandez's "John Henry: Black River Giant," Richard Huey's "Sheep and Goats," and John Kirby's "Flow Gently Sweet Rhythm," all stressing music rather than drama. For Negro characters in action, Amos and Andy seem to fill the needs of radio.

Although radio makes such extensive use of popular music, Negro bands "are almost never to be encountered in a prominent hotel (where they can benefit from a national hookup) and never on a commercial radio program."³⁰ The vast sums from national advertisers are denied to Negro bands, regardless of their reputations. "Fats" Waller, the Mills Brothers, Louis Armstrong, Ethel Waters, and John Kirby have had commercial contracts, but did not hold them long, allegedly in the case of several because of protest from the South. Negro jazzmen play as guest artists on programs such as "Lower Basin Street," "Spotlight Bands," and "Your Million Dollar Band." Records by Negro bands may be numerous on the turntables of studio programs, but Negro musicians in the flesh are few and far between. Only after strenuous efforts were John Hammond and Raymond Scott able to get studio employment for Scott's mixed band of Negro and white all-star jazzmen.

Occasionally Negro studio programs, the Southernaires Quartette most notably, are used as sustaining features (those hired by broadcasting companies to fill unbought time on the schedule). More often to be found is a Negro church service, of which the best known nationally is "Wings Over Jordan," which consists of spiritual singing and a speech on race progress. Shouting evangelical churches frequently get time on the air, and several Negro preachers are well advertised because of their radio connections. Amateur shows and Major Bowes occasionally discover Negro talent. College choirs and those of Hall Johnson and Eva Jessye are often heard on the air. Paul Robeson, Dorothy Maynor, Marian Anderson and a few other concert artists have been guests on hours devoted to serious music. Lena Horne has recently been featured in *Suspense*, a mystery drama; her role had no bearing on Negro life; she was invited as an actress. But seldom if ever has an outstanding Negro singer, actor, or instrumentalist been contracted to perform regularly on a program.

The radio taboo on discussing the Negro's participation in American democracy is no longer so rigorous as when Joel E. Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was prevented from uttering such words as lynching, race

³⁰ Kolodin, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

riot, and segregation over the air. During the ordeal through which democracy is passing, such forensic programs as "the University of Chicago Round Table," "the People's Platform," and "Town Hall" have broadcast serious and forthright comment on the Negro in America. Occasionally the armed services of Negroes receive attention. Educational programs have sponsored radio dramatization of successful Negroes such as George Washington Carver. "Freedom's People," sponsored by the United States Office of Education, proved that a good part of America was willing to listen to a well-told dignified narrative of the Negro's part in American history.

Nevertheless, the place of the Negro in radio may be summarized thus: in the forums he is recognized as a problem, and in the historic chronicles as a hero; in the fields of entertainment and serious art, he is a welcome guest, but in the industry of radio, where the money is made, he is almost a stranger.

Art

The story of the Negro in American art parallels that of the Negro in literature. As in literature, the first American paintings included an occasional Negro in the background, often, however, portrayed with dignity. In the nineteenth century the popular minstrel tradition extended to the graphic arts, and grinning, big-lipped Sambo and Rastus, beaming mammies, or ludicrous dandies became the stock-in-trade. The height of this treatment is to be found in the Currier and Ives series of life in Darktown, grotesque forerunners of the Negroes in contemporary comic strips. The plantation tradition in art was represented by E. W. Kemble, a prolific illustrator who delighted in long-shanked, splay-footed clowns and buxom viragoes, and by E. B. Frost and Howard Weeden, who idealized the old uncles and aunties of the slave days. Eastman Johnson's genre studies, such as "My Old Kentucky Home," offset ridicule and nostalgia with something of sentimental realism. W. S. Mount's few Negroes are painted with sincerity.

Winslow Homer's honest, uncondescending, and artistically satisfying pictures indicated a new approach to the Negro as subject. His insight and technical skill have been continued by the realists of the twentieth century. The preference of the "Ash-Can" school of painters led them naturally "across the tracks" to Negro slums or gay, loud streets, to prize-fighting rings, dance-halls, country churches, levees, steamboats, and sharecroppers' cabins. George Bellows, Thomas Benton, John Stewart Curry, and James Chapin are

but a few of the noted white artists of our time who in masterful paintings have caught authentic glimpses of Negro life. During the New Negro movement, Weinold Reiss produced a great deal of realistic, sympathetic portraiture of Negro subjects, and Miguel Covarrubias became famous for stylized but convincing caricatures of the more exciting aspects of Harlem. The lure of the Negro as subject is still strong; several white artists of the South, for instance, have devoted themselves solely to painting Negroes. Incidentally it might be said that in the magazines devoted to the camera, photographs of Negroes are numerous and authentic, obeying the demands of art and not of conventional detraction. Margaret Bourke White and Doris Ulmann are two photographers who evince artistic respect toward such material.

If the Negro as subject for some of its best paintings has enriched American art, so has the Negro as artist. His story runs parallel, again, to the story of the Negro writer. There is this difference: whereas there was no tradition of written literature in West Africa, there was a long, successful tradition of sculpture, weaving, and pottery. The rediscovery and adaptation of this tradition was one of the historic events of modern art. But this tradition—unlike the other vigorous African arts of music and the dance—was sharply cut across. Alain Locke explains it as follows: ⁸¹

[Slavery] severed this bruised trunk nerve of the Negro's technical skill and manual dexterity. . . . The hardships of cotton and rice-field labor . . . reduced the typical Negro hand to a gnarled stump, incapable of fine craftsmanship even if materials, patterns and artistic incentives had been available.

Even as slave craftsmen, however, Negroes turned out much work that has added to the beauty of America. Besides occasional engravers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, and cabinetmakers whom scholars have discovered, it is likely that highly skilled slave artisans produced much of the ornamental ironwork, the delicate traceries of gates, grills, balconies, and lamp-brackets of old Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans, and the finely carved cabinets and mantels and graceful stairways of southern mansions.⁸²

At the end of the eighteenth century, there were at least three Negro painters. Most is known about Joshua Johnston, slave in

⁸¹ Alain Locke, *Negro Art, Past and Present*, p. 2 f. Washington, D. C.: Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936.

⁸² James Porter, *Modern Negro Art*, Chapter 1, *passim*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1943.

Baltimore, whose several portraits of his master's friends are crudely executed but bear witness to a creative urge. Among the early artists should be mentioned Patrick Reason, a free Negro of New York, whose portraits and engravings were dedicated to the cause of abolition. Before the Civil War, a fairly high level of achievement was reached by Robert S. Duncanson, of Cincinnati, Edward M. Bannister, one of the founders of what became the Rhode Island School of Design, and Edmonia Lewis, a sculptress who spent much of her creative career abroad.

The advance of the Negro artist toward technical proficiency and originality was better exemplified by Henry O. Tanner. Piqued by the indifference that all American artists faced in the Gilded Age, and embittered by the Negro's experience here, Tanner was one of the period's numerous artists-in-exile. His early genre studies of Negro characters such as "The Banjo Player" were laid aside in his new home, and soon he was painting Breton peasants instead. He won acclaim and many prizes for his paintings of religious subjects, such as "Daniel in the Lion's Den" and "Resurrection of Lazarus." His bent toward mysticism and escapism increased in his declining years, while American painting moved in the direction of realism. Nevertheless, he was considered in Paris to be the "dean of American painters" and his technical virtuosity and poetic feeling have always been recognized.

Tanner was immediately followed by several artists, academically well trained, who shared his escapist reaction. In the mid-twenties, however, the New Negro movement arose, breaking with the conventional and escapist. Coinciding with America's importation of the European discovery of African art, and with the new realism toward Negro subjects practiced by several of the best American painters, this movement stressed what was considered to be "typically racial." Awards and exhibitions, especially by the Harmon Foundation, stimulated Negro painters. The good work begun by the New Negro movement was continued and given a broader social basis in the thirties by the Federal Arts Project, which exerted such a valuable force on American culture in general. A list of the numerous artists who achieved in these flourishing decades would be too long for inclusion. Aaron Douglass, Archibald Motley, Malvina Gray Johnson, Hale Woodruff, and Jacob Lawrence among the painters should be mentioned, however, and Richmond Barthé, Sargent Johnson, and Augusta Savage among the sculptors. Horace Pippin has attracted national attention as a primitive painter. In popular graphic art,

E. Simms Campbell is one of America's most widely known cartoonists, but he is a book illustrator and serious painter as well.

It is a long way from some of the carved canes and animals, relics of the half-remembered ancestral tradition of wood carving still to be found in isolated coastal Georgia, to the Negro's contemporary paintings and sculpture executed in modernist French, Mexican, and American traditions. Except as diffused through these traditions, African art has not been heavily, or centrally, influential. As in literature and music, there is no American Negro school of artists. Negro artists, like their white brothers, struggle to develop their individual powers within congenial traditions. Thanks to such brave starts as the New Negro movement and the Federal Arts Project they no longer work in loneliness. And they are no longer exceptional curiosities. Their distinction in art will come not from a "racial" technique, but from deeper insight into Negro life and character which for some time is likely to be the subject matter that most of them will explore. If any surpass their traditions and create a unique style in such a manner that they influence other painters, the achievement will be that of individual American artists. In the meanwhile, they are interpreting the world they know best with freshness and enthusiasm. To study a few works of art by Negroes, taken at random, such as Aaron Douglass' "Africanized" murals of Negro history; Motley's "Chicken Shack"; Hale Woodruff's "Shanty-town," and his Amistad murals recreating a slave mutiny; James Lesesne Wells' "The Wanderers"; Richmond Barthé's figures of Harlem dancers, shoe-shine boy and prize-fighter; Augusta Savage's "Realization"; Elizabeth Catlett's "Negro Mother and Child"; Charles Alston's murals at the Harlem Hospital; and Jacob Lawrence's somberly revelatory panorama of the migration, will reveal diversity in style, but will certainly add to deeper awareness of the meaning of Negro life.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Contributions of Immigrant Minorities

FRANCIS J. BROWN

IT IS a curious anomaly of American life that, despite the fact that the only "natives" are the American Indians, periodic waves of antagonism toward the immigrant sweep across the land. Such an attitude had developed by the end of the eighteenth century to such a degree that Saint John de Crevecoeur in *Letters from an American Farmer* rose to the defense of the immigrant in 1782 by thus answering his own query: "Whence came all these people? They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, German, French, Dutch and Swedes. . . . The American is either a European or the descendant of a European." Were the same question asked today, the answer would remain unchanged, save for the fact that the list would be extended to include every country of the world, with Europeans predominating. Some trace their origin here to the *Mayflower*, others to the steerage; but all lead back to some ocean-faring craft.

What have these "immigrants" brought with them? In Part II, emphasis has been placed upon their outstanding achievements. In music, our great orchestras are made up of brasses from Germany; strings from Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Russia; woodwinds from France and Italy, plus the instrumentalists trained in America. They are conducted by those whose very names indicate the country of their origin. Our opera companies combine the voices of all Europe with those comparatively few who are not foreign-born Americans. In the field of art are great painters and sculptors whose works adorn our galleries or stand in our public squares as permanent testimonials of the gifts of these "new Americans." In science are the names of those whose contributions through patient laboratory research have prolonged our span of life and administer to every aspect of our daily lives in both work and pleasure. They are teaching in our schools and colleges, directing construction on huge

engineering contracts, and serving as judges, mayors, governors, and legislators.

Nor is their contribution only one of the present. These "new" citizens have led our military campaigns, signed the Declaration of Independence, organized our financial interests, and initiated huge industries. Certainly here is a debt which can be repaid not by mere tolerance but by a recognition of equality.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to repeat or even to summarize these more spectacular achievements. Rather it is the purpose to turn our attention to two other areas in which the contributions of the immigrant have been equally significant but less evident—one is that of labor, the other, that of customs and folkways.

From the time the first comers hewed the forests and reared their log cabins on our coasts, each new group has pushed on westward, clearing the wilderness ahead of them. They have felled trees, drained swamps, prepared resistant soil for cultivation. They have leveled the roadbeds, laid the ties, and driven the spikes to the narrow bands of steel that linked the new West with the developing industries of the East. They have bored into the bowels of the earth to bring forth its coal and its minerals, or swayed precariously on steel girders to erect our modern cliff dwellings and huge factories. The voices from many lands have merged into the roar of whirling cogs, flying shuttles, and clanging levers. They have swarmed on the docks to unload ships, in the freight yards to transfer the produce of the millions of hands of their countrymen in the new land, and have sold it over the counter in thousands of shops and stores. The younger women have taken dictation, operated typewriters, and filed papers; the older women and even very young children have operated machines, or served long hours in sweatshops, or on piece-work in the dim light of their own tenements. Without these immigrants, the vast growth of American industry in the last century probably could not have been achieved.

Hands? Yes, but more than hands—bodies to feel weary, minds to be dulled or stimulated by the new environment. They have reared families and have made untold sacrifices that each second generation shall have the opportunities of an education. And what has been their reward? The answer is forcefully presented by Feldman:¹

Ever since the founding of this country the immigrant races have had to bear the accumulation of all of the abuse that those who had arrived

¹ Herman Feldman, *Racial Factors in American Industry*, Chapter VII, pp. 135-137. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. Quoted by permission.

before could heap upon them. . . . The public press, as well, has used its opportunities to take a fling at the newcomers. No nation was exempt, not even the English. . . . The established tradition has been that newcomers start at the bottom with unskilled work, no matter what their qualifications for better jobs might be. . . . The hardest, dirtiest and poorest-paying work has been passed over to "freshmen" (new groups of immigrants) who have been so insistent upon entering the American institution.

Now that the flow of immigration has been stemmed, and no new "freshmen" enter to take the place of those who seek to move to a higher economic and social plane, what will be our attitude toward them and their children of the second generation? There is little doubt, as emphasized in Part II, that the "old" immigrants have molded the composite culture of American life. The problem rests with the more recent arrivals—those who are still at the lowest end of the industrial scale. Two alternatives face America. One is to retain the present attitude of discrimination and social isolation, justifying such action by ascribing inferiority and undesirable traits to these new arrivals and to their descendants. This was the attitude enhanced by the depression and its consequent economic competition. With the substitution of the electric eye, the automatic file, and the thousand other means of substituting the machine for the repetitive acts of human hands, competition increased during the thirties and with it a lowering of economic standards for the members of many minority groups in spite of the government's efforts to provide federal works and projects.

The second World War brought a momentary period of full employment, of improved housing for war workers, and enormous expansion of service agencies. Negroes and other groups moved into jobs and status from which they had been previously barred. The question may be seriously asked, however, whether this temporary situation, resulting from patriotic fervor and war employment, has affected basic attitudes. One may question whether the salient of advance may not have been pushed forward beyond its essential flanking support—a changed public opinion. Has the situation been accepted as a war emergency, and, with the cessation of hostilities and the inevitable return of competitive employment, will former discrimination be re-established? It is earnestly hoped that this will not be true, and certainly all of the gains will not be lost; but if we realistically face facts, we must recognize that war creates an artificial situation, that it may not affect basic attitudes, and that there is grave

danger of assuming a false sense of progress toward achieving the goal of freedom and equality.

The other alternative is implied in much of the material presented in Part II, the development of a fine sense of appreciation of all that each group has contributed to the material advancement of America, and an educational program that will give to each the right to prepare for and to achieve the best of which he as an individual is capable, without regard for race or nationality. This will not come within the lifetime of the present generation, but much can be done to hasten its accomplishment.

The other major contribution of the immigrants is in the intangible field of common customs: language, dress, folk dances and folk music, the stories of their own heroic past—all that adds to the zest and color of life. Wherever the individual works, he carries with him the traditions, the folkways, the wisdom based upon the long experience of his homeland. These are his heritage; they are the roots which feed his growth in American soil. Upon these and the manna he receives in the new land, he builds his spiritual life.

Only one illustration can be given—the folk dance. It is Sunday afternoon. Fifty thousand men, women, and children from the polyglot metropolis that is New York, sit on the grass in the natural amphitheater of “the Meadows” in Prospect Park. A Swiss horn rings through the air, the crowd stirs, the band plays a medley of folk tunes and the “parade of nations” begins. What a gay procession it is—the brilliant shawls and long, ruffled skirts of Spain; the high red boots, the black full-length and form-fitting coats of the Russian; the short and beautifully embroidered jackets, with even more ornate bodices, of the Ukraine; the wooden shoe, loose, flowing skirts and turned-up sun-bonnet hats of the Dutch lassies; the tight-fitting pants, sleeveless and gaily colored vests, and feather-bedecked hats of the Swiss; the Scottish laddies with their plaid kilts and tasselled belts and hats, emitting the (to us) discordant notes from their bag-pipes glistening in the sun; and the snow-white loose-fitting suits and flowing dresses of Greece, easily transporting us to the days of ancient Athens. There are many more—from the Scandinavian countries, from Poland, from Belgium, from Italy. Even an American folk group is represented, dressed in overalls and gay-colored gingham.

The groups scatter in little clusters of color on the grass. The band strikes up a folk tune, the Swedish group moves into the open area, dancing the *Hambo* with all the abandon of similar groups in

the native village of Sweden. They finish, the music changes, and the Ukrainians take their places with the intricate steps of the *Chumok*, *Katerina*, and the *Hayevka*. The Spanish groups follow with the *Jota* and *Valenciana*; and so the program continues. Several times during the afternoon the entire company takes part in the dance of one country, and, as the gay costumes whirl in and out, one seems to be looking into a rapidly revolving kaleidoscope.

This Sunday program and the many evening meetings of individual folk-dance groups held regularly, not only in New York but in many cities and small communities throughout the United States, both demonstrate the vitality of the cultural heritage of these immigrant groups and point the direction in which we must go. Too long have we spurned this old-world culture and vauntingly boasted of our own, which is itself but the blending of many cultures. Too often our attitude and the occasional but telling remarks concerning "bo-hunks," "wops," "kikes," and "greasers" have made them ashamed of their past, given the older generation a feeling of inferiority, and made the second generation seek to break from their parental backgrounds even to the Anglicizing of their names.

The changes resulting from war have been discussed previously, but war has also brought the intensification of concern for the country of origin and the "folk movement" has been maintained and strengthened among many minority groups as a result.

The failure of assimilation leaves only one other recourse if we are to meet the challenge of our minority groups—the acceptance of cultural democracy in America. Each group has perpetuated some elements of its own culture, but, as frequently pointed out in previous chapters, only as an escape from the superior attitude of those who had been longer in our land. The acceptance of the principle of cultural democracy implies a change of attitude more than of practice. Rather than as an "escape," this rich cultural heritage must be recognized for its true worth, not alone by the members of its own group but by all of us—"old" and "new" Americans alike.

It is easier to state the problem and indicate the general direction of the solution than to chart the specific course. Some indications of the route are possible, however, for definite beginnings have already been made. Such organizations of nationals as the folk-dance groups, folk choruses, and all others which consciously seek to keep for their members the most cherished of their traditions, should receive the wholehearted support of every American citizen. Their goal is well formulated in the statement of purpose of the Rumanian

culture organization given earlier in this volume (page 228) and of a national society of Greek immigrants:

The choicest attributes of Hellenism will be joined with the choicest attributes of Americanism, out of which the highest type of American citizens will grow. Our goal is to harmonize, foster, and immortalize the thought, scope, and precepts of Hellas, leader of antiquity, and America, the leader of modern times.

Another type of activity is that so ably described by Eaton—the development of exhibits of immigrant gifts to American life. In his book of this title ² he quotes the purpose of one such organization, the one described having been organized by the Division of Recreation of Cleveland:

1. To bring to a more general community consciousness the many diversified talents in our nationality groups.
2. To bring a definite recognition of the remarkable work being done within the groups for the cultural advancement of each group.
3. To give opportunity before greater audiences and thus to the city for the many excellent works of the groups.
4. To bring encouragement to the groups to continue their programme of cultural and health interests and to increase the participation in their activities through this programme of encouragement.
5. To encourage the younger generations to take added pride in their own racial origin, traditions, culture, and history.
6. To strengthen the spirit of each group to contribute their arts, skills, lore, traditions, and the sterling qualities of their character to American life.
7. To lend color to American life through the perpetuation in American life of their own arts and skills.
8. To build a coöperative spirit of understanding toward the city and civic interests.
9. To bring recognition of the essential humaneness of each group to all others by coöperative enterprises.
10. To increase the prestige of the groups and their leaders so that added confidence may be gained, looking toward a free, competent, and able participation in all civic and cultural interests.

Actually to achieve cultural democracy, the whole problem of minorities must be approached from the point of view of modifying basic attitudes. The first step, but only the first step, is knowledge of and appreciation for the contribution of each group.³ Sharing

² Allen H. Eaton, *Immigrant Gifts to American Life*, p. 97. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932.

³ Utilizing the same name as the radio program described earlier, "Americans All—Immigrants All," efforts are being made to organize a national association and establish local chapters.

of the normal experiences and responsibilities of community life is essential to the development of a truly democratic way of life for all. Through such activities the individual and the group contribute to the common pattern, yet retain such cultural differentiation as the years may prove desirable. The specific implications of this approach have been frequently pointed out above, and its educational implications are given throughout Part V.

The crux of our social problems during the next twenty years lies very definitely in this increasing proportion of our population—the second and third generations of our foreign born. (See Table VI, page 640.) Some institutions or foundations have sought to cultivate this cultural heritage in the younger generation, but thus far no far-reaching program or national policy has been developed. Conventions and commissions discuss problems of crime; millions are spent for housing and other projects in themselves important; but fundamentally our social problems are the product of attitude. Not that we should do less in these other fields, but that we must do more in the development of wholesome attitudes and sympathetic understanding, bridging the gap between the past of the old world and the future of the new.

As the years progress, new needs will arise and new ways must be found to meet them. For the present, we must recognize that assimilation has failed—that we have received more than we have given and that, in some respects at least, these gifts laid on the altar of America by each group of new arrivals represent a richer, fuller heritage than our short span of rapid economic expansion has made it possible for us to give to them. *E Pluribus Unum* must be more than a phrase on our coins; it is a symbol of the one factor that has contributed most to our total development—we have been and are “one out of many.” May it not be that, in our zeal to make the many “one,” we have given undue emphasis to the oneness of American life and culture and have failed to recognize or appreciate adequately the contributions of the “many”?

CHAPTER XXXV

Future Steps Toward Cultural Democracy

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

MOST Americans, even today, do not realize that our foreign-born citizens, their first-generation descendants, and the aliens legally here, total approximately one third of our whole population. In fact, for the past two decades there has been little, if any, attention paid the problems of America's minorities, including the Negro. It was tacitly assumed that the problem was settled by the 1921 law which restricted immigration on a national quota basis. Thereafter, scarcely any interest was displayed in the fact, so often proclaimed by the sociologist, that many of our problems are the result of the "marginal character" of one third of our population. And we chose, deliberately, to ignore the fact that approximately every tenth person among American youth is of the Negro race.

The problem has by no means been solved and has cost us much in maladjustment, crime, poverty, social conflicts, and disorganizations because of our indifference and the failure of the "melting-pot" theory. Fortunately, in recent years a new theory of the adjustment of minority groups to the dominant civilization in America has been emerging, that of cultural pluralism. The full implications of this theory and the realization of a cultural democracy will not be achieved for many years, but certain immediate steps can be taken to translate this theory into practice.

The need for the rewriting of American history. The tendency to assume that American culture is the culture of the old-American, Anglo-Saxon group is perpetuated by the fact that historical studies and history textbooks continue to be written primarily from the standpoint of the Anglo-Saxon myth.¹ Most of it is based on the

¹ Joseph S. Roucek and others, "Summary of the Discussion," of "Cultural Groups in the United States," by Caroline F. Ware, pp. 62-73, and "Approaches to the Study of Nationality Groups in the United States," by Maurice R. Davie and others, pp. 74-86, in Caroline F. Ware, Ed., *The Cultural Approach to History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

ideology emphasizing the Anglo-Saxon and Puritanical impress on our civilization. We acknowledge, of course, that the United States arose from the thirteen colonies that revolted against England. But those colonies covered only a small portion of the present territory of the country and included also Dutch and Swedish settlements. Since 1783, the United States has grown mostly by the acquisition of the French, Spanish, Mexican, and Indian territories. Even if no immigrant had reached our shores since the formation of the United States, our country would still be far from having a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon population. Just the contrary is the fact. About thirty-eight million immigrants have landed here since 1820. To this conglomeration of nationalities must be added the twelve million Negroes, who have no Anglo-Saxon or European background and who are of a different race.

This new history should show how the original Anglo-American culture has been modified by the continued impacts of the cultures of the minority groups, conditioned, in turn, by the geographical and social factors in America and by the distance of this country from the original habitat of the immigrants.² More and more researches ought to be available on the role played by these minorities in American life, prepared especially by the descendants from these minority groups able to read the languages of the smaller and less-known nations.

In fact, both Europe and America offer here enormous possibilities for research. Emigration has been connected with as many phases of European life as has immigration of American life, as, for example, the return of European migrations after 1893 and 1907, when it was easier for the immigrant to obtain land in Italy than in America. In this country, we know very little about the effects of the American scene upon the individual—his health, the first steps in the awareness of being "different," the changes in principles and morals, the adopta-

² Joseph S. Roucek, "Future Steps in Cultural Pluralism," pp. 499-504, in "Culture Conflicts and Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XII, No. 8 (April, 1939), edited by Roucek; Marcus Lee Hansen, *Immigration: A Field for Research*, New York: Common Council for American Unity, 1941 (reprinted from *Common Ground*, Autumn, 1941); Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *What Then Is the American, This New Man?* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943 (reprinted from the *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (January, 1943), pp. 225-244); Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944. T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization; The Middle Colonies*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938, is the best general interpretation of the non-English contributions to colonial culture; M. L. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940; T. T. McAvoy, "The Catholic Minority in American History," *Review of Politics*, IV (January, 1942), pp. 107-109.

tion of new interests and the disappearance of the old ones, and the like. Biographies, reminiscences and letters, acute observations made by travelers and other reports represent material which still hides unappreciated historical treasures. Community activities also demand research in this respect. What amusements, festivals, commercial and social habits prevailed? What traits did the immigrant community continue after staying in this country for a while? What was the impact of various European wars on the social processes in the communities made up of first and second generations from participating countries? How and why did foreign languages and customs remain or disappear? And the whole question of the development of immigrant institutions, how they thrived in the American atmosphere, and how they competed with the native institutions is vital to our understanding of America. For example, it would be well to know more about the Portuguese bands, Welsh *eisteddfods*, German *Turnvereins*, Czech and Slav *Sokols*, and Polish *falcons*. How did the religious influence sustain or oppose the tendencies of the immigrant to Americanize?

There is also the problem of what immigration as a whole, or any national stock, has contributed to American culture. It is true that many intellectuals among the newcomers have been the bearers of a high civilization, and that they and their descendants have made many and distinctive contributions. Thus we have a distinguished list of statesmen, soldiers, poets, novelists, engineers, educators, and motion picture stars on the roster of these contributors. But the social aspects of this problem have been almost entirely neglected. What was it that made these distinguished individuals stand out in the American environment, and what was it that handicapped others in achieving greatness? How did the institutions of the immigrant contribute collectively to America's greatness? What have the representatives of these immigrant groups in politics accomplished on behalf of their racial stock and for America? Did the immigrant theatrical and other entertainments leave any impression upon the American stage? What scientific, literary, artistic, or musical causes have been championed by the immigrant groups? What literature did the immigrants beget, and what characteristic traits of American literature derive from such origins?

Even an initial step of utilizing such information will require specialists familiar with the language of the group under investigation and able to use the wide-spread foreign-language press and publications.

The need for the preservation of disappearing materials. All of these immigrant groups have brought with them their folkways, legends, folklore, and folk tales, folk music, games, dances, rituals, and all forms of folk art. Some of it has been lost, some of it has been preserved, and most of it has been adapted to American conditions. But hardly anything has been done to preserve, classify, and describe these marginal cultures which are inextricably interwoven with our American history.

Here we have a culture common to all peoples, the knowledge of which can go a long way in overriding national animosities. During the last two decades, many European countries have made some official move and given some official government help toward the preservation and the presentation of these traditional values. America has not yet followed these examples. It is true that nearly every minority group in the United States has aimed to leave memorials of its life and development in the form of writings, printed matter, and historical relics.³ But, in spite of the superabundance of this material today, our American institutions have not even begun to develop systematically and on a long-range basis such archival, library, and museum collections. Such treasures may be had today for the mere asking, but they may not be available tomorrow, simply because they are disappearing and are being destroyed in proportion as the older generations are dying out and the succeeding generations are "Americanizing" themselves. Much could be learned in this respect from the policies developed by such institutions as the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archive and the Museum of Chicago, whose purpose is "to collect and preserve all that pertains to the history of the Poles in the United States of America," or the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature, and Science of Minneapolis, or the Pan-American Archives, or Sohngaardsholm, Aalborg (Denmark), or the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.⁴

Unfortunately, only a few such minority groups have been massing painstakingly and scientifically such archival material. To be at all comprehensive it should include books, magazines, pamphlets, almanacs, files of newspapers and magazines published by our minority groups in English or in their respective languages, reports of immi-

³ See Mieszyslaw Haiman, *Problems of Polish American History Writing*. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943. An excellent survey of the efforts of various immigrant organizations to preserve their heritages.

⁴ Haiman, *op. cit.*; Felix Reichmann, "The Subject Union Catalogue, 'Americana Germanica,'" *School and Society*, LVIII (November 6, 1943), pp. 372-374.

grant societies and organizations, portraits of minority pioneers and eminent persons, photographs and pictures illustrating their life in America, autographs and manuscripts, maps, medals, and badges.

Both government and nongovernment agencies and institutions should have enough vision to gather such a storehouse of information and make it available to our social scientists. No comprehensive understanding of the United States can be acquired without a thorough acquaintance with the past and the present conditions of all our racial and national minorities, based on patient research in such documents, now scattered and abandoned in "national homes," churches, and attics and cellars of private homes.

The need for popularization. Not only is there a definite need to gather and to evaluate such material. Even more, there is the future task of the social scientist to popularize the findings connected with the history of America's immigrants in the United States and abroad by incorporating them in textbooks and other books and pamphlets. This applies especially to our national minorities known as "new" immigrants which, although it is seldom known, also date their first arrivals from pre-Revolutionary days. A significant effort to achieve this purpose is the "Peoples of America Series" of volumes under the general editorship of Louis Adamic.

The school especially must take the lead in bringing about a greater appreciation and knowledge of our minority cultures. Even children, inspired by a teacher, could help to gather the immigrant heritages in the local community and leave them in a secure place (whether that be the local schoolhouse or the local museum). By so doing, they would also learn to appreciate the historical richness of their native community.

As Louis Adamic has pointed out, it is to Ellis Island rather than to Plymouth Rock that a great part of the American people trace their history in America. More people have died in industrial accidents than in subduing the wilderness and fighting the Revolution. It is these people as well as the frontiersmen who constitute the real historical background which needs to be understood and integrated with the latest trends in America's historical thought.

The growing number of studies showing that other than Anglo-Saxons have influenced the course of America's history has not been reflected in the steady output of textbooks. They have tended to preserve the myth. Nor has the work of Bolton and others, showing that Spanish and other cultures are at the base of the history of various regions in the West and South, broken down the habit of writing

American history from the "Plymouth Rock" view. If we follow a cultural approach to American history, we must find ways by which the available resources and information on the role played by America's minorities can be incorporated into textbooks and other publications.

The culture of the American people is a composite of the cultures of all America's groups. At any point of time, American culture is the culture of these people. Today's New York culture is the culture of all the heterogeneous peoples of New York—not the Dutch culture, with transitional Czech, German, French, and other group cultures held, as it were, in suspension within it. This kind of culture is contemporary American culture and needs to be understood as such by all Americans. "The assumption on the part of old Americans that they are *the* Americans obscures a realistic examination of American cultural trends."⁴ Any improvement in such an outlook depends on the guarantee that "the history of the American immigrant will be written on the broad and impartial lines that its place in our national development deserves."⁵

But it is not enough to preserve records or even to incorporate the findings of research into American textbooks. These are essential first and second steps. There is a third step—the inculcation of an earnest desire to divorce this cultural appreciation from political identification with the country of origin.

Data were presented in Part III, and especially in Chapter XVI, indicating the activities of foreign political states among their minority groups in the United States and the interest of some from these groups in the present and future well-being of their land of origin. To some extent, these mutual interests and activities are inevitable when the catastrophies of war and the almost insuperable problems of the peace hold the center of the stage.

We face a grave danger, however, if cultural backgrounds and political attachments reinforce each other. The latter have no place in American life. While unity of action has been achieved in an armed force composed of men and women of every country of origin of the world, and in war production at home, the same national unity must be maintained in terms of fundamental attitudes. Resistance by the many to the well-meaning but divisive strategy of

⁴ Caroline F. Ware, *The Cultural Approach to History*, p. 89. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

⁵ Marcus L. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*, p. 10. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.

the few is essential if we are to move upward and forward as a united people.

Throughout this volume, the history, the culture, and the contributions of each racial and national group have been emphasized. But through it all, too, has run a consistent thread—at times evident, at times seemingly forgotten—that each group is an integral part of the whole that is America; that while individuals are of Irish or Spanish or Italian or Greek birth or descent, they have contributed to American life not as Irishmen, Spaniards, Italians, or Greeks, but as Americans; not as peoples of separate groups, but as peoples of different groups united in spirit as American citizens. Each group will recognize and understand its own culture, but not for itself, *per se*. Rather it will seek to understand the ways it has blended with, and thereby contributed to, the total and kaleidoscopic pattern of American culture.

There is still another step. The war has catapulted many groups into a social and economic status far in advance of their experiences in new situations. Here, too, there is danger—a danger as grave for minority groups as for dominant groups. The situation may, if unguided, lead to resentment on the part of the dominant groups and flaunting arrogance on the part of the minority. Both must seek to prepare for the changed postwar situation by utilizing the present as a unique opportunity fully to understand each other. Ignorance or biased judgments must be replaced by knowledge of the cultural backgrounds and heritages of all.

The “islands of culture” are fast disappearing. Never has there been so great an opportunity for sharing in the day-to-day associations of life. Never before has there been the opportunity for mutual understanding and genuine appreciation.

Only by the careful thought and the earnest effort of every agency of education to direct the attitudes of all can the present lead toward the goal of replacing conflict by earnest and sincere coöperation. Only thus can we achieve an unprecedented sense and fact of national unity through the pluralism of culture. Only so can America truly become a cultural democracy—*One America!*

APPENDICES

TABLES

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL INDEX

TABLE I *

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES DURING SPECIFIED PERIODS, 1820 TO JUNE 30, 1943, BY COUNTRIES ¹

Countries	1820-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1943	Total 124 Yrs. 1820-1943
All countries	151,824	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,314,824	2,812,191	5,240,613	3,687,564	8,795,386	5,735,811	4,107,209	528,431	84,310	38,394,753
Europe	106,508	495,688	1,597,501	2,452,660	2,065,270	2,272,262	4,737,046	3,358,978	8,136,016	4,376,564	2,477,853	348,289	42,614	32,667,249
Albania ⁹											1,663	2,040	2	3,795
Austria ¹⁰										453,649	32,868	3,563		
Hungary										442,693	30,680	7,861	491	4,144,366
Belgium					7,800	72,969	353,719	592,707	2,145,266					
Bulgaria ¹¹	28	22	5,074	4,738	6,734	7,221	20,177	18,167	41,635	33,746	15,846	4,817	2,282	160,487
Czechoslovakia ⁹								160	39,280	22,533	2,945	938	153	66,009
Denmark	189	1,063	539	3,749	17,094	31,771	88,132	50,231	65,285	3,126	102,194	14,393	553	121,017
Estonia ⁹										41,083	32,430	2,559	428	335,453
Finland ⁹											1,576	506	69	2,151
France	8,868	45,575	77,262	76,358	35,986					756	16,091	2,146	337	19,930
Germany ¹⁰	7,720	152,454	434,626	951,667	787,468	718,182	1,432,970	505,152	341,498	143,945	412,202	114,058	6,426	665,430
Great Britain	15,837	7,161	34,092	247,125	222,277	437,706	644,680	216,726	388,017	249,944	157,420	217,556	9,107	2,650,298
England								44,188	120,469	78,357	159,781	6,887	417	734,191
Scotland	3,180	2,607	3,712	38,331	37,669	87,504	149,869	44,188	120,469	78,357	159,781	6,887	417	734,191
Wales	170	1,085	1,261	6,319	4,313	6,631	12,640	10,557	17,464	13,107	13,012	735	71	86,465
Not specified ¹	8,302	65,347	229,979	132,199	341,537	16,142	168							
Greece	20	49	16	31	72	210	2,308	15,079	167,519	184,201	51,084			793,774
Ireland	54,338	207,381	780,719	914,119	435,778	436,871	655,482	388,416	339,065	146,181	220,591	13,167	487	4,592,595
Italy	439	2,253	1,870	9,231	11,725	55,759	307,309	651,893	2,045,877	1,109,324	455,315	68,028	595	4,719,825
Latvia ⁹										3,399	1,192	145		4,736
Lithuania ⁹										6,015	2,201	337	8,553	
Luxemburg											727	565	216	1,608
Netherlands											69,948	7,150	1,029	254,798
Norway ²											66,931	4,710	512	805,367
Sweden ²											95,015	190,505	781	1,218,229
Poland ¹	21	369	105	1,164	2,027	12,070	51,806	96,720	240,534	95,074	97,249	3,060		
Portugal	180	829	550	1,055	2,658	14,082	16,928	27,108	69,149	48,13	227,734	17,026	1,188	415,943
Rumania										89,732	29,994	3,329	1,933	257,977
Russia (Soviet Union)										13,311	77,646	3,871	234	157,179
Spain	2,616	2,125	2,209	9,298	6,697	39,284	213,282	505,290	1,597,306	921,201	61,742	1,356	133	3,343,480
Switzerland	3,257	4,821	4,644	25,011	23,286	28,293	81,988	8,731	27,935	68,611	28,958	3,538	788	170,911
Turkey in Europe	21	7	59	83	129	337	1,562	3,626	79,976	23,091	29,676	2,083	207,763	
Yugoslavia ⁹										14,659	737		77	155,950
Other Europe	3	40	79	5	8	1,001	682	122	605	1,888	49,064	5,835	244	57,031
										8,111	9,603	2,361	143	22,823

Asia	15	48	82	41,455	64,630	123,823	68,380	71,236	243,567	192,559	97,400	15,314	2,699	921,238
China	3	8	35	41,397	64,301	123,201	61,711	14,799	20,605	21,278	29,907	4,928	1,247	383,430
India	9	39	36	43	60	163	260	68	4,713	2,082	1,886	496	130	10,003
Japan .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	186	149	2,270	25,942	129,797	83,877	33,462	1,948	353	277,944
Turkey in Asia ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	67	2,120	26,799	77,393	79,389	19,165	328	47	205,410
Other Asia	3	1	11	15	72	243	1,910	3,628	11,059	5,973	12,980	7,614	922	44,461
America	11,951	33,424	62,469	74,720	166,607	404,944	456,967	38,972	361,888	1,143,671	1,516,716	160,037	56,980	4,458,416
Canada and Newfoundland ..	2,486	13,624	41,723	59,309	153,878	383,640	393,304	3,311	179,226	742,185	924,515	108,527	31,833	3,037,561
Mexico	4,818	6,599	3,271	3,078	2,191	5,162	1,913	971	49,642	219,004	459,287	22,319	9,374	787,629
West Indies	3,998	12,301	13,528	10,660	9,046	13,957	29,042	33,066	107,548	123,424	74,899	15,502	8,598	465,569
Central America	107	44	368	449	95	157	404	549	8,192	17,159	15,769	5,861	3,262	52,416
South America	542	856	3,579	1,224	1,397	1,128	2,304	1,075	17,280	41,899	42,215	7,803	3,868	125,200
Other America ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31	25	13	69
Africa	17	54	55	210	312	358	857	350	7,368	8,443	6,286	1,750	1,178	27,238
Australia-New Zealand .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	36	9,886	7,017	2,740	11,975	12,348	8,299	2,231	434	54,966
Pacific Islands .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,028	5,557	1,225	1,049	1,079	427	780	379	11,524
Not specified ..	33,333	69,911	53,144	29,169	17,969	790	789	14,063	33,523	1,147	228	.....	.....	254,066

* Reconstructed from data supplied by the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration, Philadelphia.

¹ No official records were made of the influx of foreign population to this country prior to 1820. Although the number of immigrants arrived in the United States from the close of the Revolutionary War up to 1820 is not accurately known, it is estimated by good authority at 250,000. Data for years prior to 1906 cover countries whence aliens came, and for years following, countries of last permanent residence. Owing to changes in the list of countries separately reported and to changes in boundaries, data for certain countries are not comparable throughout. For 1820 to 1867 the figures are for alien passengers arriving; for 1868 to 1903, for immigrants arriving; for 1904 to 1906, for aliens admitted; and for 1907 to 1942, for immigrant aliens admitted.

² United Kingdom not specified.

³ From 1820 to 1860 the figures for Norway and Sweden were combined.

⁴ No record of immigration from Japan until 1861.

⁵ No record of immigration from Turkey in Asia until 1860.

⁶ From 1820 to 1898 included all British North American possessions.

⁷ From 1899 to 1919 Poland is included with Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia.

⁸ The figures 33,523, in column headed 1901-1910, include 32,897 persons returning in 1906 to their homes in the United States.

⁹ Countries added to the list since the beginning of World War I are theretofore included with the countries to which they belonged.

¹⁰ Austria included with Germany after 1937.

¹¹ Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro prior to 1920.

¹² Included with countries not specified prior to 1925.

TABLE II *

ANNUAL QUOTAS AND ALIENS ADMITTED

(Annual quotas allotted under Immigration Act of 1924, and quota aliens admitted during years ended June 30, 1936 to 1941, with averages for five-year periods 1931-1935 and 1936-1940, by countries or region of birth, and sex)

Nationality or Country of Birth	Annual Quota	Quota Immigrants Admitted **							Average	
		1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1931- 1935	1936- 1940	
All countries	153,774	18,675	27,762	42,494	62,402	51,997	36,220	21,002	40,666	
Albania	100	107	98	106	97	88	7	78	99	
Belgium	1,304	185	211	278	307	441	1,171	195	284	
Bulgaria	100	63	57	106	105	92	102	29	85	
Czechoslovakia	2,874	766	1,519	2,853	2,716	1,979	1,787	584	1,967	
Danzig, Free City of	100	16	41	89	177	100	40	18	85	
Denmark	1,181	135	192	323	282	255	318	219	237	
Estonia	116	34	30	40	107	98	63	33	62	
Finland	569	72	215	496	461	282	355	132	305	
France	3,086	464	566	720	817	741	1,823	498	662	
Germany }	27,370	{ 6,073 569 }	{ 11,127 409 }	17,868	32,759	26,083	13,051	{ 4,383 340 }	18,978	
Austria }										
Great Britain & N. I.:										
England	65,721	{ 1,122 126 340 50 }	1,418	1,698	2,096	1,974	3,332	1,987	1,662	
Northern Ireland			133	238	154	134	115	414	157	
Scotland			483	634	506	488	447	1,348	490	
Wales			73	66	72	42	62	141	60	
Greece	307	347	370	351	381	346	232	216	359	
Hungary	869	515	739	902	1,087	1,432	584	350	947	
Ireland (Eire)	17,853	367	447	1,100	1,418	966	331	1,628	860	
Italy	5,802	2,467	2,905	3,428	4,155	3,905	674	2,171	3,372	
Latvia	236	60	114	154	223	184	171	61	147	
Lithuania	386	151	221	397	365	294	232	179	286	

Luxemburg	100	5	10	18	24	24	85	13	16
Netherlands	3,153	245	347	331	637	1,093	1,103	367	531
Norway	2,377	197	330	518	465	456	448	384	393
Poland	6,524	1,250	1,855	4,218	6,512	4,354	4,406	1,508	3,638
Portugal	440	275	236	323	404	417	315	234	331
Rumania	377	282	371	407	499	469	286	309	406
Soviet Russia	2,712	391	578	917	1,727	1,614	1,584	628	1,045
Spain	252	250	244	264	253	225	265	220	247
Sweden	3,314	154	303	364	324	411	285	391	311
Switzerland	1,707	189	312	427	605	617	759	275	430
Yugoslavia	845	291	527	852	850	651	238	241	634
Other Europe	***,500	174	173	271	193	175	141	196	197
Asia	***1,649	399	467	823	835	797	650	619	664
American colonies	***	294	339	516	419	374	250	354	388
Other quota regions	***1,850	250	302	338	370	396	508	259	331
Sex.....{Male .....	.....	8,709	13,673	20,913	31,699	26,463	18,291	9,545	20,291
{Female .....	.....	9,966	14,089	21,581	30,703	25,534	17,929	11,457	20,375

* U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

** Includes aliens to whom visas were issued during the latter part of the preceding year which were charged to the quota for that year. Nationality for quota purposes does not always coincide with actual nationality. See Section 12 of the act.

*** Quota for colonies, dependencies, or protectorates included with allotment for the European country to which they belong. A quota of 100 is established for all countries with quotas not listed in above table.

TABLE III

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, TOTAL IMMIGRATION THEREFROM, AND PEAK YEAR, DURING 124 YEARS BEGINNING 1820 AND ENDING JUNE 30, 1943

<i>Country</i>	<i>Total 124 Years</i>	<i>Peak Year</i>
Germany	6,028,377	1882
Italy	4,719,825	1907
Ireland	4,592,595	1851
Great Britain	4,264,728	1888
Austria-Hungary	4,144,366	1907
Russia	3,343,480	1913
Canada and Newfoundland	3,037,561	1924
Sweden	1,218,229	1882
Norway	805,367	1882
Mexico	787,629	1924
France	605,430	1851
West Indies	465,569	1824
Greece	431,279	1907
Poland	415,949	1921
China	383,420	1882
Turkey	361,360	1913
Denmark	335,453	1882
Switzerland	297,763	1883
Japan	277,944	1907
Portugal	257,977	1921
Netherlands	254,798	1882
Spain	170,911	1921
Belgium	160,487	1913
Rumania	157,179	1921
South America	125,200	1924
Czechoslovakia	121,017	1921

TABLE IV

EMIGRATION BY COUNTRY TO WHICH RETURNING, 1908 TO 1943

<i>Country</i>	1908-1910	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1943
All Countries	823,311	2,146,994	1,045,076	459,642	29,585
Europe	711,068	1,700,466	826,696	245,894	6,136
Albania .....	.....	.....	1,379	494	1
Austria	118,813	164,682	5,190	(Included in Ger.)	
Belgium	1,939	6,965	6,766	2,923	17
Bulgaria	6,470	28,501	4,670	821	3
Czechoslovakia .....	.....	11,147	39,165	6,461	11
Danzig, Free City of .....	.....	.....	43	.....	.....
Denmark	1,582	6,165	5,753	2,880	125
Estonia .....	.....	.....	119	362	3
Finland .....	.....	1,473	7,165	3,637	58

TABLE IV (Cont.)

Country	1908-1910	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1943
France, including Corsica	9,949	34,469	17,994	10,157	118
Germany	17,891	27,018	42,248	37,170	1,760
Great Britain					
England	12,649	54,848	56,887	35,796	2,409
Scotland	3,341	14,421	13,103	19,793	210
Wales	222	1,296	668	1,443	18
Greece	16,881	117,984	50,965	6,854	84
Hungary	108,087	173,593	22,695	3,024	27
Ireland, Northern	5,157	21,144	14,499	3,254	18
Irish Free State (Eire)				12,800	80
Italy, inc. Sicily and Sardinia	302,356	671,151	245,255	27,874	128
Latvia			302	364	.....
Lithuania			2,313	1,667	4
Luxemburg			83	.....	.....
Netherlands	1,101	5,256	5,570	3,520	23
Norway	4,631	19,124	15,106	8,621	6
Poland		18,190	100,761	9,105	51
Portugal	3,163	23,956	29,426	5,928	341
Rumania	2,146	23,747	21,670	3,294	10
Russia	74,846	174,395	26,597	3,555	178
Spain	3,658	27,980	29,281	11,071	275
Sweden	4,739	17,684	13,627	11,785	96
Switzerland	2,101	4,445	5,996	3,188	80
Turkey in Europe	6,339	20,040	1,067	.....	.....
Yugoslavia	27	2,298	38,306	6,689	8
Other Europe			2,027	1,364	40
Asia, Total	27,197	43,692	72,507	33,366	3,647
Armenia			148	.....	.....
China	9,705	23,524	41,416	20,363	955
India	245	1,735	1,650	.....	.....
Japan	11,616	16,713	20,457	8,431	2,441
Palestine			{	1,110	22
Persia				2,440	.....
Syria			{	623	.....
Turkey in Asia	5,045	9,389		5,616	.....
Other Asia	586	2,331	780	2,839	229
Canada	67,301	265,173	32,196	14,333	1,869
Newfoundland				971	66
Mexico	947	55,899	43,192	107,178	9,779
Cuba				10,541	
Other West Indies	11,072	48,300	41,658	11,692	2,235
Central America	1,197	4,519	7,086	5,693	1,026
South America	2,878	11,606	15,094	13,147	2,313
Africa	488	6,527	1,432	1,447	191
Australia	1,028	4,832	4,860	1,268	137
New Zealand				456	65
Other Pacific Islands	102	660	274	.....	.....
Not Specified	43	270	81	13,656	2,121
Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes		28,474	.....	.....	.....

NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE OF THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1940

NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE

638

Eastern Europe	3,602,419	10.4	1,475,919	12.9	2,126,500	9.2	1,709,100	11.3	295,480	5.6	121,920	4.5
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	2,610,244	7.5	1,040,884	9.1	1,569,360	6.8	1,255,300	8.3	221,280	4.2	92,780	3.4
Latvia	34,656	0.1	18,636	0.2	16,020	0.1	12,520	0.1	250	...	920	...
Estonia	6,658	...	4,178	...	2,480	...	1,760	...	560	...	160	...
Lithuania	394,811	1.1	165,771	1.5	229,040	1.0	197,740	1.3	24,580	0.5	6,720	0.2
Finland	284,290	0.8	117,210	1.0	167,080	0.7	132,080	0.9	22,300	0.4	12,700	0.5
Rumania	247,700	0.7	115,940	1.0	131,760	0.6	103,060	0.7	20,340	0.4	8,360	0.3
Bulgaria	15,688	...	8,888	0.1	6,800	...	3,620	...	3,040	0.1	140	...
Turkey in Europe	8,372	...	4,412	...	3,960	...	3,020	...	800	...	140	...
Southern Europe	5,207,266	15.1	1,896,886	16.6	3,310,380	14.3	2,595,980	17.1	613,100	11.6	101,300	3.7
Greece	326,672	0.9	163,252	1.4	163,420	0.7	122,580	0.8	39,280	0.7	1,560	0.1
Italy	4,594,780	13.3	1,623,580	14.2	2,971,200	12.8	2,348,380	15.5	533,060	10.1	89,760	3.3
Spain	109,407	0.3	61,707	0.4	40,260	0.3	40,260	0.3	17,020	0.3	3,820	0.1
Portugal	176,407	0.5	62,347	0.5	114,060	0.5	84,760	0.6	23,140	0.4	6,160	0.2
Other Europe ¹	41,459	0.1	19,819	0.2	21,640	0.1	16,440	0.1	4,100	0.1	1,100	...
Asia	333,169	1.0	149,909	1.3	183,260	0.8	142,620	0.9	32,700	0.6	7,940	0.3
Palestine	12,807	...	7,047	0.1	5,760	...	3,980	...	1,300	...	480	...
Syria	138,599	0.4	59,859	0.4	87,740	0.4	69,420	0.5	16,280	0.3	2,040	0.1
Turkey in Asia	95,839	0.3	32,479	0.5	43,360	0.2	36,560	0.2	5,820	0.1	980	...
Other Asia	85,924	...	39,524	0.3	46,400	0.2	32,660	0.2	9,300	0.2	4,440	0.2
America	4,167,095	12.1	1,509,855	13.2	2,657,240	11.5	1,201,640	7.9	811,940	15.4	643,660	23.8
Canada-French	908,386	2.6	273,366	2.4	635,020	2.7	334,860	2.2	170,340	3.2	129,820	4.8
Canada-Other	2,001,773	5.8	770,753	6.7	1,231,020	5.3	373,100	2.5	452,220	8.6	405,700	15.0
Newfoundland	47,001	0.1	21,361	0.2	25,640	0.1	15,560	0.1	4,460	0.1	5,620	0.2
Mexico	1,076,653	3.1	377,433	3.3	699,220	3.0	452,760	3.0	159,320	3.0	87,140	3.2
Cuba	32,257	0.1	15,277	0.1	16,980	0.1	6,880	...	6,060	0.1	3,440	0.1
Other West Indies	33,457	0.1	15,257	0.1	18,200	0.1	7,340	...	6,020	0.1	4,840	0.2
Central America	12,738	...	7,638	0.1	5,100	...	1,600	...	1,640	...	1,860	0.1
South America	54,830	0.2	28,770	0.3	26,060	0.1	9,540	0.1	11,280	0.2	5,240	0.2
All other	303,850	0.9	58,630	0.5	245,220	1.1	128,380	0.8	76,220	1.4	40,620	1.5
Australia	26,898	0.1	10,998	0.1	15,900	0.1	5,340	...	6,280	0.1	4,280	0.2
Azores	74,351	0.2	25,751	0.2	48,600	0.2	36,920	0.2	9,180	0.2	2,500	0.1
Other Atlantic Islands	8,592	...	3,232	...	5,360	...	2,960	...	1,660	...	740	...
All other and not reported	194,009	0.6	18,649	0.2	175,360	0.8	83,160	0.5	59,100	1.1	33,100	1.2

* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of U. S., 1940: Population, County of Origin of the Foreign Stock*, p. 9.

¹ Includes Albania.

TABLES

TABLE VI *

NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE OF THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN,
FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1890 TO 1940

(Persons classified as of "Mixed foreign parentage" in census reports prior to 1930 have been distributed according to country of birth of father. 1940 statistics for native white of foreign or mixed parentage are based on a 5 per cent sample. 1940 statistics for foreign-born white are from a complete count. 1940 figures for total foreign white stock, involving the addition of native and foreign born, are composite. 1930 figures have been revised to include Mexicans who were classified with "Other races" in the 1930 reports)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND CENSUS YEAR	NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE					
	<i>Total Foreign White Stock</i>	<i>Foreign- Born White</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Both Parents Foreign</i>	<i>Father Foreign</i>	<i>Mother Foreign</i>
All countries:						
1940.....	34,576,718	11,419,138	23,157,580	15,183,740	5,267,140	2,706,700
1930.....	39,885,788	13,983,405	25,902,383	17,407,527	5,547,325	2,947,531
1920.....	36,398,958	13,712,754	22,686,204	15,694,539	4,539,776	2,451,889
1910.....	32,243,382	13,345,545	18,897,837	12,916,311	3,923,845	2,057,681
1900.....	25,859,834	10,213,817	15,646,017	10,632,280	3,346,652	1,667,085
1890.....	20,625,542	9,121,867	11,503,675	8,085,019	2,378,729	1,039,927
NORTHWESTERN EUROPE						
England and Wales:						
1940.....	2,124,235	657,335	1,466,900	636,240	506,720	323,940
1930.....	2,758,940	868,889	1,890,051	827,776	654,666	407,609
1920.....	2,744,239	879,894	1,864,345	870,516	626,449	367,380
1910.....	2,781,198	958,934	1,822,264	887,028	598,770	336,466
1900.....	2,628,948	933,390	1,695,558	854,522	542,427	298,609
Scotland:						
1940.....	725,861	279,321	446,540	216,720	136,200	93,620
1930.....	899,591	354,323	545,268	276,483	164,673	104,112
1920.....	769,003	254,567	514,436	271,927	153,917	88,592
1910.....	745,733	261,034	484,699	261,461	145,227	78,011
1900.....	680,997	233,473	447,524	250,691	129,735	67,098
Northern Ireland:						
1940.....	377,236	106,416	270,820	156,320	65,140	49,360
1930.....	695,999	178,832	517,167	311,652	117,431	88,084
Irish Free State (Eire):						
1940.....	2,410,951	572,031	1,838,920	1,184,180	358,900	295,840
1930.....	3,086,522	744,810	2,341,712	1,551,760	432,450	357,502
Ireland:						
1920.....	4,159,246	1,037,233	3,122,013	2,117,293	573,021	431,699
1910.....	4,650,170	1,352,155	3,304,015	2,293,387	603,013	407,615
1900.....	4,990,778	1,615,232	3,375,546	2,408,115	605,987	361,444
Norway:						
1940.....	924,688	262,088	662,600	406,780	170,420	85,400
1930.....	1,100,098	347,852	752,246	476,663	179,482	96,101
1920.....	1,064,958	363,862	701,096	477,545	143,314	80,237
1910.....	1,012,926	403,858	609,068	444,778	106,805	57,485
1900.....	814,910	336,379	478,531	375,372	67,649	35,510

TABLE VI (Cont.)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND CENSUS YEAR	<i>Total Foreign White Stock</i>	<i>Foreign- Born White</i>	NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE			
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Both Parents Foreign</i>	<i>Father Foreign</i>	<i>Mother Foreign</i>
Sweden:						
1940.....	1,301,390	445,070	856,320	577,360	188,500	90,460
1930.....	1,562,703	595,250	967,453	676,523	191,037	99,893
1920.....	1,514,077	625,580	888,497	663,515	144,382	80,600
1910.....	1,417,878	665,183	752,695	600,451	97,504	54,740
1900.....	1,124,018	581,986	542,032	456,402	55,479	30,151
Denmark: ¹						
1940.....	443,815	138,175	305,640	182,400	90,000	33,240
1930.....	529,142	179,474	349,668	219,152	93,592	36,924
1920.....	509,564	189,154	320,410	215,083	73,915	31,412
1910.....	437,796	181,621	256,175	185,380	49,721	21,074
1900.....	341,488	153,644	187,844	146,534	29,514	11,796
Netherlands:						
1940.....	372,384	111,064	261,320	148,100	77,700	35,520
1930.....	413,966	133,133	280,833	170,417	74,730	35,686
1920.....	381,105	131,766	249,339	163,797	57,301	28,241
1910.....	308,068	120,053	188,015	130,825	38,199	18,991
Switzerland:						
1940.....	293,973	88,293	205,680	112,600	65,680	27,400
1930.....	374,003	113,010	260,993	146,255	80,595	34,143
1920.....	376,000	118,659	257,341	150,266	75,315	31,760
1910.....	342,293	124,834	217,459	131,312	61,244	24,903
1900.....	294,272	115,581	178,691	111,797	48,806	18,088
France:						
1940.....	349,050	102,930	246,120	125,880	79,960	40,280
1930.....	471,638	135,265	336,373	178,033	108,869	49,471
1920.....	441,240	152,890	288,350	169,472	86,549	32,329
1910.....	343,295	117,236	226,059	129,843	73,085	23,131
1900.....	318,623	104,031	214,592	121,594	72,110	20,888
Other N. W. Europe:						
1940.....	164,108	62,948	101,160	59,200	29,260	12,700
1930.....	189,373	76,006	113,367	70,824	29,855	12,688
1920.....	180,995	75,271	105,724	69,788	26,267	9,669
1910.....	103,270	52,465	50,805	35,890	11,046	3,869
CENTRAL EUROPE						
Germany:						
1940.....	5,236,612	1,237,772	3,998,840	2,414,280	1,106,380	478,180
1930.....	6,873,103	1,608,814	5,264,289	3,254,618	1,398,587	611,084
1920.....	7,032,106	1,686,102	5,346,004	3,448,821	1,331,531	565,652
1910.....	7,981,696	2,311,085	5,670,611	3,845,926	1,304,201	520,484
1900.....	8,003,351	2,663,204	5,340,147	3,761,783	1,172,697	405,667
Poland:						
1940.....	2,905,859	993,479	1,912,380	1,584,420	243,800	84,160
1930.....	3,342,198	1,268,583	2,073,615	1,781,280	223,611	68,724
1920.....	2,443,329	1,139,978	1,303,351	1,153,427	115,172	34,752
1910.....	1,663,808	937,884	725,924	652,619	56,116	17,189
1900.....	710,156	383,392	326,764	307,766	15,592	3,406

TABLE VI (Cont.)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND CENSUS YEAR	<i>Total Foreign White Stock</i>	<i>Foreign- Born White</i>	NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE			
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Both Parents Foreign</i>	<i>Father Foreign</i>	<i>Mother Foreign</i>
CENTRAL EUROPE—Cont.						
Czechoslovakia:						
1940.....	984,591	319,971	664,620	503,280	106,520	54,820
1930.....	1,382,079	491,638	890,441	707,384	123,363	59,694
Austria:						
1940.....	1,261,246	479,906	781,340	600,440	126,580	54,320
1930.....	954,648	370,914	583,734	458,177	84,443	41,114
1920 (prewar).....	2,095,101	860,004	1,235,097	1,034,949	134,227	65,921
1910.....	1,562,259	845,506	716,753	607,988	74,238	34,527
1900.....	824,400	432,764	391,636	334,040	40,182	17,414
Hungary:						
1940.....	662,068	290,228	371,840	299,140	47,920	24,780
1930.....	590,768	274,450	316,318	272,704	28,378	15,236
1920 (prewar).....	1,156,903	618,385	538,518	498,304	29,510	10,704
1910.....	710,895	495,600	215,295	201,727	10,106	3,462
1900.....	227,606	145,709	81,897	75,872	4,895	1,130
Yugoslavia:						
1940.....	383,393	161,093	222,300	182,240	33,920	6,140
1930.....	469,395	211,416	257,979	227,475	26,328	4,176
EASTERN EUROPE						
Russia (U.S.S.R.):						
1940.....	2,610,244	1,040,884	1,569,360	1,255,300	221,280	92,780
1930.....	2,669,838	1,153,624	1,516,214	1,277,460	169,755	68,999
1920.....	2,909,093	1,400,489	1,508,604	1,381,454	93,651	33,499
1910.....	1,960,036	1,184,382	775,654	729,412	35,547	10,695
1900.....	774,444	486,346	288,098	272,954	12,423	2,721
Lithuania:						
1940.....	394,811	165,771	229,040	197,740	24,580	6,720
1930.....	439,195	193,606	245,589	221,472	19,643	4,474
Finland:						
1940.....	284,290	117,210	167,080	132,080	22,300	12,700
1930.....	320,536	142,478	178,058	148,532	18,805	10,721
1920.....	301,985	149,824	152,161	136,738	9,765	5,658
1910.....	215,341	129,669	85,672	80,576	3,319	1,777
Rumania:						
1940.....	247,700	115,940	131,760	103,060	20,340	8,360
1930.....	293,453	146,393	147,060	125,479	15,351	6,230
1920.....	167,599	102,823	64,776	59,396	3,820	1,560
1910.....	92,854	65,920	26,934	25,840	821	273
Other Eastern Europe:						
1940.....	65,374	36,114	29,260	20,920	6,980	1,360
1930.....	62,013	35,879	26,134	20,492	4,749	893
SOUTHERN EUROPE						
Greece:						
1940.....	326,672	163,252	163,420	122,580	39,280	1,560
1930.....	303,751	174,526	129,225	101,668	26,981	576
1920.....	228,055	175,972	52,083	43,517	8,287	279
1910.....	111,249	101,264	9,985	7,108	2,400	477

TABLE VI (Cont.)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND CENSUS YEAR	<i>Total Foreign White Stock</i>	<i>Foreign- Born White</i>	NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE			
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Both Parents Foreign</i>	<i>Father Foreign</i>	<i>Mother Foreign</i>
Italy:						
1940.....	4,594,780	1,623,580	2,971,200	2,348,380	533,060	89,760
1930.....	4,546,877	1,790,424	2,756,453	2,306,015	396,324	54,114
1920.....	3,361,200	1,610,109	1,751,091	1,585,395	146,304	19,892
1910.....	2,114,715	1,343,070	771,645	711,542	52,947	7,156
1900.....	738,513	483,963	254,550	229,419	22,442	2,689
Other Southern Europe:						
1940.....	285,814	110,054	175,760	125,020	40,760	9,980
1930.....	279,248	129,026	150,222	111,282	30,566	8,374
1920.....	217,221	116,700	100,521	76,181	19,645	4,695
1910.....	149,565	79,600	69,965	51,376	15,723	2,866
OTHER EUROPE						
Other Europe: ²						
1940.....	41,459	19,819	21,640	16,440	4,100	1,100
1930.....	70,113	25,065	45,048	34,549	7,384	3,115
ASIA						
Asia (total):						
1940.....	333,169	149,909	183,260	142,620	32,700	7,940
1930.....	309,927	157,580	152,347	127,695	20,020	4,632
AMERICA						
Canada-French:						
1940.....	908,386	273,366	635,020	334,860	170,340	129,820
1930.....	1,106,159	370,852	735,307	389,131	198,512	147,664
1920.....	870,146	307,786	562,360	343,161	129,203	89,996
1910.....	947,792	385,083	562,709	346,530	133,999	82,180
1900.....	850,491	394,461	456,030	286,103	106,833	63,094
Canada-Other:						
1940.....	2,001,773	770,753	1,231,020	373,100	452,220	405,700
1930.....	2,231,277	907,660	1,323,617	416,670	479,669	427,278
1920.....	2,089,337	810,092	1,279,245	426,096	467,206	385,943
1910.....	1,899,099	810,987	1,088,112	384,013	387,617	316,482
1900.....	1,711,839	778,399	933,440	334,707	317,988	280,745
Mexico:						
1940.....	1,076,653	377,433	699,220	452,760	159,320	87,140
1930.....	1,222,439	639,017	583,422	424,373	100,070	58,979
1920.....	731,559	478,383	253,176	179,440	45,720	28,016
1910.....	382,761	219,802	162,959	108,625	34,995	19,339
Other America:						
1940.....	180,283	88,303	91,980	40,920	30,060	21,000
1930.....	168,915	93,695	75,220	35,932	22,829	16,459
1920.....	111,799	60,540	51,259	25,413	15,380	10,466
1910.....	67,483	37,314	30,169	14,820	9,646	5,703
ALL OTHER						
All other and not rptd:						
1940.....	303,850	58,630	245,220	128,380	76,220	40,620
1930.....	167,881	70,921	96,960	59,601	24,577	12,782
1920.....	543,098	366,691	176,407	133,045	29,925	13,437
1910.....	235,202	161,006	74,196	47,854	17,556	8,786
1900.....	825,000	371,863	453,137	304,609	101,893	46,635

TABLE VII*

MOTHER TONGUE OF THE WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1940

(Principal mother tongues only; per cent not shown where less than 0.1)

MOTHER TONGUE	NUMBER		PER CENT BY MOTHER TONGUE			PER CENT BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE		
	Total	Foreign Born	Native of Foreign or Mixed Parentage		Total	Native of Foreign or Native Mixed Par- entage		Foreign Born Total
			Foreign	Native of Native Parentage		Foreign Born	Native of Native Mixed Par- entage	
Total	118,392,040	11,109,620	23,157,580	84,124,840	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
English	93,039,640	2,506,420	12,181,040	78,352,180	78.6	52.6	93.1	2.7
Foreign	21,996,240	8,354,700	10,712,480	2,929,060	18.6	46.3	3.5	38.0
German	4,949,780	1,589,040	2,435,700	925,040	4.2	10.5	1.1	32.1
Italian	3,766,820	1,561,100	2,080,680	125,040	3.2	14.1	0.1	41.4
Polish	2,416,320	801,680	1,428,820	185,820	2.0	7.2	0.2	33.2
Spanish	1,861,400	428,360	714,060	718,980	1.6	3.9	0.9	23.0
Yiddish	1,751,100	924,440	773,680	52,980	1.5	8.3	0.1	52.8
French	1,412,060	359,520	533,760	518,780	1.2	3.2	0.6	25.5
Swedish	830,900	423,200	374,040	33,660	0.7	3.8	1.6	50.9
Norwegian	658,220	232,820	344,240	81,160	0.6	2.1	1.5	35.4
Russian	585,080	356,940	214,160	13,980	0.5	3.2	0.9	61.0
Czech	520,440	159,640	279,040	81,760	0.4	1.4	1.2	30.7
All other	3,244,120	1,517,960	1,534,300	191,860	2.7	13.7	0.2	46.8
Not reported	3,356,160	248,500	264,060	2,843,600	2.8	2.2	1.1	7.4

* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States. Population: Mother Tongue*, p. 2.

TABLE VIII *

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY NATIVITY AND RACE, 1940

<i>Race</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
All classes	131,669,275	100.00
White	118,214,270	89.78
Native	106,795,732	81.11
Foreign Born ...	11,419,138	8.67
Negro	12,865,511	9.77
Other Races	588,887	0.44
Indian	333,969	0.25
Japanese	126,947	0.09
Chinese	77,504	0.06
Filipino	45,563	0.03
All Others	4,904	0.01

* Data from *U. S. Census, 1940.*

TABLE IX

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION BY DECADES 1870-1940
AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO TO TOTAL POPULATION

	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Negro Population</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1870.....	38,558,371	4,880,009	12.7
1880.....	50,155,783	6,580,793	13.1
1890.....	62,947,714	7,488,676	11.9
1900.....	75,994,575	8,833,994	11.6
1910.....	91,972,266	9,827,763	10.7
1920.....	105,710,620	10,463,131	9.9
1930.....	122,775,046	11,891,143	9.69
1940.....	131,669,275	12,865,511	9.77

TABLE X

NUMBER OF NEGROES IN SELECTED STATES, 1930 AND 1940

<i>Southern States</i>	1930	1940	<i>Northern States</i>	1930	1940
Alabama	944,834	983,290	Connecticut	29,354	32,992
Florida	431,828	514,198	Illinois	328,972	387,446
Georgia	1,071,125	1,084,927	Iowa	17,380	16,694
Kentucky	220,040	215,081	Indiana	111,982	121,916
Louisiana	776,326	840,303	Massachusetts	52,365	55,391
Mississippi	1,009,718	1,074,578	Minnesota	99,445	9,928
North Carolina ..	918,647	981,298	New Jersey	208,828	226,973
South Carolina ...	793,681	814,164	New York	412,814	571,221
Tennessee	477,616	508,736	Ohio	309,304	339,461
Texas	854,964	924,391	Pennsylvania	431,257	470,172
Virginia	650,165	661,449	Washington	6,840	7,424

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TABLE XI *

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN RUMANIANS AND NUMBER GIVING
RUMANIAN AS MOTHER TONGUE BY CITIES WITH MORE
THAN 300 FOREIGN BORN RUMANIAN AMERICANS

	<i>Immigrants Born in Rumania</i>	<i>Immigrants Speaking Rumanian at Home (approx.)</i>
New York, N. Y.	40,655	10,000
Chicago, Ill.	8,387	2,250
Philadelphia, Pa.	5,619	1,400
Detroit, Mich.	5,109	4,500
Cleveland, Ohio	3,997	1,750
Los Angeles, Cal.	2,750	1,000
St. Louis, Mo.	1,650	500
Pittsburgh, Pa. and vicinity	1,500	350
Canton, Massillon, Ohio	1,250	1,000
Youngstown, Pa. and vicinity	1,200	950
Cincinnati, Ohio	1,121	300
Minneapolis, Minn.	1,099	400
East Chicago, Ind.	1,050	900
Newark, N. J.	1,014	280
Dearborn, Mich.	1,000	800
San Francisco, Cal.	950	500
Akron, Ohio	761	600
Aurora, Ill.	750	600
Gary, Ind.	600	500
Baltimore, Md.	596	250
Boston, Mass.	575	150
Warren, Ohio	550	450
Farrell & Sharon, Pa.	550	450
Buffalo, N. Y.	548	150
Milwaukee, Wis.	527	200
Highland Park, Mich.	450	350
St. Paul, Minn.	431	300
Trenton, N. J.	388	300
Indianapolis, Ind.	321	250
Alliance, Ohio	300	250

* George Anagnostache "Romanians in America," *The New Pioneer*. Vol 2, No. 2, July 1944, p. 14. Data from 1940 Census.

TABLE XII

. COMPARISON OF DATA FOR GREEK IMMIGRATION FROM TWO SOURCES, 1921-1934

<i>Year</i>	<i>Emigration of Greeks to the United States *</i>	<i>Immigration from Greece to the United States †</i>
1821-1830	20	20
1831-1840	49	49
1841-1850	16	16
1851-1860	31	31
1861-1870	72	72
1871-1880	210	210
1881-1890	2,308	2,308
1891-1900	15,979	15,979
1901-1910	173,513	167,519
1911-1920	196,119	184,201
1921-1930	91,369	51,084
1931-1934	9,138	757
Total for 1821-1934.....	488,824	422,246

* Data according to Basileios G. Balaoras (see Footnote 7, p. 245).

† Data according to Babis Marketos (see Footnote 8, p. 245).

TABLE XIII

FOREIGN-BORN GREEK POPULATION IN UNITED STATES BY
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1920 AND 1930

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Number</i>	
	1930	1920
Greece	169,646	168,276
Asiatic Turkey	11,499	1,451
Italy	1,493	135
Albania	1,094	187
European Turkey	744	2,034
Yugoslavia	682	194
Africa	379	197
Austria	309	634
Bulgaria	288	134
Other countries	2,932	1,416
Total	189,066	174,658

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TABLE XIV

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK-BORN POPULATION, 1940

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number</i>
New England (6 states)	23,141
Middle Atlantic (3)	50,598
South Atlantic (8 and D. C.)	11,527
East North Central (5)	43,858
East South Central (4)	2,042
West North Central (7)	7,150
Mountain States (8)	5,757
West South Central (4)	3,015
Pacific States (3)	16,164
Total	163,252

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF ITALIAN AMERICANS IN SELECTED CITIES, 1940 AND 1930
AND PER CENT ITALIAN AMERICANS ARE OF TOTAL
POPULATION OF CITY IN 1940 *

CITY	1940		1930		
	<i>Foreign Stock Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Foreign Born</i>	<i>Foreign Stock</i>	<i>Foreign Born</i>
Baltimore	23,583	12.3	8,063	23,305	9,022
Boston	90,255	18.8	31,555	90,819	36,274
Buffalo	54,707	18.7	12,947	51,361	19,471
Chicago	185,012	9.9	88,472	181,861	75,960
Cleveland	57,981	17.6	20,961	56,317	23,524
Detroit	67,597	8.3	26,277	61,988	26,531
Milwaukee	12,874	4.4	4,374	12,444	4,996
Newark	80,980	32.7	28,140	85,398	30,587
New York	1,095,369	22.7	409,489	1,070,355	440,250
Philadelphia	176,179	21.8	59,079	182,368	68,158
Pittsburgh	48,741	17.5	16,241	47,940	18,154
Providence	54,570	35.8	17,010	53,635	19,181
St. Louis	22,811	10.5	8,131	23,817	9,489
San Francisco	56,096	17.8	24,036	58,021	27,311
Seattle	7,435	4.8	3,055	7,441	3,457

* U. S. Census, *Population—Country of Origin of Foreign Stock*.

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TABLE XVI *

CIRCULATION OF THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

(Figures in parentheses show number of publications the circulation of which is not known)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Dailies</i>	<i>Semiweeklies and Weeklies</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Albanian	—	1 400	(1)	1 (1) 400
Arabic	2 7,500	1 (5) 3,500	(3)	3 (8) 11,000
Armenian	1 (1) 3,754	7 (2) 14,906	1 (5) 1,140	9 (8) 19,800
Bulgarian	—	1 (3) 8,500	—	1 (3) 8,500
Carpatho-Russian ..	—	2 (3) 70,000	(7)	2 (10) 70,000
Chinese	7 (4) 67,874	(1)	—	7 (5) 67,874
Croatian	(1)	6 (2) 85,594	(3)	6 (6) 85,594
Czech	5 141,384	26 (1) 381,752	2 (27) 21,980	33 (28) 545,116
Danish	—	5 (6) 23,393	3 (4) 17,100	8 (10) 40,493
Dutch	—	7 36,335	(8)	7 (8) 36,335
Esperanto	—	—	1 500	(1) 500
Estonian	—	1 500	(1)	1 (1) 500
Finnish	5 31,877	8 (2) 52,749	2 (6) 1,618	15 (8) 86,244
Flemish	—	1 8,200	—	1 8,200
French	3 (1) 14,298	15 (5) 69,754	5 (14) 57,605	23 (20) 141,657
German	6 (3) 134,611	39 (14) 354,354	7 (82) 53,688	52 (98) 542,653
Greek	2 28,632	5 (4) 34,496	2 (17) 5,300	9 (21) 68,428
Hebrew	—	1 23,000	(13)	1 (13) 23,000
Hungarian	3 75,092	20 (17) 235,714	(17)	23 (34) 310,806
Italian	3 (2) 98,757	35 (33) 357,570	4 (40) 66,556	42 (75) 522,883
Japanese	—	2 (1) 1,210	—	2 (1) 1,210
Korean	—	(1)	—	(1)
Ladino	—	1 16,890	—	1 16,890
Latvian	—	(1)	(2)	(3)
Lithuanian	4 120,742	7 (6) 113,785	(10)	11 (16) 234,527
Norwegian	—	9 (7) 72,021	9 (12) 28,684	18 (19) 100,705
Polish	9 253,812	35 (18) 647,290	(16)	44 (34) 901,102
Portuguese	1 10,500	4 (2) 21,679	(10)	5 (12) 32,179
Rumanian	—	1 (3) 8,500	(1)	1 (4) 8,500
Russian	5 87,971	1 27,545	(13)	6 (13) 115,516
Serbian	1 (1) 8,975	1 (2) 17,894	—	2 (3) 26,869
Slovak	2 42,684	8 (8) 182,171	1 (13) 6,200	11 (21) 231,055
Slovene	4 57,530	5 62,354	1 (2) 7,800	10 (2) 127,684
Spanish	8 (2) 71,801	32 (28) 79,774	4 (68) 49,995	44 (98) 201,570
Swedish	—	10 (11) 138,137	5 (21) 25,650	15 (32) 163,787
Ukrainian	2 27,500	3 (2) 19,200	(7)	5 (9) 46,700
Welsh	—	—	(2)	(2)
Wendish	—	1 2,730	—	1 2,730
Yiddish	8 388,769	6 (5) 141,084	2 (29) 40,500	16 (34) 570,353
Total Circulation ..	<u>81</u> <u>1,674,063</u>	<u>307</u> <u>3,312,981</u>	<u>49</u> <u>384,316</u>	<u>437</u> <u>5,371,360</u>
Circulation not known	<u>15</u>	<u>191</u>	<u>449</u>	<u>655</u>

* *Interpreter Releases*, XX, No. 37, Series C. (October 13, 1943), p. 297.

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TABLE XVII*

NUMBER OF FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS, THEIR BRANCHES, MEMBERSHIP,
AND ASSETS BY NATIONALITY GROUPS

(The data are as of January 1st, 1944, with a few exceptions where corresponding data of January, 1943, were used. Figures in parentheses indicate the number of organizations for which data were available)

<i>Nationality Group</i>	<i>Number of Organizations</i>	<i>Branches</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Assets</i>
Armenian	1	(1) 119	(1) 5,000	(1) \$ 86,003
Carpatho-Russian	9	(8) 2,605	(9) 94,471	(8) 19,258,757
Croatian	4	(3) 730	(4) 112,402	(2) 14,384,477
Czech	10	(9) 1,601	(10) 161,402	(10) 32,212,533
Danish	2	(2) 248	(2) 12,632	(2) 3,845,798
Finnish	1		(1) 1,149	
French †	4	(4) 667	(4) 106,913	(4) 12,489,119
German	23	(18) 5,350	(22) 524,037	(22) 106,289,141
Greek	1		(1) 1,411	
Hungarian	8	(6) 1,107	(8) 131,204	(7) 15,068,790
Italian	7	(6) 561	(4) 54,501	(5) 1,456,716
Jewish	8	(7) 1,749	(8) 175,886	(7) 16,008,593
Lithuanian	5	(5) 912	(5) 38,860	(4) 4,309,108
Norwegian	3	(3) 448	(3) 25,383	(3) 4,983,085
Polish	22	(20) 6,231	(21) 696,708	(18) 86,398,847
Portuguese	3	(3) 394	(3) 29,061	(3) 4,981,638
Russian	3	(2) 81	(3) 21,248	(2) 632,124
Rumanian	2	(1) 80	(2) 8,549	(1) 946,043
Serbian	3	(2) 341	(3) 26,148	(2) 2,765,492
Slovak	18	(16) 4,022	(18) 344,210	(15) 54,868,049
Slovene	6	(6) 1,197	(6) 158,564	(5) 22,316,366
Spanish	2	(1) 278	(2) 16,913	(1) 1,080,246
Swedish	4	(4) 451	(4) 49,788	(4) 3,497,242
Ukrainian	5	(4) 1,111	(5) 85,590	(4) 12,122,086
Wendish	1	(1) 7	(1) 1,520	(1) 299,021
I.W.O.‡		(14) 1,700	†	(14) 2,839,381
Total	155	(146) 31,990	(150) 2,883,541	(145) \$423,188,655

* Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

† Three French organizations with 1,479 branches, 156,219 members and \$29,650,772 of assets have their headquarters and more than two thirds of their membership in Canada. They are not included in this table.

‡ The nationality sections of the International Workers Order are included as separate organizations in each group and in figures of membership. Branches and assets are added at the end.

TABLE XVIII *

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, FOR THE UNITED STATES,
URBAN AND RURAL: 1940

(Principal countries only)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER				PER CENT BY URBAN AND RURAL RESIDENCE		
	Total	Urban †	Rural- Nonfarm	Rural- Farm	Urban	Rural- Non- farm	Rural- Farm
All countries	34,576,718	26,277,838	4,699,546	3,599,334	76.0	13.6	10.4
England and Wales	2,124,235	1,570,357	383,781	170,097	73.9	18.1	8.0
Scotland	725,861	561,036	118,441	46,384	77.3	16.3	6.4
Northern Ireland	377,236	307,224	47,870	22,142	81.4	12.7	5.9
Irish Free State (Eire) ..	2,410,951	2,073,526	234,432	102,993	86.0	9.7	4.3
Norway	924,688	466,414	181,577	276,697	50.4	19.6	29.9
Sweden	1,301,390	844,434	217,540	239,416	64.9	16.7	18.4
Denmark	443,815	248,361	89,657	105,797	56.0	20.2	23.8
Netherlands	372,384	210,686	67,060	94,638	56.6	18.0	25.4
Switzerland	293,973	168,277	56,157	69,539	57.2	19.1	23.7
France	349,050	254,380	60,279	34,391	72.9	17.3	9.9
Germany	5,236,612	3,490,320	820,660	925,632	66.7	15.7	17.7
Poland	2,905,859	2,463,050	267,712	175,097	84.8	9.2	6.0
Czechoslovakia	984,591	666,466	165,578	152,547	67.7	16.8	15.5
Austria	1,261,246	979,569	190,749	90,928	77.7	15.1	7.2
Hungary	662,068	537,369	81,707	42,992	81.2	12.3	6.5
Yugoslavia	383,393	277,095	77,388	28,910	72.3	20.2	7.5
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	2,610,244	2,276,356	150,206	183,682	87.2	5.8	7.0
Lithuania	394,811	338,032	38,828	17,951	85.6	9.8	4.5
Finland	284,290	148,759	56,307	79,224	52.3	19.8	27.9
Rumania	247,700	219,304	14,725	13,671	88.5	5.9	5.5
Greece	326,672	298,383	21,778	6,511	91.3	6.7	2.0
Italy	4,594,780	4,042,638	430,646	121,496	88.0	9.4	2.6
Canada-French	908,386	693,102	147,886	67,398	76.3	16.3	7.4
Canada-Other	2,001,773	1,425,204	370,279	206,290	71.2	18.5	10.3
Mexico	1,076,653	644,605	241,414	190,634	59.9	22.4	17.7
All other and not reported	1,374,057	1,072,891	166,889	134,277	78.1	12.1	9.8

* Sixteenth Census of the United States: *Population: Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock*,

p. 4.

† Towns and cities of 2,500 population or more.

TABLES

TABLE XIX *

NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE OF THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN,
FOR CITIES WITH 50,000 OR MORE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1940 AND 1930

(1940 statistics for native white of foreign or mixed parentage are based on a 5 per cent sample. 1940 statistics for foreign-born white are from a complete count. 1940 figures for total foreign white stock, involving the addition of native and foreign born, are composite. 1930 figures have been revised to include Mexicans who were classified with "Other races" in the 1930 reports. Per cent not shown where less than 0.1)

CITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	1940					
	Total Foreign White Stock		Foreign-Born White		Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
<i>New York, N. Y.</i>	4,831,580	100.0	2,080,020	100.0	2,751,560	100.0
England	148,955	3.1	63,115	3.0	85,840	3.1
Scotland	64,252	1.3	33,292	1.6	30,960	1.1
Wales	3,456	0.1	1,296	0.1	2,160	0.1
Northern Ireland	53,801	1.1	21,501	1.0	32,300	1.2
Irish Free State (Eire)	464,665	9.6	160,325	7.7	304,340	11.1
Norway	54,530	1.1	30,750	1.5	23,780	0.9
Sweden	55,161	1.1	28,881	1.4	26,280	1.0
Denmark	16,825	0.3	8,845	0.4	7,980	0.3
Netherlands	11,288	0.2	5,608	0.3	5,680	0.2
Belgium	6,068	0.1	3,888	0.2	2,180	0.1
Switzerland	15,251	0.3	8,551	0.4	6,700	0.2
France	38,816	0.8	19,696	0.9	19,120	0.7
Germany	498,289	10.3	224,749	10.8	273,540	9.9
Poland	412,543	8.5	194,163	9.3	218,380	7.9
Czechoslovakia	57,624	1.2	26,884	1.3	30,740	1.1
Austria	322,586	6.7	145,106	7.0	177,480	6.5
Hungary	123,188	2.5	62,588	3.0	60,600	2.2
Yugoslavia	11,355	0.2	6,475	0.3	4,880	0.2
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	926,516	19.2	395,696	19.0	530,820	19.3
Lithuania	33,169	0.7	15,089	0.7	18,080	0.7
Latvia	8,957	0.2	5,317	0.3	3,640	0.1
Finland	17,525	0.4	11,245	0.5	6,280	0.2
Rumania	84,675	1.8	40,655	2.0	44,020	1.6
Greece	53,253	1.1	28,593	1.4	24,660	0.9
Italy	1,095,369	22.7	409,489	19.7	685,880	24.9
Spain	25,283	0.5	13,583	0.7	11,700	0.4
Portugal	5,016	0.1	2,676	0.1	2,340	0.1
Palestine and Syria	17,558	0.4	8,598	0.4	8,960	0.3
Turkey in Asia	30,778	0.6	17,398	0.8	13,380	0.5
Canada-French	14,470	0.3	6,270	0.3	8,200	0.3
Canada-Other	55,977	1.2	29,237	1.4	26,740	1.0
Newfoundland	9,278	0.2	4,838	0.2	4,440	0.2
Cuba and other West Indies	23,124	0.5	13,344	0.6	9,780	0.4
Central and South America	19,729	0.4	12,429	0.6	7,300	0.3
All other and not rptd	52,250	1.1	19,850	1.0	32,400	1.2

TABLE XIX (Cont.)

CITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	1940					
	Total Foreign White Stock		Foreign-Born White		Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
<i>Boston, Mass.</i>	480,284	100.0	180,864	100.0	299,420	100.0
England	19,586	4.1	7,246	4.0	12,340	4.1
Scotland	8,723	1.8	4,143	2.3	4,580	1.5
Northern Ireland	7,104	1.5	2,724	1.5	4,380	1.5
Irish Free State (Eire)	118,543	24.7	34,783	19.2	83,760	28.0
Sweden	7,899	1.6	3,799	2.1	4,100	1.4
Germany	11,931	2.5	3,851	2.1	8,080	2.7
Poland	15,828	3.3	6,648	3.7	9,180	3.1
Austria	3,921	0.8	1,641	0.9	2,280	0.8
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	68,134	14.2	28,014	15.5	40,120	13.4
Lithuania	10,556	2.2	5,076	2.8	5,480	1.8
Greece	6,361	1.3	3,141	1.7	3,220	1.1
Italy	90,255	18.8	31,555	17.4	58,700	19.6
Palestine and Syria	5,378	1.1	2,018	1.1	3,360	1.1
Canada-French	8,038	1.7	3,098	1.7	4,940	1.6
Canada-Other	67,305	14.0	30,045	16.6	37,260	12.4
Newfoundland	5,070	1.1	2,150	1.2	2,920	1.0
All other and not rptd.	25,652	5.3	10,932	6.0	14,720	4.9
<i>Buffalo, N. Y.</i>	293,169	100.0	91,789	100.0	201,380	100.0
England	13,734	4.7	5,074	5.5	8,660	4.3
Scotland	5,572	1.9	2,772	3.0	2,800	1.4
Irish Free State (Eire)	17,080	5.8	3,620	3.9	13,460	6.7
France	3,759	1.3	739	0.8	3,020	1.5
Germany	54,023	18.4	12,483	13.6	41,540	20.6
Poland	75,465	25.7	20,545	22.4	54,920	27.3
Austria	6,234	2.1	2,374	2.6	3,860	1.9
Hungary	4,288	1.5	1,908	2.1	2,380	1.2
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	10,450	3.6	4,090	4.5	6,360	3.2
Italy	54,707	18.7	17,847	19.4	36,860	18.3
Canada-French	2,188	0.7	788	0.9	1,400	0.7
Canada-Other	27,767	9.5	12,947	14.1	14,820	7.4
All other and not rptd.	17,902	6.1	6,602	7.2	11,300	5.6

TABLE XIX (Cont.)

CITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	1940					
	Total Foreign White Stock		Foreign-Born White		Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
<i>Chicago, Ill.</i>	1,874,625	100.0	672,705	100.0	1,201,920	100.0
England	54,204	2.9	19,144	2.8	35,060	2.9
Scotland	25,254	1.3	10,314	1.5	14,940	1.2
Northern Ireland	15,712	0.8	5,152	0.8	10,560	0.9
Irish Free State (Eire)	134,876	7.2	35,156	5.2	99,720	8.3
Norway	39,293	2.1	14,933	2.2	24,360	2.0
Sweden	110,198	5.9	40,258	6.0	63,940	5.3
Denmark	22,100	1.2	8,720	1.3	13,380	1.1
Netherlands	21,524	1.1	6,784	1.0	14,740	1.2
Belgium	7,384	0.4	3,504	0.5	3,880	0.3
Luxemburg	3,550	0.2	1,290	0.2	2,260	0.2
Switzerland	7,348	0.4	2,508	0.4	4,840	0.4
France	11,537	0.6	3,237	0.5	8,300	0.7
Germany	291,824	15.6	83,424	12.4	208,400	17.3
Poland	359,984	19.2	119,264	17.7	240,720	20.0
Czechoslovakia	91,656	4.9	33,596	5.0	58,060	4.8
Austria	63,691	3.4	26,091	3.9	37,600	3.1
Hungary	33,680	1.8	16,020	2.4	17,660	1.5
Yugoslavia	28,099	1.5	12,659	1.9	15,440	1.3
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	158,990	8.5	66,950	10.0	92,040	7.7
Lithuania	59,274	3.2	26,254	3.9	33,020	2.7
Finland	4,613	0.2	1,733	0.3	2,880	0.2
Rumania	17,767	0.9	8,387	1.2	9,380	0.8
Greece	28,032	1.5	13,972	2.1	14,060	1.2
Italy	185,012	9.9	66,472	9.9	118,540	9.9
Asia	10,101	0.5	5,221	0.8	4,880	0.4
Canada-French	10,775	0.6	3,115	0.5	7,660	0.6
Canada-Other	42,843	2.3	18,463	2.7	24,380	2.0
Mexico	16,172	0.9	7,132	1.1	9,040	0.8
All other and not rptd.	19,132	1.0	6,952	1.0	12,180	1.0

TABLE XIX (Cont.)

CITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	1940					
	Total Foreign White Stock		Foreign-Born White		Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
<i>Los Angeles, Calif.</i>	560,808	100.0	215,248	100.0	345,560	100.0
England	49,793	8.9	19,713	9.2	30,080	8.7
Scotland	15,360	2.7	5,980	2.8	9,380	2.7
Northern Ireland	5,786	1.0	1,646	0.8	4,140	1.2
Irish Free State (Eire)	22,514	4.0	4,194	1.9	18,320	5.3
Norway	11,815	2.1	3,435	1.6	8,380	2.4
Sweden	22,484	4.0	7,844	3.6	14,640	4.2
Denmark	9,198	1.6	3,138	1.5	6,060	1.8
Netherlands	5,413	1.0	2,013	0.9	3,400	1.0
Switzerland	5,540	1.0	1,940	0.9	3,600	1.0
France	9,676	1.7	3,196	1.5	6,480	1.9
Germany	64,308	11.5	17,528	8.1	46,780	13.5
Poland	16,688	3.0	7,448	3.5	9,240	2.7
Czechoslovakia	4,276	0.8	1,536	0.7	2,740	0.8
Austria	12,829	2.3	5,389	2.5	7,440	2.2
Hungary	8,418	1.5	3,978	1.8	4,440	1.3
Yugoslavia	7,021	1.3	3,441	1.6	3,580	1.0
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	58,855	10.5	25,595	11.9	33,260	9.6
Rumania	5,730	1.0	2,750	1.3	2,980	0.9
Greece	3,905	0.7	1,905	0.9	2,000	0.6
Italy	35,396	6.3	13,256	6.2	22,140	6.4
Asia	10,182	1.8	4,682	2.2	5,500	1.6
Canada-French	5,919	1.1	2,159	1.0	3,760	1.1
Canada-Other	52,876	9.4	25,596	11.9	27,280	7.9
Mexico	92,680	16.5	36,840	17.1	55,840	16.2
All other and not rptd.	24,146	4.3	10,046	4.7	14,100	4.1
<i>Jersey City, N. J.</i>	160,760	100.0	53,160	100.0	107,600	100.0
England	6,135	3.8	1,855	3.5	4,280	4.0
Northern Ireland	2,919	1.8	899	1.7	2,020	1.9
Irish Free State (Eire)	26,028	16.2	6,028	11.3	20,000	18.6
Germany	19,386	12.1	6,206	11.7	13,180	12.2
Poland	26,367	16.4	8,847	16.6	17,520	16.3
Austria	6,100	3.8	2,400	4.5	3,700	3.4
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	10,031	6.2	3,711	7.0	6,320	5.9
Italy	42,631	26.5	13,831	26.0	28,800	26.8
All other and not rptd.	21,163	13.2	9,383	17.7	11,780	10.9

* Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Population: Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock*, pp. 76-78.

TABLES

TABLE XX *

MALES PER 100 FEMALES IN THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
AND NATIVITY, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

(Principal countries of origin only)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	MALES PER 100 FEMALES		
	<i>Total Foreign White Stock</i>	<i>Foreign-Born White</i>	<i>Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage</i>
All countries	103.3	111.1	99.6
England and Wales	96.7	100.2	95.2
Scotland	98.9	99.1	98.9
Northern Ireland	88.9	81.6	91.9
Irish Free State (Eire)	88.2	74.4	92.9
Norway	107.3	125.0	101.1
Sweden	109.1	123.0	102.6
Denmark	117.5	154.2	104.2
Netherlands	110.9	139.9	100.5
Switzerland	108.6	128.3	101.1
France	90.1	85.3	92.2
Germany	100.0	106.4	98.2
Poland	105.3	111.4	102.3
Czechoslovakia	103.6	102.3	104.2
Austria	102.7	107.2	100.1
Hungary	101.5	99.0	103.6
Yugoslavia	120.8	154.4	101.5
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	105.4	111.3	101.7
Lithuania	108.6	123.5	99.0
Finland	106.2	107.7	105.2
Rumania	108.4	113.3	104.2
Greece	161.3	255.5	106.6
Italy	112.7	135.8	101.9
Canada-French	98.3	95.6	99.5
Canada-Other	92.2	83.9	97.7
Mexico	105.0	110.3	102.3
All other and not reported.	114.5	135.6	103.4

* Sixteenth Census of the United States: *Population: Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock*,
p. 4.

TABLE XXI

PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF ALL AGES NATURALIZED 1920-1940
AND RANK BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

<i>Foreign-Born White</i>	<i>Per Cent Naturalized</i>			<i>Rank According to Per Cent Naturalized</i>			<i>Rank Ac- cording to Length of Residence</i>
	1940	1930	1920	1940	1930	1920	(1930)
All countries	64.6	56.5	47.2	..	..	..	..
Austria	66.2	63.0	37.7	15	11	17	15
Canada-French ...	56.1	46.9	44.8	23	22	13	8
Canada-Other	60.8	53.4	57.9	19	17	9	11
Czechoslovakia ...	68.0	61.3	45.8	13	13	12	13
Denmark	78.1	74.9	69.2	1	1	2	4
England ¹	71.9	67.0	63.1	8	7	7	9
Finland	60.8	51.0	41.3	20 ⁴	18	14	16
France	68.6	63.1	56.7	12	10	10	10
Germany	73.6	70.5	72.8	4	4	1	1
Greece	58.4	44.7	16.8	22	24	23	24
Hungary	64.3	55.7	29.1	16	15	18	21
Irish Free State ...	72.5	66.1	65.7	6	9	5	7
Northern Ireland ..	72.2	68.1		7	5		6
Italy	62.5	50.0	28.1	17	20	19	20
Lithuania	55.8	47.5	25.6	24	21	21	19
Netherlands	71.8	66.6	56.0	9	8	11	12
Norway	75.2	70.9	67.3	3	3	4	5
Poland	59.7	50.5	28.0	21	19	20	18
Rumania	68.9	60.3	41.1	11	14	15	22
Russia	69.6	62.2	40.2 ²	10	12	16	17
Scotland	67.4	53.5	60.9	14	16	8	14
Sweden	77.1	72.6	69.0	2	2	3	2
Switzerland	73.6	67.4	64.9	5 ³	6	6	3
Yugoslavia	61.3	46.3	25.2	18	23	22	23

¹ In 1940, figure for England covers Wales as well as England.

² The 1920 figure for Russia includes Latvia and Estonia as well as Russia.

³ Really tied with Germany for fourth place.

⁴ Really tied with "Canada-Other" for nineteenth place.

Organizations and Publications

SELECTED NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DEAL
LARGELY OR EXCLUSIVELY IN THE GENERAL FIELD OF
MINORITY GROUPS AND FROM WHICH PAMPHLETS,
BIBLIOGRAPHIES, AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS CAN
BE PROCURED

- American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.
- Americans All—Immigrants All, 614 Fayette Ave., Springfield, Illinois.
- Bureau for Intercultural Education, 221 West 57th Street, New York, New York.
- Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York, New York.
- Committee on Interracial Coöperation, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, New York.
- Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, New York.
- Council Against Intolerance in America, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, New York.
- East and West Association, 40 East 49th Street, New York, New York.
- Folk Arts Center—National Committee on Folk Arts in the United States, 670 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
- Intercultural Education Workshop, 204 East 18th Street, New York, New York.
- League for National Unity, Inc., 233 Broadway, New York, New York.
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
- National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1775 Broadway, New York 19, New York.
- National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York.

PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS THAT PRESENT MATERIAL
LARGELY OR EXCLUSIVELY IN THE GENERAL
FIELD OF MINORITY GROUPS

Common Ground. Common Council for American Unity, New York, New York. A monthly magazine interpreting foreign-language groups.

Folk-Lore. Published for Folk-Lore Association by William Glaisher, Ltd., 265 High Holborn, London, W. C. 1. A quarterly review.

Intercultural Education News. Bureau for Intercultural Education. New York, New York. Published monthly in the interest of developing "understanding, coöperation, and national unity among the cultural groups in America."

Interpreter Releases. Common Council for American Unity. New York, New York. A series of publications giving factual information on our foreign-language groups.

Monthly Review. Department of Justice—Immigration and Naturalization Service. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Summarizes legislation and other data on naturalization.

Race Relations. Social Science Institute, Nashville, Tennessee. A monthly summary of events and trends of race relations in America.

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† In order that the bibliography may be as concise as possible, general references are not repeated except when it seems desirable to cite specific pages or chapters. The starred references include sections on many of the national groups and should be consulted in connection with each group.

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